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MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS:

VOL. II.

VIZ.

I. A Dissertation on the Papal Supremacy, chiefly with Relation to the Ancient Spanish Church.
II. An History of the Pope's Behaviour towards Portugal, from the Year 1641. until the Year 1666. with reference to his granting of Bishops to that Kingdom, and to all its Conquests.
III. A Discovery of some gross Mistakes in the Roman Martyrology, &c.
IV. The Legend of St. James of Compostella, with Animadversions upon it
V. The sad Catastrophe of Antonio Perez, Secretary of State to Philip the Second King of Spain.
VI. An Appendix to the Dissertation on the Papal Supremacy.

By Michael Geddes, Doctor of Laws, and Chancellor of the Church of Sarum.

LONDON:
MDCCCV.
TO THE

Most Reverend Father in God, Thomas Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England and Metropolitan, &c.

May it please your Grace,

There is no Order of Men, tho' it spares none, not that of Sovereign Princes, the Papacy lies harder upon, than on the Sacred Order of Bishops; whose Authority it has sought to lessen by an hundred Ways and Arts; having long strenuously labour'd to ingross all Ecclesiastical Authority and Jurisdiction to itself, and to bring all other Bishops to be look'd on only as the Pope's Delegates, deriving all their Jurisdiction and Authority, if not their Order too, immediately from the Pope, and not from Christ.

And tho' the Man of Sin, who exalts himself thus above all that are called Gods, has not hitherto, by all his Sorceries, been able to enchant Bishops

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The DEDICATION.

so, as to bring them, in any Council, to acknowledge themselves, not Christ's, but his immediate Creatures; they have, nevertheless, been brought to make Submissions to him, unworthy of the Dignity of their high Character.

So the time was, when your Grace's Predecessors, tho' Primates of a greater and nobler Nation, than the Roman ever was since the Exaltation of the Papacy; did esteem it no small Honour, to have the Title of the Pope's Legatus Natus; that is, in plain English, The Pope's born Bondslave, bestowed on them: And who, notwithstanding their high Primacy, and with that Title of Legatus Natus, were yet compell'd, in their own Church, to truckle under every Legate that came into England from the Pope's side, tho' of an Order inferior to them; to the great Confusion, if not Dissolution, of all Church Discipline in England.

And since nothing but a firm Perswas

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The DEDICATION.

just to the Papal Supremacy, could possibly have brought Nations, which were never under the Roman Civil Empire, or after they had shaken its Yoke off, to have submitted themselves to the Ecclesiastical Empire of that proud City; so the Falshood of that Persuasion can be expos'd by no other Way so manifestly, as by clear Historical Proofs of that Supremacy's not having been so much as known in the Church of Christ, in its first and purest Ages; no not in the Western-Church, for in the Eastern it never was submitted to, nor acknowledged.

Now there being no Western Church, which has so many Ancient and Authentick Records remaining as the Spanish; I apply'd my self with Diligence, impartially to examine those Ancient Records, in Order to learn from them the true State of the Spanish Church, untill the beginning of the Eighth Century; for so low those Records do reach: And having, by a diligent and impartial Search, plainly discover'd, that during all those Ages, the Papal Supremacy, was not only
only not own’d, but not so much as known in that great Church; I judged it might be of some Advantage to the Church of England, which resembles that Ancient Spanish Church more than any other Church does that is now in the World, for to have that prov’d, and the Truth of it publish’d.

The Ancient Spanish Church is here called by me a great Church, as well for the Eminent Piety and Learning of her Bishops, in those Days; as for the wideness of her Extent; not only all Spain, which is a vast Country, and was then very populous, but a great Part of Gaul or France, having belonged to her.

And having been determin’d by the foremention’d Reason, to write and publish a Dissertation on that Subject; I could not well think of putting it under any other Patronage, than that of the Primate of the Noblest and best established Antipapal Church in the World; and which so much resembles the Church here treat’d of; and especially since it happens so, that that Primate, before he ascend’d
The DEDICATION.

that high Post, was a Champion in our Church, whilst she was contending against the return of the Papal Supremacy over her; and which, being back'd by the Royal Authority, struggl'd hard to have forced its Way into England again.

And as the Post your Grace was in at that Time, was justly esteemed the Forlorn of our Church; so I do very well remember, when all the steady Members of the Church of England did thank God for having filled that dangerous Post so well, in a Day of so fierce a Tryal.

But tho' this may be sufficient to cause this Dedication to be proper, it would not have embolden'd me to have made it, had I not been drawn to it, by a strong Sense of Favours your Grace has been pleas'd to confer upon me, which were not only greater than I deserv'd, but than I ever expected; and not knowing whether I may ever have the like Opportunity again of making any publick Acknowledgments of those Favours, I could not let this slip, and especially being led to it by the Matter of the following Dissertation.

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The DEDICATION.

The Second Tract, naturally puts it self likewise under your Grace's Patronage; in it the World may see plainly, how great an Unhappiness it is for any Church to be under the Government of a Forreign Primate, and especially of one so powerful as the Pope, and who has so many great Temporal Interests of his own to serve and pursue.

The Third, Fourth, and Fifth Tracts, do also petition for the same Favour; not to protect any of them against having their Mistakes detected; for as that cannot be, so neither is it desir'd; but only to receive some Honour from so great a Patronage, untill they shall be found not capable of it.

I shall not give your Grace any farther Trouble, but only to beg Pardon for a Boldneſs which flows from Gratitude, and your Blessing, with Leave to subscribe myself, Your Grace's most Humble and most obliged Servant,

Michael Geddes.
A DISSERTATION ON THE Papal Supremacy, &c.

To trace the Bishop of Rome's pretence to a Supremacy over the whole Christian Church, briefly, from its original; it is founded on a very uncertain Story; for I cannot but reckon that of St. Peter's having been at Rome, to be so, at best; and on the most precarious Consequences, that were ever drawn from that, or from any other Story, true or false. And that its Rise, Progress, and Continuance, might be all of a piece; that Supremacy did visibly work its way into the Western Church, and support itself there, by forging of false Evidences, to create, and to continue to it itself a Title; and by the suppressing of ancient Records;
A Dissertation on the

which, had they remain'd, would have demonstrated that Supremacy not to have been from the beginning, as it boldly pretends to have been. And are not these the very Frauds and Arts by which the Anti-christian Empire was to be erected in the World, according to the Scriptures? And that the Evidences to be met with in those Divine Writings, and in those of the Primitive General Councils, against that Supremacy, have been preserved to us entire, is owing, under God and his especial Providence, to those ancient sacred Records having never been in the sole keeping of the Bishops of Rome, as all the proper Writings of the Western Church were, for several Ages; but in the custody of all other Christian Churches likewise; and by all which that Supremacy was still opposed, as an Anti-christian Usurpation: For had it not been for this Check, we have great Reason to believe, those sacred Records would, on the account of those Evidences, long e'er now, have either been suppress'd, or taught to speak the Language of the Beast, as plain as the Decretal Epistles speak it, which do pretend to the same Antiquity; but which, hereafter I shall demonstrate, at sooneft, to have been forged in the Seventh Century.

As to the Primacy, which was given to the Bishop of Rome by the first Christian Councils,
Papal Supremacy.

Councils, as it was given to that Bishop on no other consideration but that of Rome's being at that time the Seat and Metropolis of the Empire; so that Primacy did differ just so much from the Supremacy which the Bishop of Rome now lays a Claim to, as a Primacy of Order and Dignity, with very little power, and that limited to a small part of the Church, differs from a Superiority of an Universal and Uncontrovable Jurisdiction. And that this was the sole foundation of the Bishop of Rome's ancient Primacy, is manifest from the 28th Canon of the General Council of Chalcedon, and indeed from the known Rule all the Primitive Councils govern'd themselves by, in the giving of Precedency to Bishopricks; which Rule was, that Bishopricks should have Precedency according to the dignity of their Citys, by the Secular Constitutions of the Empire; and accordingly, at the same time the Bishop of Rome was made the first Bishop, because Rome was the Metropolis and first City of the Empire; the Bishop of Alexandria was made the second Bishop, because Alexandria was then the second City of the Empire; and the Bishop of Antioch was made the third Bishop, because Antioch was then the third City; and which, for that Reason, tho' it had St. Peter for its first Bishop, was postponed to Alexandria, whose first Bishop was
was only St. Peter's Disciple. The Bishop of Jerusalem, indeed, had a Precedency
given to him on a Christian consideration; but at the same time the Secular considera-
tion was reckon'd so much stronger than that, that not only the Three foremen-
ton'd Bishops had the Precedency of him, but he was continued a Subject to the Bishop of
Cesarea, because that City was before Jerusalem in the Constitution of the Empire.

This is the true and plain History of the Bishop of Rome's ancient Primacy; and which, tho' it had very little Authority be-
longing to it, and that confined too within small bounds, yet I will not say but that that harmless Primacy might be made use of to prepare the Way for that Bishop's Supremacy in the Western Church, which, for several Ages, was, as to all Ecclesiastical Antiquities, under a cloud of ignorance, thicker than can well be believed. And whilst the Western Church was thus asleep, the Enemy came, and sow'd this, and many more Tares in her Field.

For is it not plain, that the Bishops of Rome, after they were in possession of that Primacy, were still stretching it; and grasping after more Jurisdiction than belong'd to it, tho' for many years but to little purpose?

So in the 5th Century, the Bishop of Rome did challenge to himself a Jurisdiction over all
all the Affrican Churches; not as St. Peter's Successor, but by vertue of a Decree of the Council of Nice: But the Affrican Bishops, and of which number the great St. Austin was one, being surpriz'd at this new pretence, did send into Greece for an authentick Copy of all the Acts of that Council; and when they had them, having found nothing in them concerning that matter, they rejected that claim of the Bishop of Rome's with indignation, having clearly discover'd that trick which he would have put upon them.

But the thing that stood most in the way of this Roman Primacy's swelling in the East, (tho', as we shall see hereafter, it was the great means of the Popes acquiring their present Supremacy in the West,) was the Seat of the Empire, which was the ground that Primacy stood on, having been soon after remov'd from Rome to Constantinople; and to which City, for that reason, the Ecclesiastical Primacy ought to have gone. And of the great danger there was that it would do so, the Bishops of Rome were so sensible, that they were both for changing the ground of that Primacy, and for keeping the Bishop of Constantinople from being at all consider'd on that account.

But that Bishop having, notwithstanding all the Opposition the Pope was able to make,
make, had the Precedency to Alexandria and Antioch granted to him, on that consideration, he did after he was got next to the Bishop of Rome, as it was feared, begin to tread very hard upon his heels; and being on the higher ground, it was not doubted, but that e'er long he would take the advantage of it, and step over him.

And the thing that had hindred that from being done, as soon as the Seat of the Empire was translated to Constantinople; being now, by the long and constant residence of the Emperors in that City, pretty much worn out: Which was the profound veneration which had been paid to the City of Rome, as the Mistress of the World; the Emperors now Judging it to be safe, for to honour their Court with the Ecclesiastical Primacy, did resolve to remove it from Rome to Constantinople; and accordingly in the year of our Lord 595, the Ecclesiastical Primacy, and with it the Title of Oecumenical or Universal Bishop, was by the Emperor Mauritius and a Synod, settled for ever on the Bishop of Constantinople, and his Successors: That Bishop had eight years before this, in a Synod, stilled himself the Universal Bishop, to the great disturbance of the Papal Ambition, which for many years had observed all that Bishop's steps, with a watchful and Jealous eye.

The
The Bishop of Rome, who at that time was Gregory, called the Great, when he heard of what had been done at Constantinople, instead of putting in his own claim to that Title did take to himself the humble Title, of the Servant of the Servants of God; and did with all his force set himself to batter that Title and Superiority of the Bishop of Constantinople to pieces; and that in general, calling it, in general, a Proud, Perverse, Foolish, and Blasphemous presumption; and adding, that as none of his Predecessors had ever assumed any such Title to themselves, so whoever did it, was certainly an Imitator of Lucifer, and the forerunner of Anti-christ, and did by exalting himself so high above his Brethren degrade all the other Bishops of the Church: So plainly could this Pope, in general, see the pernicious Consequences of an Universal Supremacy over the Church being lodged in any one single Bishop.

But the worst thing in this matter was, that this Pope, at the same time that he was declaiming so vehemently against that Superiority and Title in the East, was himself very busy in the West to help his own See there to a Superiority of a much greater Jurisdiction than that was he was declaiming against: Which fraudulent and double practice of Gregory's, is enough to lessen his Saintship very much, in the opinion of all that judge
judge of Men and things impartially; or if that alone cannot do it sufficiently, let any one but read that Pope's cajolling Letters to the Emperor Mauritius, and his Letters written presently after to Phocas, by whom Mauritius was Depos'd and Murther'd, and after that, think well of Gregory's Saintship if he can.

And here, by the way, I cannot but take notice, that this Gregory is the last Pope the Roman Writers give that Title of Saint to, and which they do give to most of the Popes that were before him; as if the Sanctity of the Roman See had been drove out of it by the Supremacy, which was settled upon it by Phocas, within Two years after this Gregory's Death: And is it not a thing worth the noting, that tho' since that time the Popes have canoniz'd and declar'd so many to be Saints, they have not in an Eleven-hundred years met with one amongst all their Predecessors whom they could judge worthy of that Title, notwithstanding, for a long time, they have all had that of Holiness whilst they lived? But to return,

The Emperor Mauritius having been Depos'd and barbarously Murther'd, with all his Sons, by his Servant Phocas; that Pari-cide being angry with Cyriacus Bishop of Constantinople, for having shew'd some kindness to Mauritius's Widow; and having at the
the same time been highly complemented by Pope Gregory, and his Successor Boniface; to create an interest to himself in the West, in the year 606 he did by an Imperial Edict, take the Primacy from Constantinople, and settle a supremacy on the Bishop of Rome and his Successors. Now here let any one but consider what a Monster of Villany this Paricide, Phocas, was, to whom the Church of Rome owes the Legal Establishment of her Paladium, the Supremacy, and not wonder, if he can, at the hardness of those Men, who when they have display'd the Vices of King Henry the 8th, do reckon that they have sufficiently discredited his Expulsion of the Roman Supremacy out of England.

But tho' this Establishment of the Roman Supremacy, was, by reason of its Author Phocas having been Deposed and Killed soon after it was made, of no benefit to the Bishops of Rome in the East, yet in Italy it was undoubtedly of great use to them; which being highly discontented to see the Seat of its own Empire, with all its Honours, translated into Greece, could not but be highly concern'd to hold and support that of the Ecclesiastical Primacy, as the only remaining Ensign of her former Imperial Grandeur: And they must not know much of Mankind, that do want to be told, how powerful and imperious such Emulations betwixt
betwixt Nations are, and especially in such a case as this of Italy's was; so that, tho', as we see, the Bishops of Rome, by the Seat of the Empire having been remov'd into the East, were in great danger of having lost their honorary and empty Primacy there; yet those Bishops were so far from being loosers, that they were great gainers by that change; having, by reason of the Emperors great distance from them, been enabled to assume to themselves a power, which the Emperors, had they resided constantly at Rome, would never have suffer'd to have sprung up under their Noses, agreeably to those Words of St. Paul, And ye know what withholdeth; that is, the presence and the strength of the Roman Empire, that he, that is the Anti-christ, may be reveal'd in his time.

But to proceed,

At the time when this Establishment of the Roman Supremacy was made by Phocas, there were divers great Churches in the West, namely, that of the Britains, and that of the Spaniards, which were no ways affected by it, being under Civil Governments, which, at that time, had no dependence at all on the Roman Empire.

As to the British Church, from the small Remains that we have left of her Antiquities, we see plainly, that, towards the latter end of the Sixth Century, that Church had never
never been subject to Rome; and that she was no ways disposed to have submitted herself to the Papal Supremacy; witness the Opposition which was made by the British Clergy to Austin the Roman Monk, and to the Authority of the Roman Church in the point about the time when Easter was to be observ’d; in which, if the Reader desires to be fully satisfied, he must repair to the Books of the two most Learned Bishops of Worcester, Dr. Floyd and Dr. Stillingfleet.

So that the Roman Supremacy was first brought into Britain by the Saxons, who having been converted from Paganism to Christianity, near the end of the sixth Century, by some of the Bishop of Rome’s Disciples; they had been taught by them, that the Papal Supremacy was an Authority in the Church of Christ’s own immediate Institution; which was a trick they could not have put on the Britains or Spaniards, who had then been Christians for some Ages, without having heard of that Supremacy before, and by whom it was therefore treated as a novel Invention.

As to the ancient Spanish Church, after having made as narrow and Impartial a search into her Antiquities as I was able, I am persuaded two things relating to that Church may be clearly made out.
A Dissertation on the

The First is, That before the Eighth Century, the Bishop of Rome had no Jurisdiction or Authority in the Spanish Church.

The Second is, That when the Bishop of Rome did, in the beginning of the Eighth Century, first attempt to introduce his Supremacy into Spain; that Supremacy was rejected and condemned by the Spanish Church, in a Council of all her Bishops.

No Man of any reason can expect here to meet with express and positive proofs in confirmation of the truth of the first proposition, seeing, unless it be in Prophecies, and which are not wanting in the Scriptures against that Supremacy, such proofs are not possible in the case contained in it; all that is possible therefore in that case, is, to produce such reasons as will abundantly justify what is affirmed in it: And I am much mistaken if that known Rule, that things which do not appear, are as if they did not exist, was ever more unexceptionable in any case, than I shall shew it to be in this before us: For let it be but granted, that no authority, and much less a Supream Authority, can possiblly have been for some hundreds of years in any body of Men, which hath frequently assembled together to make Laws, without ever having made any discovery of its exercise; (and must they not be stiff Champions, who, for the sake of their Cause, will not grant this?) and
I doubt not but from Records of unquestionable Authority, to demonstrate the truth of the first Proposition.

Betwixt the year of our Lord 324, when the Council of Eliberis was celebrated in Spain, and the year 694 when the Seventeenth Council of Toledo was celebrated there, no fewer than Forty Ecclesiastical Synods, National, or Provincial, were assembled in the Spanish Church.

I do go no higher than the year 324, because we have no History of the Spanish Church before that time: The Legendary Antiquities of that Church, which were invented after the Ninth Century, do indeed relate a great many strange successes in it, from the Apostles' days; but tho' those Legends do in the main make against the Papal Supremacy, affirming, that the Christian Faith was first Preached and Planted in Spain by the Apostle St. James, without taking notice of his having touched at Rome, or of his having had any Commission from Saint Peter; and for which reason, those Legends tho' they are adored in Spain, are much flighted in Rome; however, I shall take no further notice of them, than to say, that they are such monstrously absurd, flat, and incredible stories, that nothing can possibly make People of any sense believe them, but their having had strong Delusions sent them, as a Judgment,
A Dissertation on the Judgment, that they should believe Lies.

On the contrary the Acts of the Forty forementioned Councils, which are extant, are, as to the main, all unquestionably true and genuine; and had they not been so, their Authority would long e'er now have been called in question by Baronius, and the other Papal Champions, who wanted not Will to do it. Or if there be any Interpolations in them, as I do suspect there may be some, since all the Manuscripts of them, ever since the Pope's Supremacy was admitted into Spain, have been, and still are, solely in the keeping of Papists; none can suspect those Interpolations, to have been made, to the Pope's disadvantage; and I must confess, that considering how much the itch of forging and interpolating Writings prevailed in Spain after the seventh Century, I have many times wondered, how they have escaped so well as they have done. Those Councils were all Printed in Madrid, from several ancient Manuscripts, and with learned Notes upon them, in the Year 1593, by Garfias Loaisa, who was soon after made Archbishop of Toledo.

In all those Councils, matters relating either to Faith, or to the Discipline of the Church, were handled and decreed; and Heresies and Herteicks were condemned; and, in a word, all things were done in them
them that were judged to be necessary to the security and advancement of true Religion and good Manners in Spain. And was it possible when all those Councils did meet and act thus, that the Roman Supremacy had it then been own'd by that Church, should not on so many and so great occasions, have made some discovery of its Authority by its exercise?

First, It is plain from the Authentick Acts of those Councils, that none of them were called by the Bishop of Rome.

Secondly, That the Bishop of Rome had no Person in any of them to represent him.

Thirdly, That none of the Decrees of those Councils, concerning either Faith or Discipline, were ever confirm'd by the Bishop of Rome; nor was that Bishop's Approbation and Confirmation of them ever desir'd.

Fourthly, At the end of most of those Councils, there is a Relation of Thanks, as it is called, in which solemn Thanks are return'd to God, and to the King, by whom they were assembled, for their good Success; in none of which Thanksgivings the Bishop of Rome is so much as once named.

Lastly, In all those Councils the Bishop of Rome is not mentioned often, and never with any intimation of his having any Authority in them. And farther, tho' there were di-
vers Canons made, concerning the Hierarchy of the Church, by several of those Councils, there is not the least mention of the Papal Supremacy in any of those Canons.

But there is one thing which alone is sufficient to demonstrate that the Ancient Spanish Church had no regard to the Authority of the Bishop of Rome, no not in matters of Faith; which is, that Church’s having added Filioque to the Constantinopolitan Creed, not only without consulting the Popes about it, but contrary to their minds.

And as it is acknowledged by all, that Filioque was first added to that Creed in Spain, so the first time we meet with that Addition there, is in the Third Council of Toledo, which was celebrated in the Year 589; and after that, we meet with it again in the Fourth, in the Eighth, the Eleventh, the Twelfth, and the Thirteenth Councils assembled in that City: and as there was a great number of Gallick Bishops present at those Councils, so that Addition having been carried by them into Gaul, it has ever since been in the Creed of that Church, as well as in the Spanish.

Let us see now whether the Bishops of Rome had any Hand in this great change, and 'tis certain they had not; this Addition having been made in Spain above three hundred years before the Roman Bishops would suffer
suffer it to be put into their Creed: So after the Council of Aquisgrane, which was held in the year 809, and in which the Procession of the Holy Ghost was handled, the Emperor Charles the Great, understanding that Filioque was not in the Roman Creed, sent a Bishop and an Abbot to Rome, to persuade Pope Leo the third to admit it; but Leo, tho’ vehemently urged to it by that Emperor’s Envoys, would not consent to its being done: On the contrary he blamed those that had made that Addition, and did wish that some course might be taken to wear it out of the Creed, without giving offence to the People in those Countries in which it had been so long used; and so Zealous was that Pope against that Addition, that on this occasion he caused the Constantinopolitan Creed without it, to be graved upon a silver Plate in Latin, and upon another in Greek, and to be set up in St. Peter’s Church at Rome. But the Spanish and French Churches, being as stiff on the other side, for keeping that Addition in the Creed; since the Mountain would not go to Mahomet, Mahomet went to the Mountain; and Pope Benedict the Seventh did receive it into the Roman Creed, above Three hundred and Fifty years after it had been in the Spanish and Gallick.

Now let a National Council be called by the King in Spain, and let the Pope have no
body in it to represent him; and when it is assembled, let it make an Addition to the Creed, not only without the Pope’s Permission, but contrary to his mind; and the Pope not reckon that to be a rejecting of his Supremacy; and I shall then be disposed to believe, that the Papal Supremacy might be in Spain all the time these Ancient Councils were celebrated in her.

The Ancient Spanish Church having had a Liturgy of her own, and which differed very much from the Roman, is likewise a strong Evidence of that Church’s having never been Subject to Rome: Of which Ancient Spanish, or Gothick Liturgy, and of the points wherein it differed from the Roman, having given a large Account elsewhere, I will not here, for that reason, say any more of it.

And as this is, I think, an irresistible Evidence that the Bishop of Rome could not have any Authority, and much less a Supremacy, in the Ancient Spanish Church, during the whole time of those Councils; so the Popes are so sensible that it is so, that for that reason they would gladly have all those Ancient Spanish Councils looked on as Schismatical Assemblies, for having met, and acted, as they did, without the Bishops of Rome’s Authority, if not in contradiction to it.

And
And that the Popes do for this reason, stand very ill affected to those ancient Councils, the wife and learned Dr. Vargas assures us, in his Letter writ from Trent to the Bishop of Arras, bearing date the 26th of November 1551, in which Letter that great Man, writes as followeth. There was a certain Prelate, who in a general Session, had the confidence to say on that occasion, that the Councils of Toledo were all held in contradiction to the Apostolical See; with a great deal of more such stuff, which gave no small offence to a great many: Those Councils having been so famous, and of so great advantage to the Church: He that spoke this was the Bishop of Fano, who is to be made a Cardinal; and, as they write, at the Nomination of his Majesty; and who tho' a Person of great honour, spoke this, because he knew it would be grateful to the Legates; and and would make way for his Promotion. And so it did, for in the same year that this Letter was writ, we find this Prelate, whose Name was Peter Bartani, and who was by Nation an Italian, created Cardinal of S S. Marcellini and Petri.

After such a Confession as this from so great a Papal Champion, and on so Publick a Stage, and made on purpose to gratify the Pope, I reckon it is needless to offer anything farther
A Dissertation on the farther in vindication of the truth of the first Proposition; not but that that Proposition, without this confession, is I think, proved as plainly as any Negative can possibly be proved: So I pass to the Second Proposition, which is, That when the Bishop of Rome did, in the beginning of the Eighth Century, first attempt to introduce his Supremacy into Spain, that Supremacy was rejected, and condemned by the Spanish Church, in a Council of all her Bishops.

Tho' the Bishop of Fano was mistaken when he said, all the Councils of Toledo had been held in contradiction to the Pope; for it is certain that Seventeen of them were not, the Papal Authority having never been any ways regarded by any of them; yet as to the Eighteenth Council assembled in that City, he was in the right; for that Council was indeed called in contradiction to the Papal Authority, and when it was met did condemn it; the occasion was this.

In the Beginning of the Eighth Century, when the Pope and his Monks were very busy to promote the Celibacy of the Clergy, and to impose it upon them: Witiza, King of Spain, being of opinion that it was an ill thing, did in the year 702, by a Statute, make it lawful for the Clergy, within his Dominions, to Marry if they pleased, as they had done formerly: And in this that King was
was not singular, most of the Secular Clergy, in all Countreys, having been of the same mind.

But the Pope, who at that time was very high, by reason of the frequent and violent changes of Emperors in the East; and the very Souldiers in Italy having lately stood by him, in a Contest which he had with the Emperor; when he heard of that Statute, was very angry at it, and, in his passion, writ to Witiza, to abrogate that Law, threatening, if he did not, to take his Kingdom from him.

Witiza, who had not been used to such Language, resented it highly, and did send the Pope back word, that he was preparing to visit him, with an Army at his heels; and would, to chastize his insolence, plunder and sack the City of Rome, as his Ancestor Alaricus had done formerly.

Upon this brisk answer of Witiza's, Baronius out of his great officiousness to serve the Papal Authority, steps in, as that Pope's Champion, to maintain his Title to the Kingdom of Spain; and makes Proclamation, that among Pope Gregory the Seventh's Letters, which are in the Vatican Library, he had met with two directed to all the Princes who were willing to invade Spain, to drive the Moors out of it. In which Letters that Pope tells them, for their Encouragement,
agement, that he will grant them the Use of all the Countreys in Spain, which they were able to recover from the Moors; but for the Property of those Countreys, that he could not part with it to them, because it belonged to St. Peter and to the See of Rome; Count Euvlus de Roseio, of whose great Fame they must needs all have heard, having many Ages before recovered Spain out of the hands of Pagans, for the See of Rome; and from which See that Count had a Commission to Conquer that Countrey: Now that great Count Euvlus de Roseio's Conquest of Spain, having been made many years before Witiza was born, that Pope, upon Witiza's having disobeyed him, had a right to deprive him of his Kingdom. What can it be, but a Curse on those that forge Papal Titles, that they have never yet forged one, tho' they have forged a great many, that has so much as an appearance of truth in it? for had it not been for that, why might not Pope Gregory, when he was forging a Title for his See to all Spain, have named the first Gothick King for the Prince that was employed by his Predecessors to recover that Countrey to St. Peter and to his Successors, as easily as Count Euvlus de Roseio, whose Feats nor Name were never heard of by any Creature living, before they were mentioned by that Pope, in his Letters written
written on this occasion, in the year 703. 

And were any Princes, besides the Western, since the World stood, ever abused or disturbed by such course stuff as this, which the Roman Bishops were for some Hundreds of years, continually trumping upon them? and which, if they that wove it, had no opportunity of making use of themselves, they laid it up carefully in their Archives, hoping at one time or another that it might turn to some account to their Successors. But to return,

Witiza, who had never heard any thing of Count Euvlus having conquer'd Spain for St. Peter and the See of Rome, being much surpriz'd at the Pope's intruding himself so boldly into the Affairs of his Government; to put a full stop to that dangerous growing power, he did convocate a Council at Toledo, of all the Bishops and Nobles of Spain, in the year 704; and who being all met together, did, among other things, which they ordered for the good Government of the Kingdom, declare and decree, That the Bishop of Rome had no Authority in Spain, neither in Church nor State; for the sake of which Decree, all the Acts of that Council were long ago totally destroyed; and Mari- ana faith justly, for their having been contrary to the Ecclesiastical Laws: He means, I suppose, those which are now in Spain;
for I believe it would puzzle him to find any Law there before, that they were contrary to.

But tho' the Popes, when they carried all before them in the West, were able to destroy all the Acts of that Council; they were not, it seems, able to extinguish the memory of it; for Rodericus Toletanus, who lived in the Thirteenth Century, speaking of Wita-za, faith, he celebrated a Council with the Bishops and Nobles, in St. Peter's Church in the Suburbs of Toledo, about the Ordination of the Kingdom; but which is not in the body of the Canons. He gives no reason why it was not there, nor does he take any notice of the Pope's Supremacy having been condemn'd in it. Loaisa is of opinion, that this Council was held whilst Gonderick was Archbishop of Toledo, who, as Rodericus faith, was Illustrious with the Gift of Sanctity, and yet more famous for the Miracles which he wrought. That Council must therefore have been celebrated in the beginning of Wita-za's Reign, when it is certain that Archbishop died; and, if so, it had both a very good King, and a good Archbishop at the head of it: For Wita-za's greatest Enemies do allow him to have been so then; and, had he not oppos'd the introducing the Pope's Supremacy into Spain, he might, in all probability, have been allow'd to have continued
continued so till his Death; but, for that reason, he was of a sudden much chang'd for the worse; having, as they say, in the latter part of his Reign taken divers Wives or Concubines, and given up himself and his Kingdom to Lasciviousness and Luxury; and with which Vices, the Papal Champions do charge that Prince home, so confidently, that we should certainly have believed them, had we not known it to have been their custom to treat all Princes so, right or wrong, that they are displeas'd with. So the Emperors, who oppos'd the bringing of Image-Worship into the Christian Church, are represented by them, sometimes as Jews, and sometimes as Mahometans; nay a certain Pope told one of those Emperors, that he was altogether as abominable as that Wicked King of Judah, who broke the Brazen Serpent which had been made by Moses: So our King John, who had displeased them, was said to be much disposed to have turned Mahometan; and for the same reason Charles Martell was very Wicked, and had never repented, his Soul, after his death, having been seen in Hell by a Roman Visionary. But what need we go either so far back, or so far from home, for a plain instance of their having much more regard for something else, than they have for truth, in their Characters of Princes: For were it not so,
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fo, would it have been poftible for them to have represented Mary Queen of Scots as a Saint, and Queen Elizabeth as a Devil; besides we know, that Lasciviousness and Luxury, which are the only crimes they charge Witiza with, were thrown by them on all at a venture that opposed the Coelibacy of the Clergy; as if that Coelibacy were the moft sovereign Remedy in the World against those Vices. But let Witiza towards the latter end of his Reign, be as bad as they make him; yet how can that reflect any dishonor upon a Council, which was celebrated in the beginning of his Reign, when they do all allow him to have been a very good Prince; But to grant as much as they can desire, which is, that this Council was called by Witiza when he was at his worst; yet even then they do not make him near so bad as Phocas certainly was, when he established the Papal Supremacy by a Law: No nor as the Empress Irene was, when she was the great instrument of introducing Image-Worship into the Church.

Spain was conquered by the Moors within Twelve years after this great Council; and since we do not read of any that was held after it, we may, I think, very well conclude that, the Papal Supremacy was never in the Ancient Spanish Church, no more than it was in the Ancient British; and that,
that, had not the Civil Governments those two Ancient Churches were under, been dissolved by their being both Conquered by Infidels, it is most probable that that Supremacy might never have been able to have crept into either of those two Churches.

There is yet one thing, if it wanted it, that would much confirm the Papal Supremacy's not having been known in Spain until after the Seventh Century; which is, the profound Silence there is of it in all the Ancient Spanish Writers, particularly, in St. Isidore, Bishop of Sevil, a great many of whose Books are still extant, and several of them on Subjects, that had he known any thing of such a Supremacy's having been establish'd by Christ in the Church, he could not possibly but have spoke of it with full Cheeks, whereas it is never so much as once mention'd by him.

And so manifest it is, that in Fact the Bishops of Rome had no Authority in Spain until after the Seventh Century, that Ambrosius Morales, the most Learned Antiquary of that Nation, was forced to acknowledge it; and whose honest confession, in the 4th Chapter of his 12th Book, concerning this matter, I shall here set down at length in his own words.

Don Lucas de Tuyd, saith Morales, affirms that St. Leander was the Pope's Legate in this Council,
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Council, (meaning the Thirteenth Council of Toledo, celebrated in the year 539.) and our Authors have since added, that he had that dignity from St. Gregory: The Pope's Legate St. Leander might be in that Council, but not Gregory's, who was not Pope at that time; Gelasius the Second, being then alive. Tho' after all, I do certainly believe, that no account was given to the Pope of the assembling of this Council, or of any of the matters that were treated of in it; for had the Pope been consulted, or had he made St. Leander his Legate, as De Tuyd faith he did, I doubt not but mention would have been made of it in this Council, which we have written at large, and with great diligence. And whereas this Council was thus assembled by the King's command, and no account was given to the Pope of any thing that was done in it, or in any of the following Councils; as it is convenient that this matter should be rightly understood, so this being the most proper place to speak of it, I reserved the doing of it till now, tho' I have touch'd on it before.

We have seen several times, and shall hereafter see much oftner, how the Gothick Kings did alone, and without ever consulting the Pope, command National Councils to be called, and in which they assembled all the Bishops within their Dominions; the Grandees of the Court and of the Palace did also by Custom, and as it were a Law, enter into those Assemblies; and by these Councils
Councils whatsoever was convenient for the Faith, and for all other matters in Religion, was order'd; and what much increaseth the wonder of this, is, that Prelates of great Learning and Sanctity, such as St. Leander, and his Brother St. Iliphonfo, and others, did assist at many of those Councils; and that the Kings, even after they were Catholicks, and not Arians, did continue to do in this matter as they had done before; we see likewise how those Kings, did at their pleasure place and displace Bishops, and many times for very light Causes, without any mention of the Pope in any of those affairs, or in any of the like nature. By thus we are compelled to believe, that whereas the Goths when they entered Spain, were Arians, and so did not acknowledge the Apostolical See of Rome, nor were subject to it; so they did provide and ordain all Ecclesiastical matters absolutely, and as they pleased; and that having afterwards turned Catholicks, they still retained the Possession of the same power, and went on with it as formerly; and that the chief Pontiff did so far dissemble in this matter, as to suffer things to go on so; handling the fresh and tender Christianity among the Goths so delicately, as not to require anything of them with rigour, as he might have done, fearing lest he might thereby have caused some alterations among them, which might have overturn'd the Foundations of that Spiritual Edifice; trusting in God that after that good Fabrick
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Fabric was raised higher, he might, by means of full instruction, demand of them all that he might and ought to require. So far Morales.

We see here how this Learned Spanish Antiquary was forced to acknowledge, that during the time of the Gothick Empire, or at least during the time of all the Spanish Councils that are extant, the last of which was celebrated in the year 694; that in Fact the Bishop of Rome neither exercised, nor laid claim to any Authority in the Spanish Church; and which, tho' at that time it abounded with Holy, Orthodox, and Learned Bishops, yet not one of those Prelates did ever express the least dissatisfaction with their being thus in an absolute Independency on the See of Rome: On the contrary, they met frequently together in Council, and did treat of, and decree matters of Faith, as well as of Discipline, without ever consulting the Bishop of Rome, or giving him any account of any thing they had done relating to their own Church. This you see Morales acknowledgeth to have been in Fact, the state of the Spanish Church, untill the beginning of the Eighth Century.

But as this great Antiquary was, by an Evidence too strong to be resifted of its having been thus in Fact, obliged to make this honest confession; so having made it, he was sensible that if he did not attempt to qualify it
it so, that it might be no prejudice to the present Papal pretentions, that it would draw the Thunder of the Vatican and of the Inquisition upon his head; he did, for that reason, make an offer at salving that matter as much as he could, by the forementioned Remark upon it; and which Remark may easily be demonstrated to be altogether insufficient to that purpose.

For First, Tho' the Kings of the Suevi in Spain, were Orthodox from the beginning, yet the Councils that were called by them did not take any notice of the Papal Authority, no more than those did which were called by the Gothick Kings.

Secondly, Neither did the Councils which were held in Spain, by the Orthodox Bishops, whilst their Kings were Arians, make any mention of that Authority.

Thirdly, If the Arians were not Subject to the See of Rome, as Morales affirmeth, and truly they were not, how came it to pass that the Orthodox, if they were all Subject to that See, did never charge the Arians with it, as an Heresie, or as any error? But the truth is, were there nothing else to prove that the Papal Supremacy, no more than Transubstantiation, could possibly be the received Doctrines of the Primitive Church, but only this, that in the long Ancient Catalogues which we have of Hereticks, there is not
not one charged either with Heresie, or with Error, for having denied either of those two points; this alone would, I think, go a great way to prove it: And it will I conceive puzzle the subtlest head in the Roman Church, to give any reason why two Doctrines of so high a nature, and with such slender foundations in the Scripture, should solely have escaped having their truth called in question; besides this, of those two Doctrines not having been believed, nor so much as thought of in the, First Ages of Christianity.

Fourthly, From the time of the Third Council of Toledo, celebrated in the year 589, in which the Arian Heresie was solemnly renounced by King Recaredus, until the Seventeenth Council of that City, celebrated in the year 694, the Gothick Kings were all Catholicks, and were in all points reckoned to be Orthodox, by the whole Christian World; Wherefore since none of those Kings did ever acknowledge the Pope's Supremacy, nor did the Spanish Church acknowledge it during all their Reigns, as Morales confesseth, it necessarily followeth, that in those Primitive Ages, Princes and Churches were esteemed Catholic and perfectly Orthodox, without being Subject to the See of Rome.

Lastly, As to the reason which Morales gives, for the Popes not having laid any claim to an Authority over the Spanish Church in a hundred
dred years after her Kings and Bishops were all Orthodox; that Reason, must either make the Popes, during all that time, to have been guilty of wicked and most abominable Dis-
limulation; or must make the acknowledging and submitting to the Authority of the
Roman See, not to be a thing necessary to Salvation: For tho’ in matters, wherein Sav-
vation is not concerned, a prudent connivance may be a great virtue in Church Gover-
nours; it is not so, but a wicked compliance, in matters necessary to Salvation: And such a matter the Roman Church will now have a Submission to her Authority to be; and will swear, that without that, Christians, let them be never so Orthodox in all other points, and never so Holy, cannot be saved.

The Bishop of Fano therefore, to avoid this Dilemma, did at one Breath, damn all the Ancient Spanish Councils, which had been so long, and so highly reverenced, as Schismatical Assemblies; and consequently condemned all the Princes, and Holy Bishops that assisted at them as Schismaticks: and thus Diana’s which want Arguments to prove their Divin-
ity, must have it upheld with noise, and terrible denunciations, and which must be the louder for their being groundless.

Now the Spanish Bishops not having taken any notice of the Papal Authority in a hundred years after their Kings were Ortho-
dix, in any of the Fifteen National Councils which were called by those Kings; as it demonstrates Morales's Confession to be true; so it likewise demonstrates the Reason he gives, to have no weight in it.

The true Reason therefore, in my opinion, of the Papal Authority's not having been taken notice of in Spain during all that time, was, the Spanish Bishops having been thoroughly instructed in the Institutes, and Canons of the Four General, and of all the other Primitive Councils; and by which Institutes and Canons, as is manifest from the thirteenth Council of Toledo, the Spanish Church did govern her self wholly, as to all matters of Faith, and very much in matters of Discipline; and to this perfect knowledge of the Primitive Councils, to which the rest of the Western Churches seemed to have been strangers, the Spanish Church was helped, by a certain Ecclesiastic, whose Name was Martin, who was a Greek by Nation; this St. Martin, for so the Spaniards stile him, was First made Bishop of Dumien, by Theodorinus King of the Suevi in Galicia, who was Orthodox, as were all the Kings of the Suevi in Spain, as I have observed before; and which King having called a Council at Braga, in the year 560, St. Martin the Greek assisted at it, as he did also at the Council of Lugo; and having been afterwards, by the fame
fame King, made Bishop of Braga, he presided in the Council which was called in that City, in the year 572, by King Ariomirus, Son to Theodomirus, in all which Councils a Collection of the Institutes and Canons of the Primitive Councils, made by St. Martin, and which he translated into Latin for the use of of the Spanish Church, was read and received, and which is still extant, at the end of the Second Council of Braga.

And since this Martin was so great a Blessing to the Spanish Church, I will here present the Reader with what St. Isidore writes concerning him.

Martin the most Holy Bishop of the Dumieri Monastery, faith Isidore, having come from the East into Galicia, and converted the People of the Suevi from the Arian Impiety to the Catholic Faith; he instituted a Rule of Faith, and of Holy Religion; and did likewise instruct the Ecclesiastics, and build Monasteries, and compose copious Precepts of pious Institution. And in the Tenth Council of Toledo, this Learned Greek Bishop is said to have contracted all the Oriental Councils, into a Compendium.

Now could the Spanish Church, which was thus governed by the Primitive Councils, take any notice of the Papal Supremacy, which is no where mentioned in them; or do otherwise than reject it, when it First put in its claim in the beginning of the Eighth Century.
And here I cannot but observe, that among all the National Churches now in the World, there is not one so much in that State the Ancient Spanish Church was in, as the Church of England; and in which primitive and excellent Estate, may God Preserve her, untill the whole Catholick Church, is in one Church Triumphant in Heaven. For as these two Churches were plainly of the same Mind, as to the Royal and Papal Supremacy; so it will not, I conceive, be a hard matter to prove them to have been unanimous in all the other Substantials of Faith and Worship: And which Paralell I have thoughts of drawing, if I be not prevented in it by some able Pen, as I heartily wish I may; not for the sparing of my own pains, but for the sake of our Church, to which Popery will always be a dangerous Enemy.

After this plain Account of the Papal Supremacy's never having been in Spain untill after the year 714, when it was conquered by the Moors; the Reader may perhaps be willing to see all that can be objected against the truth of this Account; I shall therefore to gratify him, briefly and honestly lay before him, all that I know that can be objected against it. And to prepare him to entertain the Papal Evidences in this Cause as they deserve, it is fit that he should know beforehand,
hand, that they are all spurious; and that, excepting the Decretal Epistles, tho' they were all genuine, they would not prove the Point for which they are produced.

And here not to insist on that Concession which was made by the Bishop of Fano publickly, concerning this matter, in the Council of Trent, and that to make his Court to the Pope; The First thing that is Objected is, that the Decretal Epistles which were written by the Bishop of Rome, one after another, untill the Fifth Century, do expressly affirm the Papal Supremacy to have been in Spain ever since it was Christian: And as those Epistles are very clear as to this Point, so from the beginning of the Eighth Century, untill after the Reformation, the Authority of those Epistles was never called in question; during all which Ages they were reckoned to be equal, if not superior, to the Decrees of the Councils of the Church: And with which they were, for that reason, commonly bound up. So in all the Manuscripts of the Councils Loaifa made use of, he tells us, he found the Decretal Epistles still in the same Book with them; nay even since the Reformation, after their Authority had been rejected by the Magdeburgenses, Turrianus, one of the First Jesuites, and who was a Learned Man, was employed to defend them; and which he did in Ten Books, with
with great Fury, and with something else that shall be Nameless; and which was not Ignorance. After him Binnius, who has published all those Decretal Epistles in his Collection of the Councils, does not only applaud Turrianus for what he had done, but does himself also attempt to maintain that they be all genuine.

But tho' there could be no Doubt of the Papal Supremacy's having been in the Spanish, and in all other Churches, if those Epistles were genuine, the Papal Supremacy being their burden; our Comfort is, that one would not not think it possible, for any body to read those Epistles, and afterwards to doubt of their being supposititious: For none can read them and not feel that they were all writ with one and the same dull Pen and that they are all full of barabrous Words and Phrases, which were not known in the Ages when they are said to have been written. And tho' the Man that forged them, whoever he was, was so much an Antiquary, as to know, that when they were said to have been written, the Custom was in the date of Letters, to name the Consuls of the Year; yet so unfortunate was that poor Wretch, as scarce ever once to name the right Consuls. But must not the forgery of writings, which do highly advance the Papal Authority, and which were for some Ages its chief glory and Support,
Support, be palpable indeed, when Baronius shall be forced to acknowledge it; as he does the Decretal Epistles having been forged, in his Annals on the year 865: And after him Cardinal Bona, whose Words concerning those Epistles, in the Third Chapter of his First Book of Liturgys, I shall here set down, and so dismiss those gross Impostures.

It has been long observed, by the Learned, faith that Cardinal, that the Decretal Epistles were all forged by some Spaniard, under the Name of Isidore, whoever he was, towards the End of the Seventh Century; they were forged with a pious Fraud, out of the Sentences of the Old Canons, and of the Civil Laws, and of the Holy Fathers, who flourished in the Fourth Century; they are, for the most part, full of vile chronological Mistakes, and are all almost writ in the same Stile and Character of writing: Riciphus, Bishop of Mentz, First brought them out of Spain into France, from whence they were disseminated over all other Countreys, and were commonly believed. If he had pleased, he might have said universally; for before the Reformation, he would certainly have been published as an Heretick, that should in the least have questioned their being genuine; being the only Channel of Tradition the Church of Rome had for her Supremacy; and which, not being so much as mentioned in the Scriptures, can have nothing but Tradition
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dition to stand upon. And the Truth is, the supplying of the great want of that Tradition, was the only Motive to the forging the Decretal Epistles; and which were not published under the Name of Isidore, as Bona intimates, for that would have spoiled the whole Plot; but as the genuine Writings of the Ancient Bishops of Rome, whose Names are prefixed to them. Neither has it fared any better with Constantine's Donation, of which the Bishops of Rome made so great use to establish their Authority in Italy; which Donation, the plague of Learning being got into the West, for nothing else could have done it, Baronius was forced to confess likewise to be a gross Imposture; and not only so, but to affirm, that it was forged by the Greeks, and in malice to the Roman Church: Which is a strange turn indeed, considering that not much above Two hundred years ago, when Learning began to dawn in the West, the Learned Valla brought himself into great trouble, and was, if I am not much mistaken, imprisoned in Italy as an Heretick, for having proved that Donation to be a forgery. But the Papal Authority, being with time, and a Thousand frauds, now grown strong enough to stand alone, without the Crutches she made use of when she was weak; she suffers her Champions, now that these writings cannot, without reflecting upon her honour,
honour, be maintained to be genuine with the same zeal they were in the days of ignorance, to part with them as forgeries, for their being palpably so: But withal, contrary to matter of fact, to deny at the same time, that she had any hand in the forging of those writings; or did ever make use of their Authority, to introduce and support her Supremacy in the Western Church.

A Second thing that may be objected, is the Letter which was written by Pope *Innocent* the First to a Council assembled in Toledo; and which Letter, *Loaisa* faith, must have been sent to the First Council which met in that City; and for that reason he has inserted it into its Acts; the Second Council in that City not having met until near a Hundred years after Pope *Innocent's* Death.

First, This, with Twenty more Epistles which are published under Pope *Innocent* the First's Name, are proved to be spurious, by *Erasmus* and many other Criticks.

Secondly, Tho' it is pretended in this Letter, that *Innocent* had been Bishop of *Rome* some years before he writ it, it is certain he was not chosen Pope until at least Two years after that Council was dissolved: So that it could be nothing but *Loaisa's* being unwilling to let those Councils come abroad, without any appearances of the Bishops of *Rome* having had any concern in them, that could
could have tempted him to have annexed that forged Letter to the Acts of that Council.

A Third thing that may be objected, is, That in the Preface before that Rule of Faith which Loaisa has annexed to the First Council of Toledo, the Bishops say, that they were ordered by Leo, Pope of the City of Rome, to send the Rule of Faith to Balcomius Bishop of Galicia.

To this I Answer. First, If all that is said here of Pope Leo were true, it would amount to no more, than what any foreign Bishop, whose Name was high for Learning and Piety, as Leo's was, might have done; nor was it more than St. Ambrose Bishop of Milan did, in this very Council.

Secondly, How could Pope Leo, order the Bishops by whom the Rule of Faith was made, to send it to Balcomius; seeing, if it was made by the First Council of Toledo, it must have been made Forty years before he was Pope; which he was not before the year 440, whereas that Council was held in the year 400.

Thirdly, Balcomius was not, till Twelve years after that Council, Bishop of Galicia; and being so then, considering that none in those days were made Bishops, and especially Metropolitans, untill they were Ancient, Balcomius must have lived to an unusual Age, to be Contemporary with Pope Leo.

Lastly,
Lastly, Since that Preface faith, that the Rule of Faith that followeth it was made in a Council of Toledo, and we do not meet with any Council in that City that could have made it with that Preface, no Council having met in Toledo in Forty years before or after Pope Leo's time; I do therefore vehemently suspect that Rule of Faith to have been made some Ages after the First Council of Toledo, and to which it was annexed by Loaifa, for no other Reason, but because 'twas the Council of that City that was the nearest to Pope Leo's time, tho' it was dissolved Forty years before he was Pope: And yet notwithstanding that, it is very plain, that he that made that Preface would have had the World to have believed, that the Rule of Faith which followeth it, was made by the First Council of Toledo; for he faith in that Preface, that the Council which made it, and, by Pope Leo's order, sent it to Balcomius, did likewise make the above-written Twenty Canons, which is exactly the Number of Canons that were made by the First Council of Toledo: Which, I think, does sufficiently discover that Preface to be a blundering forgery. And as to the Rule of Faith it self, there is one thing that makes me strongly suspect it not to have been made by that Council, which is, that the Holy Ghost is said expressly to proceed from the Father and
and the Son; which Addition was not, I conceive, added to the Creed, by Two hundred years so soon as the First Council of Toledo.

A Fourth thing that may be objected, is, That in the Preface to the First Council of Braga, this Story concerning Pope Leo is repeated, and with an Addition of that Pope's having sent his writings against the Priscilian Sect, to a Council in Galicia, by Theoribius the Notary of his See.

To this I Answer. First, That if the forementioned Rule of Faith be of a later Date than this Council, as probably it is, this Story, which is taken out of its Preface, must have been foisted into this, to give it some Credit. And as to the new Circumstance added to that Story, in this Preface, that does not at all make for its being genuine.

For First, Theoribius, who is stiled by Pope Leo, Bishop; and by Montanus Arch-Bishop of Toledo, the most Blessed and Religious Bishop; is, in this Preface, called the Notary of Pope Leo's See; an Office too low for any Bishop: And of the improbability of this Baronius is so sensible, that he faith Notarius there, cannot signify that Theoribius was a Notary of the Roman See, but that he was to report and notify to that See all that passed in that Council; which being a new signification of the Word Notarius, that Cardinal ought to have given one single Instance at least where it
it had been used so: And so he would, I suppose, if he had been able.

Secondly, Montanus, Archbishop of Toledo, in a Letter which he writ to the Clergy of Palencia, to watch the Priscilian Heresy, and which is extant in the Second Council of Toledo, tells them of Bishop Theoribius having published Books against that Sect, and which were sent by him to Leo Bishop of Rome; but faith not a Word of Leo's having sent his writings against that Sect to Theoribius, or into Spain: Tho if Leo had done that, and the Bishop of Rome's Authority had then been high in that Countrey, nothing could have been so much for Montanus's purpose in that Letter, as to have spoke of it at large.

Lastly, As I have observed already, there was no Council in Galicia, nor in any other part of Spain, within Forty year of Pope Leo's time.

A Fifth thing that may be objected, is, Pope Leo's long Decretal Epistle to Theoribius, in which that Pope writes that he had ordered a Council to be called in Spain. Now since this Decretal Epistle of Leo's is the groundwork of this whole Story, it may be convenient to enquire whether it be not spurious.

Fir st, This Decretal Epistle of Leo's has no Date to it; which is but an ill sign, considering that Pope, in all or most of his genuine Letters, was very exact in his Dates of them, and
and in naming the Consuls of the year.

Secondly, we see Montanus did take no notice of that long Epistle, when he had great Occasion for to have done it.

Thirdly, We find that Letters of the very same stamp were counterfeited in Spain, and fathered upon Pope Leo; witness the Decretal Epistle to the Bishop of the Province of Tours, which Sirmondus faith was forged by a Spaniard, and taken out of the Acts of the Council of Sevil. The Sermon also on the Nativity of St. Vincent, a Spanish Martyr, which goes under Leo's Name, was coyned in the same rich Mint, for in the Eighth Century Spain was such for Forgerys.

Fourthly, In that Decretal Epistle, the Holy Ghost is said to proceed from the Father and the Son; which Doctrine, I have shewed, was not received by the Bishops of Rome, untill some Hundreds of years after Leo's Death, into their Creed. Neither does it appear, that in a long time after Leo, it was received by any of his Successors, as a sound Doctrine; tho' it certainly is, and had before that, been affirmed by some of the Latin Fathers. Now this last Evidence of that Decretal Epistle's being spurious, is made use of by Baronius, to prove that Filioque was added to the Creed in Spain by the Bishop of Rome's Order.
To which I answer. First, If Pope Leo was for having that Addition made to the Creed in Spain, why did he not add it at the same time to the Roman Creed, to which we see it was not added in many Ages after?

Secondly, Leo's Successors for so many Ages, did either know that he had ordered that Addition to be made to the Creed in Spain, or they did not know it; if they knew it, and at the same time blamed its having been made, and refused to admit it into their Creed, as we see they did, they must then have reckoned Leo to have erred in Cathe- dra, in giving wrong Directions about a matter of Faith: And if they did not know it, which is most probable, how came Baronius to discover it Eight hundred years after. If it be said, from this Decretal Epistle; I answer, Tho' that Doctrine is in this Epistle, there is no command in it to Theor- binus, or to any body else in Spain, to add it to the Creed; Leo's Successors must therefore either never have seen this Epistle, or not have been able to have discovered that Command in it; or they must not have looked on it, to be Pope Leo's Letter. But most cer- tain it is, that this Decretal Epistle had lurked so close, as never to have been seen or heard of, by the French Bishop, and Abbot, who were sent by the Emperor Charles the great to Pope Leo the Third, to perswade him
him to receive Filioque into the Roman Creed: For, as in that long Conference which they had with Leo about it, and which is still extant, they used all the Arguments they could think of to persuade that Pope to admit that Addition; so they did take no notice of Pope Leo the First having either commanded that Addition to be made to the Creed in Spain, or of his having in any of his Epistles delivered that for sound Doctrine; which alone, if they had used it, would have done them more service than all their other Arguments put together.

Lastly, If this Letter of Leo's were certainly genuine, it could only prove that, which nobody ever doubted of, viz. that Leo was very forward to extend the Authority of his own See; but it could not prove, that the Spanish Bishops did Submit to his Command so far as to call a Council presently in Obedience to it; neither is it anywhere said that they did: But supposing a Council, whose Acts, and very Name are lost, had been assembled in Spain about that time, why must that Council needs have been called in Obedience to this Letter of Leo's to a private Bishop; and not, as all the Spanish Councils were that are extant, upon the Prince and the Bishops, among themselves, having judged such an Assembly to be necessary; and that without taken any more notice of the Pope,
Papal Supremacy.

Pope, than of the Bishop of Eugubium; and which we are certain was the Case of all the ancient Spanish Councils that are extant.

I have dwelt the longer on this Letter, because, besides those, in the Decretal Epistles, which must always be excepted, it contains the only Claim, that I have met with, made by any Bishop of Rome to an Authority over the Spanish Church, until after the Seventh Century.

A sixth thing that may objected, is, Pope Gregory's two Letters, the one to Recaredus King of Spain, and the other to Leander Archbishop of Sevil; in both which Letters Gregory takes notice of his having sent Leander a Pall.

I answer, Were these Two Letters certainly genuine, they would be to all that know any thing of the Man they were writ by and the occasion of them, a strong Evidence of the Papal Supremacy not having been in Spain at the time when they were written: For as no Pope was ever more forward to magnify the Authority of his See than this Gregory, so the Occasion of his having writ these Letters, if they were written by him, was, King Recaredus having been converted from the Arian Heresie to the Catholick Faith; on which Occasion, tho' the writer of these Letters rejoiceth very much, yet he has not one word in them of the King's mak-
ing his Submission to the See of Rome, nor of his being admitted into the bosom of the Church by the Authority of that See; nor of any of those things which the Popes, where their Supremacy has been own'd, have constantly required on all such occasions: For besides that of the Pall, there is not in both those Letters any intimation of the Bishop of Rome's having any Authority in Spain. And as to that of the Pall, tho' that might have been an Argument of Gregory's having had a mind to have given a beginning to the introducing of the Papal Authority into Spain; yet it could be no argument of that Authority's having been there at that time; since neither the King nor the Archbishop did ever, that we read of, send to Rome to desire a Pall, nor does the writer of those Letters say they did; nor do we find that they did ever thank Gregory for it: But whatever Gregory's design might have been in sending that Pall, it is certain that it wrought no change in Spain, as to the Papal Authority; for as before, so after this, there were above Twenty Councils held in that Kingdom, and Two or Three of them by Recaredus, not one of which Councils was either called by the Pope, or had its Decrees, relating to matters of Faith, confirmed by him; nor is there in any of them any mention of the exercise of the Papal Authority in Spain:
Spain. Furthermore, Recaredus, if he ever did write to the Bishop of Rome, was it seems in no great haste to write to him; for he had been converted and reconciled to the Church, and had held a Council in Toledo, which consisted of Seventy Two Bishops, and in which the Arian Heresie was condemned, above Ten years before this Letter was writ, which bears date the Second Indiction. Mariana being sensible that Recaredus's having delayed writing to the Pope so long after his Conversion, and his having in the mean time called Councils wherein matters of Faith were Decreed, was a sign that the Roman See was not at that time much regarded in Spain; he thinks to solve the matter by saying the Envoys, by whom Recaredus, presently after he was converted, did send his Letters to Rome, and to which Letters this Epistle was an Answer, having met with stormy weather, had a very tedious Voyage of it; and so they must indeed if they were Ten years in their Journey betwixt Spain and Rome. But as the Ptolemaick Astronomers invented Cycles, and Epicycles, to supply the defects in their Hypothesis; just so the Roman Champions devise whatsoever is possible to serve theirs; as if a thing's being barely possible, tho', I think, this Journey is hardly so, did make it credible.
But tho' it would be to the advantage of the First Proposition affirmed in this Dissertation, That these Letters were genuine, yet I cannot but say that I do strongly suspect that they are Spurious.

For First, The file in these Letters, seems not to be the same with Gregory's.

Secondly, In the Councils of Spain which were held about this time, there is no mention of these Letters, nor of any thing that is contain'd in them; no nor of Recaredus, or Leander's Letters, to which they pretend to be Answers.

In the Fourth Council of Toledo, there is mention indeed of Leander's having writ to the Pope, but it was not for a Pall, but concerning the Ceremony of the three dippings in Baptism; and, about which, Leander writ to Gregory, not as Bishop of Rome, but as to the most Learned Doctor of that Age; or, as it is worded by that Council, as to one who had illustrated the Church with his great Learning.

Thirdly, In the Letter to Recaredus, that King is told of Two Keys being sent to him, which had been touched by St. Peter's Body; and that in one of them there was some of the fileings of the Chain that Saint was bound with, when he was Crucified; but which would loose him from all his Sins: Now I can hardly think that in Gregory's days
days any Relick whatsoever was believed to have so much virtue in it: We meet, it is true, with mention of the same sort of Relick, and with the same Writicism upon it, in another Letter that goes under that Pope's Name; but who can vouch for that Letters being genuine more than for this, or indeed for the major Part of the Letters which are published under that Pope's Name; the Forgers of Writings having made more use of this Gregory's Name, than of the Names of all the other Popes put together.

Lastly, It may be objected that the Thirteenth Council of Toledo was assembled at the Request of Pope Leo the Second, upon his having sent the Institutes of the Second Council of Constantinople to the Spanish Bishops.

I Answer, This is all true, and, being so, it affords us a very plain proof of the Bishop of Rome's not having any Authority in Spain at that time.

For First, The Spanish Bishops, when they met in this Council, speaking of that Pope's Letter to them, do say, that he had invited them, but not that he had commanded them to receive those Institutes.

Secondly, Tho' those Institutes had been recommended to them by that Pope, as the Decrees of a general Council, they declared that the Spanish Church was under no obli-
Differtation on the

gation to receive them, before they were approved of and confirmed in a Council of her own Bishops.

Thirdly, When those Institutes were received, they declared that they received them so far and no farther than they agreed with the Councils of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Calcedon; without taking any notice of the Pope's Authority by whom those Institutes had been sent to them.

Lastly, This Council ends with a Solemn Relation of Thanks to God, and to the King, by whom it was called, without any mention of the Pope.

But this Affair rested not here; for Julianus, Bishop of Toledo, having, on this occasion, with the approbation of all his brethren, affirmed, 1st, That in Deo voluntas genuit voluntatem, sicut sapientia sapientiam; and 2dly, Quod in Christo erant tres Substantiae; with Two heads more, which are not named; Pope Benedict, who succeeded Leo the Second, being offended with those Four heads, he signified so much to the Spanish Bishops, hoping by such means to have by degrees riggled his Authority into pain: But that Pope was much mistaken in the Men he had to deal with; for in the Fifteenth Council of Toledo, the Spanish Bishops were so far from recanting any of those Four Heads, upon that Pope's having declared that
he was displeased with them, that, on the contrary, they justified them all; and in such a manner as demonstrated that they had no regard to the Roman Bishop in any matter of Doctrine, any farther than as he agreed with the Primitive Fathers.

For having proved the Two First Heads at large to be Orthodox, from the general Councils and from St. Athanasius, St. Ambrose, St. Austin, St. Cyril, and others; they branded all that would not Submit to their Authority in that matter, with the infamous Mark of impudent and insolent Scrutators.

And as to the Two last Heads, they did, without naming them, say, That not only their sense, but almost their very words were taken from the most Blessed St. Ambrose, and Fulgentius; and of which Two Doctors they said on that occasion, Quod omne quod contra illos sapitur, a recte fidei regula abhorre re fentitur.

What would not the Church of Rome give to have had the same said by the Ancient Spanish Church of any of her Bishops? and how impudent a thing, after such a confession, would she have reckoned it in any one in the least to have questioned that Ancient Church having believed Her to be infallible in all matters of Faith? And yet neither She nor no Christian Church else, do
from hence conclude, that the Ancient Spanish Church believed either St. Ambrose, or Fulgentius, or their Sees of Milan and Rapius, to be infallible. Tho' I do not think there is in all Antiquity any Proof equal to this, of the Bishop of Rome's having been believed to be so; no more than there is in the Scriptures any testimony of St. Peter's having been the sole universal Pastor of the Church, equal to that of St. Paul's having said of himself, Besides those that are without, that which cometh upon me daily, the Care of all the Churches.

But so far were the Spanish Bishops, on this Occasion, from saying as much of the Pope they were contending with, or of any of his Predecessors, that at parting they gave him a blow which shows manifestly how little they regarded his Authority; concluding their vindication of the Four Heads that Pope was offended at, with the following reprimand.

*Jam vero* si post hæc et ab ipsis dogmatibus Patrum, quibus hæc prolata sunt, in quocunque dissentient; non jam cum illis est amplius contendendum: Sed Majorum directo calle inherentes vestigiis, erit per Divinum judicium, Amatoribus Veritatis Responsio nostra sublimis; etiamsi ab ignorantibus emulis sentiatur indocilis.*

*And*
And, as this is the first time we find the Bishop of Rome thrusting his Sickle into the Spanish Harvest; so, would it not have been more for the Honour, both of that Bishop, and of his See, to have forborne doing of it, untill, by his common Arts, he had disposed the Spanish Clergy to think he had some Authority over them?

But as this Transaction being recorded at length in the Fifteenth Council of Toledo, made it too publick for Baronius to pass it over in silence, so, for that reason, he mentions it in the year 685, but in such a manner, and in so great haste to get to the end of it, that one sees plainly that he found it too hot for him to handle: And all that he offers to fetch off the Pope upon this repulse, is, That the Pope was for having transacted this matter with the Spanish Bishops amicably, and in a way of Charity, and not of Authority; to which wretched and humble shift this Annalist was driven, by his perceiving plainly that if the Pope did use any Authority in this matter, his Authority was much flighted; and, for that reason, and no other, he will not have him to have used any. Whereas, had the Spanish Bishops happened to have been in the wrong, and to have acknowledged that they were mistaken in those Four Heads the Pope found fault with, we should then have had Baronius vapour with their
their having recanted what they had before established, barely upon the Bishop of Rome, whom they believed to be infallible in all matters of Faith, having interposed his Authority, and declared all those Heads to be Errors: And we should have had this whole Transaction pompously displayed in more Pages than he bestows Lines upon it now, carrying his Pope from it very abruptly, and in great haste, as far as Antioch.

And is it any wonder that a Church, which in the year 688, shewed so little respect to the Bishop of Rome's Authority in matters relating to Faith; should in the year 704, when that Bishop laid a barefaced claim to a Supremacy over her, reject that new and bold claim with indignation? as we have before observed she did in the Eighteenth Council of Toledo, whose Acts the Pope for that reason has taken care to Suppress: For there having been but Sixteen years betwixt those two Councils, many of the Bishops who were present at the First, probably assisted at the Second; and whose Acts, could they be recovered, would give the Papacy a wound as deep as that which was given it by the Twenty eighth Canon of the General Council of Cæsædon; and which Canon, had it not been preserved by the Greeks, would never have been heard of in the Western Churches; there being no mention of it in any.
any of the Manuscripts, Greek or Latin, which were in the West before the Reformation. Tante molis erat, Romanum condere Papam.

This is all that I know that can be objected against what I have affirmed concerning the Papal Supremacy's not having been acknowledged or exercised in Spain, until after the beginning of the Eighth Century; unless it be, that here and there in those Councils honourable mention is made of the Bishop of Rome, and of his See: So in the First Council of Toledo, Syricius Bishop of Rome is named, but in the same place St. Ambrose Bishop of Milan is named with him, and before him: And in the Third Council of Toledo, the Synodical Epistles of the Bishop of Rome are joyned with the Decrees of the Councils, but that was because those Epistles did contain the same Doctrine in them, which was decreed by those Synods; and for the same reason, honourable mention is made in the same Council, of the Synodical Epistles of St. Cyril Bishop of Alexandria: And as to the See of Rome being in Three or Four places of these Councils, stiled the Apostolical See; it is plain, that all Episcopal Sees, as well as that of Rome, were stiled Apostolical Sees, by the ancient Spanish Bishops. So Martin, Bishop of Braga, begins that Letter of his to Nitigius Bishop of Lucas, now Oviedo,
A Dissertation on the
do, which is extant in the Acts of the Second Council of Braga, thus, Domino Beatiissimæ
atque Apostolicae Sedis honoré suscipiendo, &c.

But, as a wise Spanish Historian did caution Princes against sending any Presents to Popes, because they are very forward to look on all Presents that are made them, as Tributes; or at least to Record them to have been so, for the use of their Successors; so Princes and all others, had need be careful how they complement Popes with high Titles, who have so often scoured Expressions of common Civility, up to real Acknowledgements of their Supremacy.

But honourable mention having been made here and there in those Councils of some of the Bishops of Rome, and of their See is so far from being any advantage to their Supremacy in this case, that it is quite otherwise; in shewing, that it was not from any displeasure the Spanish Princes had conceiv’d against the Popes and their See, that they exercised no Authority in any of their Councils; but was purely from the Spanish Princes and Bishops, not believing, nor dreaming, of the Bishop of Rome’s having a Supremacy in their Church.

I shall add but one word more, and that is, That to lay open the Arts and Practices by which the Roman Supremacy crept into Spain, upon that Country having been flowly
slowly recovered out of the hands of the Moors, by the Christians; and who for the most part were not Spaniards; for we read the Spanish Christians who had all along continued under those Infidels, when they came to have Christian Princes again, were not much disposed to submit themselves to the Roman see; would be a Work worthy of the pains of any Learned Ecclesiastical Antiquary, that is at leisure to go about it.

To conclude, as the Papal Supremacy was a thing not known in the ancient Gothick Spanish Church: So that the Popish Doctrines of Transubstantiation, and of Purgatory, and of Praying to Angels and Saints, and of Adoring Images, and of Auricular Confessions, &c: were as little known in her; may, I conceive, easily be proved from her Records, which are extant; if any that have leisure and abilities would go about it; and who cannot, in my opinion, employ their Time and Talents about a work that would do the Church of England a more Substantial Service; which thereby would appear to be the same in Doctrine with that ancient famous Church, which was undoubtedly of the same Faith with the British Church, in those Ages; the so much lamented loss of whose ancient Records, is in a good measure repaired by those of a Contemporary Western Church, and to which we have reason to believe
lieve a British Princess was a great Benefactor. Badda, Queen to Recoredus, the First Orthodox Gothick King of Spain, and who, under God, might probably be the great instrument of her Husband's Conversion to the true Christian Faith; and who for that reason did, together with her Husband, subscribe the Constantinopolitan Creed, which is before the Third Council of Toledo, held in the year 589; being by the Spanish Historians, said to be the Daughter of the British King Arthur; and whose Subscription to that Creed runs thus,

I Badda, the glorius Queen, do with my hand, from my whole heart, subscribe this Faith, which I have believed and received.

And which she must have done from her Childhood, if she was King Arthur's Daughter; the Arian Heresy having never had any footing in Britain that we read of.
A HISTORY OF THE Pope's Behaviour TOWARDS PORTUGAL,

From the Year 1641, until the Year 1666; with reference to his granting of Bishops to that Kingdom, and to its Conquests.

By Michael Geddes, LL. D. and Chancellor of the Cathedral Church of Sarum.

Moris est Sedis Apostolica, eum Regem appello, qui Regnum tenet. Pope Pius 2.
THE PREFACE.

TWO things, of no small Use, are very remarkable in this History; the one is, how great an Unhappiness it is to any Nation, to be Subject to the Pope: And the other is, That the Papacy, which boldly tells the World she is directed immediately by the Spirit of God in her Government of the Church; and which Cant is believed by many People; is much rather directed in it, by the Spirit of Machiavel, or by the same Spirit, which the Governments of the World, that have the least Regard to Religion in all that they do, are governed by: Earthly Hopes, and Fears, and Carnal Affections, with reference to its own Temporal Security and Advancement, having been visibly the Springs of all the Motions of the Papacy in this Affair, in which Religion was so much concerned.

Neither ought the Materials of this History, having been collected chiefly out of Portuguese Writers, be any Prejudice to its Credit: The Veneration the Portuguese have for the Roman See, being so great,
The PREFACE.

great, that this long ill Usage of them by the Popes; was not, so far as I have seen, able to draw one hard Word from them, neither against the Papacy, nor against the Person of the Popes, by whom they were so ill treated: And tho' one would have thought, that it might have been enough to provoke them to have thrown off a Yoke, which lay so heavy upon their Necks, since its Bonds may so easily be discovered not to have any true Strength in them; as the Venetians were ready to have done, upon a much shorter Provocation; yet the Reverence the Portuguefes are posse3'd with for the Roman Chair, is so profound, and enchanting; that as it made one of their Kings prefer the Title, of the Pope's most humble Servant, to all the glorious Religious Titles which were offered him; so that whole Nation, is reduced by it to an incredible Tameness under all the Wrongs, and Oppressions, which she daily suffers under that Proud and Tyrannical Superior. So that of the Two, I do really believe, that the Portuguefes have been partial for the Popes in the Relation of this Affair; or at least have put the most favourable Constructions upon all that they did in it; rather than that they have done the contrary.

However, I have endeavoured to set that whole Transaction in as true a Light as I could find for it; and having done that, I leave it to the Reader to judge, whether there be not something of a Sorcery in Popery; and whether any thing of the Direction of the Spirit of God does appear to have been in the Popes manager of this great religious Affair; which was kept by them so long upon the Stage, partly out of Fear or Affection for the Spaniard, but chiefly for to have got to themselves the Nominati-
of the Bishops in Portugal, and in all its Plantations: To which Power, (tho' they have never exercised it,) as the Popes do still pretend to have the original Right, so they are always grasping after that Power, when they have any Hopes of being able to obtain it.

And as nothing can be more absurd, than the Papal Champions concluding that the Church has a Supream and uncontrollable Governour set over her on Earth by Christ, because it would be convenient for Her to have such an one: For with better Logick they might conclude from the same Topick, that that Supream Governour is always call'd to that Office by an audible Voice from Heaven, and is able to work Miracles to convince all gainsayers: So that such an Headship, as it is lodged in the Bishop of Rome, has great Inconveniencies attending it, will be manifest to all that shall read the following History. And tho' I will not say, but that such an Headship, if it were always lodg'd in Persons of such heavenly Minds, as made the Advancement of God's honour, and the Edification and Salvation of Souls, their only Care, would be of great benefit to the Church, and to the whole World; so on the contrary, that Headship, as it has been lodg'd for a Thousand Years, by Reason of that covetous, ambitious, cruel, fraudulent, and turbulent Spirit, which seems to be entail'd on the Roman Chair, is by universal Experience known to have been the Bane of all true Religion, and the great Nuisance to the whole Christian Church: So that had the Papacy nothing to support its great Power, but the Conveniencies which it yieldeth to the Church of God, and to Christendom, it must quickly tumble down, to the Joy of all, except
cept the Demetrius's, who have their Wealth by its either fleecing, or fleaing of its Sheep, in all Parts, as they can be brought to bear it; and which is born by Portugal with a Tameness that will always keep Her poor.
A HISTORY OF THE Pope's Behaviour TOWARDS PORTUGAL, &c.

THE Source of the Subject Matter of this Tract, being in the different Pretensions of the Progeny of Don Emanuel, to the Crown of Portugal; it cannot be thorowly understood, without looking back as far as the Death of that King, and taking a transient view of the Royal Succession from that Time.

Don Emanuel, The wisest and most prosperous King that ever wore the Crown of Portugal; among his other Felicities, was F 3 blessed
blessed with a numerous Issue. His Eldest Son Don John the Third succeeded him in the Throne, and he dying young, left only one Child, named Sebastian; and Don Sebastian being slain in a Battel in Africk, before he was married, the Crown, by his Death, went to his Uncle the Cardinal Don Henry; who was Second Son to Don Emanuel: And Don Henry having never married neither, tho' he had Thoughts of doing it, after he was King, notwithstanding his being a Cardinal Priest, and at that time above Seventy years of Age; he was, during the whole Time of his short Reign, extremely perplexed with the Claims which were put in to succeed him by divers Princes.

The First, and strongest of those Pretenders, was, Philip the Second King of Spain, as Son and Heir to the Empress Donna Isabella, the Eldest daughter of King Emanuel.

The Second, was Emanuel Duke of Savoy, as Son and Heir to the Infanta Donna Beatriz, the Second Daughter of the same King.

The Third, was Don Antonio; Prior de Crato, as Son and Heir to the Infante Don Lewis, the Third Son of King Emanuel.

The Fourth, was Raynucio Prince of Parma, as Son and Heir to Donna Maria, the Eldest Daughter of the Infante Don Edward, the Fourth Son of King Emanuel.
The Fifth, was Donna Catherina, Second Daughter to the Infante Don Edward, who was married to the Duke of Braganza.

A remote Title was also trump'd up by Katherine de Medicis, Queen of France, for no other Reason, that I can perceive, but only to give some lustre to her Blood, which, on her Father's side, was the basest that had ever run in the Veins of any Queen of France before.

And the Pope, who will be still fishing for himself in all troubled Waters, did start a Title that was yet more fantastical; which was his being Heir to a King, as he was Cardinal.

The old King being vehemently solicited, by all these Pretenders, to be declared by him his Successor; he slighted the Pope's, the Queen of France's, and the Duke of Savoy's Claims, as altogether groundless; and tho' the Prince of Parma, in the Lineal Defent, was the undoubted Heir to the Crown after the Death of the King, who was his Grand-Uncle; yet that Prince's claim was but little regarded; there being a Law in Portugal called the Law of Lamego, whereby all Foreigners are excluded from the Crown, tho' otherwise the right Heirs to it.

The great Struggle came therefore at last, to be betwixt Philip the Second King of Spain, the Dutchess of Braganza, and Antonio, who
who being extremly beloved by the People of Portugal, would not withdraw his Claim, (tho' it was rejected by the King with Indignation for his being a Bastard;) pretending to be able to prove that his Father was married to his Mother, or if he could not prove that, yet his Friends, who were the People, said that ought to be no Bar to him, no more than it was to the Victorious Don John the First, the Founder of the present Royal Family of Portugal: And Pope Gregory the Thirteenth, when he found he should make nothing of his own Claim, did promote that of Don Antonio's whose Interest was espoused by the Pope's Nuncio in Portugal with great Warmth: For that politick Pope judging the Spanish Crown to be too strong and formidable already, was very unwilling to have it made stronger, by the Accession of Portugal to it.

The Dutchess of Braganza, tho' the King offered her and her Family, great Advantages in the Name of Philip, if she would resign her Title to that King, as the Prince of Parma was said to have done; she would not hear of doing it upon any Terms whatsoever; but was continually soliciting the King her Uncle, to do her Justice.

The King being in a great Perplexity what to do, called the Cortes to settle the Succession; and in which Fifteen Nobles,
and Two and twenty Men of Letters, were named to be Judges; and Five Nobles out of those Fifteen, were appointed to be Governours of the Kingdom, if the King happened to die before a Sentence was passed, and who were to see the Sentence that should be passed executed; and thereupon an Oath was taken by the Three Estates of the Realm, to stand to the Decision of those Judges; or, in case they did not agree, to yield Obedience to the Sentence of the Five Governours; and which Oath both the Duke of Braganza, and Antonio were compelled by the King to take; but when Philip was required to do it, who had a strong Army quartered on the Frontiers of Portugal; he made Answer, he would not take it; nor could he allow his Right, which was so clear, to be put in Judgement. And King Henry dying soon after, the Spanish Army under the command of the Duke of Alva, march'd forthwith into Portugal, and having quickly defeated Don Antonio, and driven him out of Lisbon, where he had been proclaimed King by the People, Philip was immediately proclaimed King there, and in all other Places of the Kingdom; and having the Five Governours under his Power, he was by a Majority of them, declared to be the lawful Heir of the Crown; which Declaration was soon after confirmed by the Cortes of the
the whole Kingdom, called by Philip at Tomar, where he was acknowledged, and sworn to, as the lawful King of the Realm; which being a Foreigner, it is certain, he was not; nor could he have been, had he been a Native; the Daughter of the Brother, which the Dutchess of Braganza was, being both by the Laws of that Kingdom, and by the Law of Representation, to be preferred to the Son of the Sister: For as, had that Dutchess's Father, the Infante Don Edward, and that King's Mother, been both alive when their Brother Don Henry died, the King's Mother could not have pretended to the Crown, before her Brother Don Edward; so neither ought Philip as her Heir to pretend to it, before the Dutchess of Braganza, who was Daughter, and by Law Heir to the Infante Don Edward: And so much King Philip was told to his Face, by a Friar that preached before him in the Royal Chappel, who having taken those Words of our Saviour for his Text, Philip, be that seest me, seest my Father, did look the King full in the Face when he spoke the Word Philip, and having then turned about to the Dutchess of Braganza, who was likewise in the Chappel, he added, be that seest me, seest my Father; plainly intimating, that the Dutchess, being in her Father's place, had all the same Rights which her Father would have had, if he were alive.

By
By this, and its being universally reported and believed among the Portuguefes, that King Sebastian was still alive, and was ready to return to his Kingdom; and by Twenty things more; Philip could not but see, that, in their hearts, the Portuguefes were much averse to his being their King; and knowing Don Bartholomew dos Martyries, Archbishop of Braga, the most celebrated Man in all Spain or Portugal at that Time, for Piety, Learning, and Firmness, to be a great Friend of Don Antonio, to whom he had been Tutor; he did plainly trick that great Prelate, out of an Ability to do his Pupil any Service, unless it were with his Prayers: For whereas this Archbishop, had for several years, tired both the Court of Portugal, and that of Rome, with repeated vehement Petitions for Leave to resign his Archbishopsrick, that he might return to the beloved Mortifications of his Order, which was the Dominican; King Philip, when he made that Petition to him, and which the King knew he would make of Course, when he came to take his Leave of him after the Cortes was over, did not only grant him that his Petition at the first Word, but got him before they parted, to write to the Pope for his Leave to do it; which that Prelate having done, the King took Care by his Ambassador at Rome, to procure it for him, tho' it was generally believed,
ved, that the Archbishop himself, and all his Friends, employed their whole Interest to have hindered it: For he was so far from retiring to his Monastery, as was expected, after he had made his Resignation to the King, that having flung from Court in a great Discontent, he immediately began a Visitation of his whole Dioces; and which he maintained he had Authority to Visit, notwithstanding the Resignation he had made, untill such time as it was accepted by the Pope: And afterwards when this matter, and some Rents which had become due, betwixt the Time when he resigned to the King and the Dispatch of the Pope’s Approbation, came to be warmly disputed; by his angry and waspish Behaviour in that Contest, and, during his whole Life, towards his First and Second Successors, in whose Dioces he lived and died, he plainly discovered how highly displeased he was with himself, for having resigned his Archbishopric, and with all that had any ways concurred to it, or that reaped any profit by it; giving the World thereby too much Cause to think, that all his former vehement Petitions for Leave to resign, had but little of sincerity in them.

But, tho’ by this Trick the King had disarmed the most formidable Enemy he had in Portugal; yet being sensible, that if he did not
not bring the Portuguefes to be better affect-ed to him and his Government, than they were at present; that he must either be at the great Charge of maintaining a consider-able Spanish Army still in Portugal, or must quickly loose that Kingdom again; to win the Hearts of the Portuguefes, he granted them all the Advantage they desired; having promised and sworn to observe the following Articles.

First, To conferve to that Crown, all its Pre-rogatives, and Stiles, the Coynage, the Royal Palace, and all the Offices used in it by its Natural Princes; and that the King being in Portugal should be served by none but Natives.

Secondly, That no Foreigner should be ca-pable of any Office, or Dignity, Ecclesiasti-cal or Civil, nor of any Military Commands, nor of any Title of Honour, Pensions, or Grants, nor of having the Liberty of trading to any of the Portuguefe Plantations.

Thirdly, That the Viceroy of the King-dom should be always one of the Royal Fa-mily.

Fourthly, That wherever the King was; a certain number of Portuguefes should assist, with the Title of the Council of Portugal, and thro' whose Hands only all Dispatches should pass, and which should be all written in the Portuguefe Tongue; and that Portu-gueses
A History of the Pope's
gueses as well as Castilians, should be admitted to Offices in the Palace.

Fifthly, That the Cortes should not be assembled out of the Kingdom; and that all the Publick Affairs should be Transacted in that Assembly.

Sixthly, That the King should obtain no Bulls from the Pope, to receive the Thirds or any other Ecclesiastical Subsidys.

Seventhly, That the dry Ports betwixt the Two Kingdoms, should be opened, and the Merchants be allowed to trade without paying any Dutys.

Eighthly, That the King should reside in Portugal, as much as he could possibly; and that the Prince should be bred up in it, to beget in him an Affection for the Portugueses.

Lastly, In Case the King, or any of his Successors, should violate the foresaid Articles, it should be lawful for the Three Estates of the Kingdom, to withdraw their Allegiance from him.

With these Articles, observed pretty well as to the Main, Portugal continued quiet, tho' still much discontented, under the Crown of Spain, from the Year 1580, untill the year 1640: When Spain being much weakened, by the long expensive War she was engaged in with France, and by the sudden revolt of Catalonia; some of the Portuguese Nobles, now that Spain had her Hands
BehaPkftr towards Portugal. 79

Hands so full, judged that to be a proper Time for Portugal to shake of her Yoke; and they being come to a Resolution to offer the Crown to the Duke of Braganza; some of the ablest of that Duke’s Friends were dispatched to him, with great Secrecy, to try if they could persuade him to accept of it: That Duke, who was no great Genius, was, with much Difficulty, prevailed with to take the Crown; and it was believed, he would never have ventured to have done it; if he had not been pushed on by the Ambition of Don Luisa his Wife; who was a Woman of a high Spirit: And who is reported to have answered all her Husband’s timorous Objections, with telling him, that it was better to be a King one Day, than a Duke for the longest Life. That Duke’s consent having been obtained, he was proclaimed King of Portugal in Lisbon, by a Junta of the Nobles, on the First of December, in the Year 1640, and soon after in all the other Parts of the Kingdom, and in all the Portuguese Foreign Plantations in Africa, and in the East, and West-Indies, as soon as they had the News of his Acclamation in Portugal; the Garrisons of Tangier and Ceuta, being the only Places, belonging to that Crown, that stood firm to the Spaniards.

Here I cannot but reflect on the Impolitickness of the Three Philips of Spain, who were
were Kings of Portugal; for their having suffered the Family of Braganza, not only to remain in that Kingdom, but to be every day more powerful in it: For had they transplanted that Family either into Italy, Flanders, or the Spanish Indies, and given them there greater Estates, and higher Titles than they had in Portugal; the Crown of Spain, in all likelihood, had never loft that Kingdom.

For, had not the Family of Braganza remain'd in Portugal, which besides its having a true Title to the Crown in it, was so much Superior to all the rest of the Nobles of that Kingdom, for Estate and Grandeur; the Nobles, tho' they had been left to their Liberty, would never have agreed in a Person to be set over them as their King: And that this was not foreseen by the Spaniards, who are undoubtedly a wise and considerate People, I do reckon to be one of the greatest Prodigies of Impolitickness that we meet with in History. But to return,

The Duke of Braganza having been proclaim'd King by the whole Realm of Portugal, and with the least Blood that ever was spilt in so great a Revolution, there not having been above Three Persons kill'd in it, tho' many Thousands were afterwards to maintain it; the new King made all the Haste possible to strengthen himself by fo-
reign Alliances; and having immediately dispatch'd Ambassadors to France, England, Holland, Denmark, and Sweden; and to all the other Enemies of the House of Austria, he was, to his great Encouragement, without any difficulty, acknowledg'd King of Portugal by all those Princes and States.

But there was one Prince, whose acknowledging of him, by Reason of the profound Veneration which the Portugueses have for his Authority, would have done him more Good than all the rest, except France; Which was the Pope: But how that could be obtain'd, puzzled them extremally; being sensible that the Pope could not do it without incensing the Spaniard, who is strong in Italy.

But this Matter, which was one of the chiefest of their Cares, being long under Deliberation; they came to a Resolution at last, to send an Ambassador to Rome, according to Custom, to acquaint the Pope with their new King's Accession to the Crown, and to yield his Obedience to that See; and farther, to Supplicate the Pope to confirm some Ecclesiasticks in the Bishopricks to which they had been nominated by their new King; hoping by that side Wind, if it could not be done otherwise, to have brought the Pope to acknowledge his Royal Authority; and to the sending of this Em-
bally the Portuguese were much encourag'd by the French, who assur'd them the Pope, at that time Urban the Eighth, was no Friend to the Spaniard, and it was very true that in his Heart he was not; and the French did further promise to employ all their Power at Rome to obtain an Audience of the Pope for their Ambassador.

This Affair having been thus fixed, the King named Don Michael de Portugal, Bishop of Lamego, for his Ambassador at Rome; he was a Prelate of a very noble Family, being Brother to the Conde Vimiosá, and one of a lofty Genius; but being young, Pantalion Roiz Pereira, an Inquisitor, a Man of great Gravity and Dexterity in Business, was made Agent; and Rodrigo Roiz de Lemos, a Judge, who was an able Lawyer, was made Secretary of the Embassy.

The Ambassador, having receiv'd his Dispatches, embark'd at Lisbon on the Fourteenth of April 1641, and being to take France in his Way, to receive his last Instructions from that Court; he arriv'd at Paris in Thirteen Days, and was very kindly receiv'd there, and promis'd all the Assistance at Rome the Crown of France could give him; Orders were likewise sent to the Ambassador of France, at that Court, to entertain him in his House as an Ambassador, untill he had a publick Audience of the Pope:
Pope: On the Twentieth of October the Portugalse Ambassador embarked at Toulon, and having had a short passage to Civita Vecchia, he advis'd the Ambassador of France of his being arriv'd there.

Pope Urban, when he heard of an Ambassador from Portugal being at his Gates, was extreamly perplex'd: For the Crowns of France and Spain had never on any Occasion, besides that of choosing a new Pope, exerted their whole Strength and Interest in Rome, with more Vigour than they did on this: The Ambassador of France talk'd high, of what his Master would do, if the Bishop of Lamego were not suffer'd to come to Rome, and had not an Audience given him as the Ambassador of the King of Portugal; and the Pope, who was, with his whole Family, entirely in the Interest of France, would in this matter gladly have gratify'd both that Crown, and his own Malice against Spain, to which as he never was a Friend, so he was at this time more incensed against Her than ever, having been poss'd with a Conceit of the Conde Duque de Olivares having empoly'd one to give him Poison; and tho' that did appear afterwards to have been a Scandal thrown unjustly on that great Minister, yet the Pope, whose Life was very dear to himself, would never be undeceived. The Spaniards who were not ignorant of the Pope's
Pope's standing thus ill affected to them, and knowing no other way how to prevent his giving the Audience of an Ambassador to the Bishop of Lamego, but by working upon his Fears; Don John Chamnyceiro their Ambassador at Rome, was expressly commanded, if he saw there was any occasion for it, to let the Pope know, That if he should own the Title to the Crown of Portugal to be in the Duke of Braganza; and which he must do, if he received one sent to him by that Duke as an Ambassador, that his Master would upon it immediately recall his Ambassador from Rome, and send the Nuncio out of Spain; and would sequester all Revenues which belonged to the Roman See within his Dominions, and reserve them for the next Pope, who would do him Justice: And this threatening Message of Spain's, having been industriously spread over Rome, the Pope in great perplexity told the two Ambassadors, that he would communicate this Affair of Portugal to some of the Cardinals, and having heard their opinion of it, would do what should be judged to be just, and most convenient; and accordingly he called to him his two Nephews, the Cardinals Pamphilio, Sacchetti, Bichi, Bentivolio, and some others, on whose Judgement and Fidelity he thought he might depend; and having laid that Affair before them, he required their Advice in it:

The
The Cardinal Sacchetti, who was in the French Interest, made a long Harangue, to persuade the Pope, that he could neither in Justice nor Policy deny an Audience to the Ambassador of Portugal; the chief Argument he used was, that no Pope, in any such case, had ever examined in whom the Right to the Crown was, but had still treated the Person that was in Possession of the Kingdom, however he came by it, as the King of it; and by several instances which he produced in Germany, Spain, Naples, and in other Kingdoms, he demonstrated that to have been the constant Practice of the Roman See, and which the Council of Trent had wisely taken Care to have continued; knowing that if the Pope should depart from it, he could not avoid involving himself and his Chair in many dangerous Difficulties: And in this Sacchetti was seconded by the Cardinal Bichi. The Cardinal Pamphilio, who had been long Nuncio in Spain, was of another mind; and by him the granting of an Audience of an Ambassador to the Bishop of Lamego, was represented, as a thing that was not just, and which considering how it would be resented by the Spaniards, could not be done without very great Danger.

Cardinal Bentivolio was for a middle Way, which was, that the Pope should give an Audience to the Bishop of Lamego, with all
all the Ceremonies and Solemnities of an Ambassador; but that before he did it, he should make a publick Protestation, that it should no ways affect the Title of the Crown of Portugal, which should remain in the State it was in before, or as if that had never been done: The two Nephews were both enough addicted to France, but they were so terrified with the threats of the Spaniards, that they durst not advise their Uncle to make so bold a step; and so did determine, that the Bishop of Lamego should be suffered to come privately to Rome; but that he should not be received as an Ambassador; apprehending, that the French, tho' they talked big, were not so likely to execute their Threatnings, if that Audience were denied, as the Spaniards, who were much more concerned in Interest, would be, if it were granted: And accordingly the Cardinal Antonio Barbarino was ordered by his Uncle the Pope, to secure the Road to Rome to the Bishop of Lamego; and the French Ambassador fearing left the Spaniards might have arrested that Bishop by the way, and carried him Prisoner into the Kingdom of Naples, (which it is said was designed,) sent a guard of his own Servants to attend him, and to whom several Portuguese and Catalonians, who lived in Rome, voluntarily joyned themselves.

With
With this Guard the Bishop of Lamego came safe to Rome, in great Pomp; and having alighted at the Palace of the French Ambassador, he was received by him with all the Ceremonies any Ambassador can lay claim to; and was, during his whole stay at Rome, treated by him in the same Manner, and by all the Cardinals of the French Faction: The Ambassador of France was earnest with him to have stayed at his House, until the business of his Audience was settled; but the Bishop would not hear of that; but, having taken a Palace for himself, he went and lived in it, as long as he stayed at Rome.

The Spaniards, who had set their whole strength to hinder that Bishop from being received as an Ambassador; apprehending that Don John Chamyceiro had neither Quality, nor Spirit enough to contend with that Portuguese, who had both in a high Degree; they recalled him, and sent the Marquess de Los Velles, who was a Grandee, and a Man of great State and Heat, to succeed him in that employment at Rome.

All Addresses concerning the Affair of Portugal, having been ordered by the Pope to be made to his Nephew the Cardinal Francisco Barbarino; Pantalion de Roiz as Agent of Portugal waited upon him, the Ambassador having been strictly forbid by the Pope to come near the Court in Publick,
before some Resolution was taken concerning his Character; the Cardinal Francisco told the Agent, the second Time he waited on him, that he wanted to see the Duke of Braganza's Title to the Crown of Portugal; the Agent answered, his Master King John had sent an Embassy to the Apostolical See, to give Obedience to the chief Pontiff, and not to have from him any Decision or Confirmation of his Title to his Crown, which he held of none but God; however to satisfy that Cardinal's private Curiosity, he promised to put a clear Account of that Right into his Hands: And accordingly, the next day, he deliver'd him a Paper, in which he demonstrated the true Title to the Crown of Portugal to have been in the House of Braganza, ever since the Death of King Henry the Cardinal: Upon that Memorial the Agent was so vain as to hope that a Resolution might speedily have been taken to grant the Ambassador of Portugal an Audience; but he quickly found he was mistaken, for at his own next Audience the Cardinal Francisco told him, 'His Holiness saw more of Appearances, than of Obedience or Respect to the Holy See, in this Portuguese Embassy; the Retention of the Chappels, which had been taken from the Church in Portugal, being still persisted in, to the violation of the Ecclesiastical Immunities;
Behavour towards Portugal. 89

munities; and the pernicious Example of the Expulsion of the Bishop of Nicas tro, the Apostolical Collector, on that Account, contumaciously approv'd of: The imprisoning of Don Sebastian de Mattos, Archbishop of Braga, was likewise a thing, which, the Pope said, gave great Scandal to the whole Christian Commonwealth; and for that reason, it was absolutely necessary that Prelate should be set at Liberty, and restor'd to his Dignities; or should at least be remitted in Custody to Rome, where the Pope, who was his lawful Superior, would judge his Cause; which being done, and the Chappels all restor'd, might, the Cardinal said, possibly dispose his Holiness to receive their Embassy.

To all this the Agent made answer, That the Ambassador's Commission extending only to the yielding of Obedience to the chief Pontiff, it was not reasonable to clog it with matters about which he could have no Powers, nor Instructions; and that the Pope might very safely trust to the Catholick Piety of the King so far, as not to doubt if he sent an Apostolical Nuncio to Portugal, as was the Custom on all such occasions, of having the difference about the Chappels, which had continued ever since the year 1604, ended to his satisfaction;
of the Topes satisfaction; notwithstanding the Apostolical Collector, who had been expel'd in the Time of the Spaniard, had, by the publick Violation of a Law of the Kingdom which had been made long before, given an universal Scandal: And as to the Archbishop of Braga, the Agent said, the King had not exceeded the Permissions of the Canon Law in imprisoning him, nor would he if he had put him to Death; that Prelate having been convicted of High Treason: However, that none of his Actions might be so much as suspected, if the Pope would name some Persons at Lisbon to review that Archbishop's Case, the King would order his whole Process to be laid before them; and which could not be sent to Rome without being in danger of falling into the hands of the Spaniards.

Here, I think, it will not be improper to present the Reader in short with the State of that Archbishop's Case, which made so great a Noise at Rome: This Prelate, who was a Man of great Wisdom, very Active, and of an intrepid Spirit, being known to be entirely in the Interest of the Spaniard, who had conferred great Honours upon him and his Family, it was once resolved, in the Junta of the Nobles, to have dispatched him out of the Way, in the first Heat of the Revolution; but having afterwards considered that
that would bring a Scandal upon that Enterprise, and not despairing of being able to
gain him, all Thoughts of it were laid aside,
and accordingly upon the Acclamation, he
was named by them one of the Governours of
the Kingdom, untill the Duke of Bragan-
za arrived at Lisbon; neither could the new
King have denied him any thing, that he
would have desired: But either his Affec-
tion for the Spaniard, or his Fear that, they
would quickly recover Portugal again, being
too strong to be removed, he presently left
the Court, and retired to a Villa not far
from Lisbon; where by his Dexterity he
had in a short Time engaged the chief
Inquisitor, the Bishop of Martyria, the Mar-
quifs de Villareal and his Son the Duke of
Caminha, and his own Nephew the Conde
de Armanar, and several other Nobles, and
some rich Merchants, in a Conspiracy to call
back the Spanish Government; the Story
wherewith he brought them all into the
Plot, was, That Portugal would speedily be
ruined, if she did not submit herself to the Spa-
niard; there being neither Council, Strength,
or Union, in the new Government, which had
been tumultuously erected, to withstand the force
of Spain; which was formidable to all the
World, both by Sea, and Land: And that Por-
tugal being Conquered by Spain, as she must ne-
cessarily be in a short Time, if she did not pre-
vent
vent it by a voluntary Submission, would be reduced to the miserable State of a conquered Province. But this Conspiracy having been discovered, when it was ready to have been executed, the forenamed Prelates, Nobles, and Merchants were all apprehended, and having been all plainly convicted of high Treason, the Marquiss de Villareal, his Son the Duke of Caminha, the Conde de Armanar, and Don Augustine Manoel, lost their Heads for it, on the same Day, upon a Scaffold in the Rocio of Lisbon; and the Inquisitor General, the Archbishop of Braga, and the Bishop of Martyria, were all made close Prisoners; the First, upon his Submission, was, after some years, set at Liberty, and restored to all his Places; but the second died in close Durance, and the Third, under a Confinement in a Monastery: This was truly the Case of that Archbishop, with whose Confinement, the Pope said, the whole Christian Commonwealth was very much scandalized. But to return,

The Cardinal Francisco not being satisfied with what the Portuguese Agent had offer'd, grew weary of giving him Audience, and by his flighting behaviour gave him to understand as much; but the Bishop of Lamego, being treated by all the Cardinals, and Nobles in Rome, who were of the French faction, as an Ambassador, the Marquiss De Los Veles
towards Portugal. 93

Besides fearing least e'er long the Pope might do so to, he resolved to rid Rome of that Bishop; and having order'd one of his own Out-houses to be set on Fire, he gave out it had been done by some Portugueses; and, to prevent any more such Insolencies, he called some Officers and Soldiers to him out of the Kingdom of Naples, among whom there came several Banditi; by which means that Marquis having made himself strong in Rome, he determin'd to meet the Bishop of Lamego in the Streets, and having made a Fray with him, either to kill him, or to apprehend him and send him a Prisoner to Naples, as the Marquis de Castel Rodrigo had done not long before at Rome, with the Prince of Sans; in Suspicion of his being in a Correspondence with France; and which Prince was put to Death at Naples a few days after he was sent hither. The Pope having had Notice of the Marquis's intention, did weaken him very much by a Proclamation commanding all Vagabonds upon a severe Penalty to leave Rome, and at the same Time sent an Order to the Bishop of Lamego not to go abroad with any armed Men, for he would take are that he should not be insulted: With which Order that Bishop having complied, his Servants one Day as he was ready to go to the Ambassador of France, observed a Fellow lurking about their Gates, whom they knew
knew to belong to the Marquis's, and suspecting him to be sent for a Spy, they acquainted their Master with it; but he being a Man not to be daunted, would not put off his Visit he had designed to make; and when he came to the Ambassador of France's, having heard more of the Matter, one was sent from thence to the Marquis's Palace, and who having been there, brought Word that the Marquis's Coaches were making ready, and besides his own Servants, that there was a great Company of Strangers, armed with Pistols and Carabines; of which the Cardinal Francisco having likewise had Notice, he desired the Agent of Portugal, who was with him at that Time, to go and persuade the Bishop of Lamego not to go abroad that Evening: The Agent having found that Bishop at the Ambassador of France's, did all that he was able to have persuaded him to have tarried there all Night; to which he was vehemently urged by the Ambassador: But having been told by the Bishop that Home he would go that Night, tho' he was sure it would cost him his Life, the Ambassador of France did both furnish his Servants with Arms, and order a good Company of French and Catalonians well armed to guard him home; appointing the Gentleman of his Chamber, in whom he had great Confidence, to march at
at their Head. The Bishop was gone but a little Way, when Word was brought him, that if he went on he would be stop-
ed by the Coaches of the Ambassador of Spain, which were already entered the Street he was to go thro': The Bishop not being at all daunted, commanded his Coachman to drive on, which he having done, they heard the Spaniards before them, calling, make way there, for the Ambassador of Spain, and who having being been answered by the Portugueses, with make way for the Ambassador of Portugal, the Foot-men drew their Swords, and the Coaches, which were drove furiously, having run one against another, the Guards fired on both sides; in the beginning of the Fray the Portuguese Ambassador leaped out of his Coach, and with a Carabine in his Hand put himself at the head of his Men; the Ambassador of Spain left his Coach at the same time, but having stepp'd into a Confectioners Shop, he went through it, and got by a back way to the Palace of the Cardinal Albernoz: The Fight had been bloody, if the City Guards had not come in and parted them; on the Portuguese's side, Four were shot dead upon the Spot, and among them a Knight of Malta, who was a Kinsman of the French Ambassadors, and several were wounded: Of the Spaniards Eight were shot dead, and many more were wounded;
wounded; and the Harness of the Ambassador of Portugal's Horses having been cut to pieces, he order'd his Servants when his Coaches were refitted, to come and fetch him from the Ambassador of France's Palace, to which he walked on foot; and having stayed there till his Coaches came, he went home that Night without meeting any disturbance: The next Morning early he received a Complement from the Barbarino's, and was visited the same day by all the Creatures of France; and having been informed that the Pope highly resented the Affront, which had been put on his own Authority by the Spaniards, he did hope that in Revenge, and to give Portugal some Reparation, he would forthwith have granted him an Audience; but the Pope was so far from doing that, that after his quarrel, he deny'd it with more Stiffness than it had ever been deny'd before; and the Cardinal Barbarino did give the Agent of Portugal plainly to understand, that he was grown sick of his Company: Upon that, and the year's being near expiring which he was ordered to wait at Rome for an Audience, the Ambassador did let the Pope know, that if he had not an Audience given him by such a Day, he was not to stay any longer for it; to which Message the Pope's Answer, by the Cardinal Bichi, was, 'That the Congregation of Cardinals which
he had appointed to meet and consult about that Affair were all of Opinion, that it was not convenient that he should be received as an Ambassador, as well on the Account of some late Accidents, as because the State of the Church being at that time in a War with the Duke of Parma, it was not safe for him to provoke the Spaniards, who were so powerful at his Gates; but that if he desired an Audience of him, as the Bishop of Lamego, he was ready to give him one. The Ambassador told the Cardinal briskly, That as he was not come to Rome as Bishop of Lamego, but with a Character of the Ambassador of the King of Portugal; so, unless the Pope would give him a Publick Audience as an Ambassador, he could not wait on him at all: And to let the Barbaris see that he resented the treatment he had met with, he left Rome without taking any notice of them.

This expensive Embasy to Rome having succeeded so ill, the King resolv'd not to send another, untill he was assur'd it would be receiv'd; and whereas the Bishops both in the Kingdom, and in the Plantations, had died faster than ordinary, after his coming to the Crown; tho' he named some to the Bishopricks as soon as they were vacant, he received all the Rents himself, and employ'd them to the Uses of the War, with a Promise
Promise to make them all good to the Bishops, when they should be put in possession of their Bishopricks, by being recognized by the Pope. And the Sum which came yearly into the Treasury by this way, was so great, that it was believed by many, that the King, whatever he pretended, was not forry for the Pope's having deny'd to recognize the Bishops which he had named: But whatever politick Refiners may extract from things, I could never see any thing in that Prince's Conduct, that gives the least Colour to such a Suspicion. However it was with the King, they, who had been named by him to Bishopricks, tho' they enjoyed all the Benefits of their former Preferments, and the whole Clergy, were much displeased, with this misapplication of the Church Revenues; and to remedy this Evil, the Clergy, having been assembled together, it was agreed, that in their own Names, they should send an Envoy to Rome, to supplicate the Pope to recognize the Bishops who had been named to the vacant Bishopricks; and having obtained the King's Leave for it, Doctor Nicholas Montiro, Prior of the Collegiate Church of Cedofeita and Bishop elect of Portalegre, was pitch'd on by them for that employment: But before the Prior had left Lisbon, the News of Pope Urban's death, and of the Cardinal Pamphilio having succed
Behaviour towards Portugal.

ceeded him, being come thither; the King, now that there was a new Pope, did send by the Prior, who was to take Paris in his way, a Commission to the Marquiss de Nisa, his Ambassador at the Court of France at that time, to go his Ambassador to the Pope, in case the Prior, who was to go before him to Rome, found the Pope well disposed to receive him: The Prior having accordingly gone to Paris, and spent some time there; with the other Papers which he had from that Court, he had a Letter from the French King to the Cardinal Bichi, who was in that King's Interest, and was believed to be in great Credit with the Pope; and to which Cardinal, the Marquiss de Nisa did likewise send a Letter by the Prior, to acquaint him with his being named by the King of Portugal to be his Ambassador to the Pope.

The Prior when he was come to Rome, lodged in the Hospital of St. Antony, which belongs to the Portugueses; untill a convenient House was provided for him: And that he might lose no Time, the second Day after he came to Rome, he went to wait on the Cardinal Bichi, who received him very kindly, and having seen the Supplication of the Clergy of Portugal, and the French King's Letter, which were brought by the Prior; he expressed a wonderful Zeal for that Affair, and did assure the Prior he would assist him.
him in it to the utmost of his Power: But
the Prior having waited upon him the next
Day, and given him the Marquiss de Nifa’s
Letter; the Cardinal, tho’ he was still civil
to him, told him at parting, That tho’ in ap-
pearance he was sent only by the Clergy of Por-
tugal to negociate an Ecclesiastical Matter; in
reality he was come to negociate the grand Affair
of the Crown of Portugal at Rome; and in
which, he told him plainly, he could not promise
that he would meet with any good Success. That
Prior having left the Cardinal, he went,
much mortify’d, to visit the rest of the Car-
dinals, that were Creatures of France; they
all gave him good Words and large Promises
of their Assistance: The Prior returned
Home to St. Antony’s in the Evening, and
found there a Chaplain of Cardinal Spada’s,
who was the Pope’s Almoner, with a message
for him, to come next Morning to his Lord,
at his Lodgings in the Pope’s Palace; which
the Prior having done, the Cardinal, after
some Civilities had pass’d, asked him, What
was his Business at Rome, and from whom, and
to whom, he had brought Letters? And the
Prior returned such an Answer, as he
thought convenient. The Cardinal asked
him, Whether he had brought no more Letters,
than he had mentioned? The Prior replyed,
That he had no Letter from the King of Por-
tugal, nor no Command from him to wait upon
the
the Pope; but that he had brought a Letter to the Cardinal Bichi, from the Marquís de Nisa, whom the King had named to be his Amba-
sador at Rome; and who was at Paris, pre-
paring himself to come thither with that Charac-
ter. And the Prior having begun to expa-
tiate himself in the Praise of that Marquís, he was interrupted by the Cardinal, who told him, That as he was not indeed fit to treat about so great an Affair, so neither could he en-
ter upon it, having no Order from the Pope to do it; on the contrary, he was expressly command-
ed by the Pope, to treat with him about the Sup-
plication of the Clergy of Portugal, and not about any thing else; expressing at the same time a great Compassion for the afflicted State of that Church.

The Prior left the Cardinal, and returned home, much disconsolate; for he perceived plainly, by what he had been told by both the Cardinals he had treated with, that there was nothing to be done at Rome for the King's Service: The next Morning he received a Message from the Cardinal Spada, to let him know, That the Pope would give him an Au-
dience that Day; but withall a Caution, not to mention any other Affair to the Pope, besides that of the Clergy's Supplication to him, by whom only he pretended to be sent to Rome; for if he did offer to speak of any thing else, he would not be heard: Upon this Mea-

age
age, the Prior went presently to the Palace, and after a short Stay there, was introduced to the Pope, by a Gentleman of his Bed-chamber; the Pope, after the Prior had kissed his Foot, and paid him the other customary Venerations, asked him the same Questions he had been asked by the Cardinal Spada, to which the Prior returned the same Answers, and put the Supplication of the Clergy of Portugal into the Pope's Hand: He laid before him, the deplorable State the Church of Portugal was in for want of Bishops, and which great Evil, he said, was at present attended with many ill Consequences, but that more and worse were to be feared, if it was not remedied quickly: The Pope answered, He was sensibly touched with the sad Condition that Church must be in for want of so many Pastors; and that as he had a great Esteem for the Clergy of Portugal, whom he knew to be singular good Catholics, by the acquaintance he had with several of them at Madrid, when he was Nuncio there; so he doubted not, but that God would direct him how to find a proper and an effectual Remedy for that great Evil they laboured under at present: Upon this Encouragement, the Prior having begun to mention the King's having named an Ambassador; the Pope interrupted him, and said, That was another business; and then made a Sign to him to withdraw.
The Letters of the Clergy of Portugal to the Pope.

Most Holy Father,

The most serene King John, was, jure post-limini, no sooner restor'd to his Throne, than he did, among other things, supplicate the most holy Urban the Eighth, who was Pope at that Time, after the usual manner to depute Bishops to the vacant Bishopricks in Portugal; which mourn'd because the Breasts of Doctrine, from which the Children of the Lord Christ did use to suck their Nutriment, were dried up; but, to his great Grief, a deaf Ear was turn'd to that supplication at Rome.

We, the remaining Bishops, do in vain labour to supply the want of so many Bishops; things being now come to that pass, that of the Thirteen Episcopal Sees in Portugal, Ten are vacant, and Nine Bishops are dead in the Conquests.

This, most blessed Father, causes the violated Churches in many Regions to mourn, for their being so far from their Medicines; the Holy Oyl being brought to some of them, with great difficulty, above a Hundred Leagues; and so far they are oblig'd
oblig'd to go, who take Holy Orders: Abuse and bad Customs are rampant, and the authority and splendor of the Churches decrease, and grow daily weaker. Besides, Portugal being full of Sea-ports, and much frequented by all foreign Nations, of different Religions and Rites, we are in great Anxiety, lest the People, who have been so long from under the Severity of their Pastors, should contract some Contagion; for we know the Manners of Heresie, and that its Lips are as a dropping Honey-comb, tho' its End is as bitter as Wormwood. But our solicitude for the Eastern Churches, lies the heaviest upon us; for those Lands where a small grain of Mustard-seed was grown up to a mighty Tree, and whose Fruits were gather'd plentifully by many Nations, for six Thousand Leagues, are now almost dried up; so that it is to be fear'd that the Briars of Idolatry may spring up there again, and that the Christian Harvest may degenerate into the Brambles and Thorns of Heresie. The Impatience of our People, has hitherto express'd itself in free Complaints, of having been deny'd that by Mercy, which ought to have been offer'd them by Justice: In the beginning they submitted, and being compelled by necessity did require a Remedy, but now after
after so long a time, they are incensed by the Injury with strong Passions.

In all former Ages, the Vicars of Christ were intent on the Work of bringing the Princes of the Earth to receive Pastors from the holy See, and to maintain the Liberty and Immunity of the Church; but the Work at this time, is, that Portugal may obtain Bishops from the Roman Pontiff, and that he would fully and freely make Use of the Power of the Keys; so that no Successor of St. Peter's, did ever see a stranger, or a juster Supplication than this of ours: And tho' we have labour'd to perswade the People that this Silence of the Holy Apostolical See, ought not to be imputed to Contempt, but to some Mystery or other, we do now, after Three Years are expir'd, in vain go about to cover Wounds which are swell'd so high; so that we are in fear least the People imagining that they are thrown off by the great Master of the Family, may give over their pious Tears, and just Sighs: We did therefore, by the best Way that we could think of, intend to have laid the dangerous State of this Church before Urban the Eighth your Predecessor, and earnestly to have supplicated him, that the Sheep that were committed to him by the Lord Christ, and which cost the Son of God so dear, might not
not perish in a Wilderness, least the Voice of our Brethren's Blood should have cry'd against us in the day of the Lord. And the having seen not only the Apostolical Gates, but Ears also, shut against the Tears and Sighs of the Portuguese only, of all the Nations of the Earth, has caus'd the Church of Portugal to cry out, with sorrow, O all ye that pass by, hearken and see, if there be any Sorrow like my Sorrow. But having in the mean time receiv'd the News of the most Holy Urban's Death, and of your Beatitude's happy Exaltation to the Pinnacle of the Apostolical Dignity, we thank'd God for his having set so great a Pastor over his Church, and we rejoic'd very much, believing that the great and good God had deferred the yielding of Comfort to the distress'd Churches of Portugal, that he might reserve the Glory of giving it to your Holiness.

Being full of Hopes, we the few Bishops who do now attend to the Sacred Government of Portugal, together with the Chapters of the vacant Sees, being met together in Charity and the same Spirit, have sent Nicholas Montiro, Doctor of Laws, and Abbot of the famous Collegiate Church of Cedofeita, to your Holiness, as our Envoy; by whom your Holiness will be inform'd of these matters, and of great-
Behaviour towards Portugal.

er, which were not fit to be committed to Writing: We do therefore with Reverence and great earnestness beseech you to give Credit to the things, which he, when prostrate at your holy Feet, will lay before you.

Most holy Father, the Sheep of Portugal, which hitherto have been despis'd, and do stray in the Wilderness of the World, do pine after Food, and there are scarce any to break Bread to them; and tho' the Faith remains unshaken in the Portuguefes, and their Obedience and Reverence for the Apostolical See do stand firm; yet we do fear left upon so great a Want of Bishops, Priests, and Sacrificers, our Adversary the Devil may offer them the Cup of Babylon which is gilt on the outside; imploring you the chief Pastor, and transmitting their repeated Cries to you, and being oppress'd do flee to you, for they cannot be satisfied with being fed by any other but your Holiness; knowing if they were defended with your Staff, they would have no cause to fear their being devour'd by any wild Beast: We know your holy and Paternal Breast; suffer not the Ambition of Mortals therefore to disturb the Cause of God, before so great Majesty.

By
By the living God therefore, by your Self, by your Majesty, by the Sanctity of the holy Roman Church, succour our Grief in Time, O most holy Father! and suffer not the Church of Portugal, which is your own, to consume away in her nobler parts; for upon your Oracle, the Safety of our Church and we do solicitously depend: And we do from our Hearts pray that the great and good God may long preserve your Beatitude to the Church, and out of ours may increase your Years.

This Letter is writ in so studied and declamatory a Stile, the common Fault of Spanish Writers, that I am not sure of my having hit its true meaning in every Sentence, tho' in the main I believe I have.

The Prior, a few Days after he had his Audience of the Pope, waited on the Cardinal Spada, to know whether the Pope was come to any Resolution about his Business; the Cardinal told him, 'It was an Affair of great Weight, and that having been treated of in Urban's Time, and not ended before his Death, nothing could be done in it, before the Pope had Information, from his Collector in Portugal, how matters stood there; and that tho' by Reason of many Accidents, this had never been propos'd before, yet it would be now required, and expected; and that after the Pope
Pope had that Information, he would return an Answer to the Supplication which he had brought from the Clergy; and till then he was not to expect one.

This new Fetch perfectly stunn'd the poor Prior when he heard it; but having recovered himself a little, he said, 'That tho' he did not doubt of his Holiness's pure and good Intention in this; yet he had great Reason to doubt, whether he should receive a true Information from that Collector, who was a person much suspected by the Clergy of Portugal: The Cardinal answered, The Burden of that Affair would be still on the Pope's Shoulders; neither was it to be doubted, but that he would take Care of it, as he did of all other Matters; and the Prior having happened to say something of the obligation St. Peter's Successors were under to furnish all Places with Bishops, and especially Diocesses, which had had none, in Seven, Eight, Nine, and Ten years; the Cardinal asked him Where those Diocesses were? and having been told their Names by the Prior, he said, The King of Spain was contented, that the Portuguese Bishops which were retired into his Dominions, should return to their Churches to take care of them: To that the Prior made no Answer, but told the Cardinal, that if constant Fame might be believed, the present Pope himself whilst he was a Cardinal.
Cardinal in Urban's Time, did declare, in the first Congregation that was assembled about this Affair of Portugal, that tho' an Ambassador from thence ought not then to be received, yet if one were sent after three years, that he ought to have an Audience given him: The Cardinal said nothing to that, not caring it is like to tell the Prior, that the Pope when he set that Time, did reckon that within it Portugal would have been reduc'd by Spain, and so an end would have been put to this Controversy; but having warned the Prior, to moderate his Equipage, for fear of raising Envy, he dismissed him.

The Prior finding that he lost, rather than got Ground upon the Pope and his Cardinals; as in Truth by his Writings, which I have seen, he appears not to have been a Man of Talents equal to his Business, so as to be a Match for the Politick Italians, which he had to deal with; he applied himself to the French Ambassador, who was a Man of great Parts, as the Ambassadors of that Crown commonly are; and desired him to speak to the Pope, and to press the Affair of Portugal hard upon him: That Ambassador who had strict Orders from the Court of France, to push on that Business with his whole Strength, having suffered the Prior to try what he was able to do without him,
Behaviour towards Portugal.

him, did, upon his ill Success, undertake it warmly; and at the first Audience he had of the Pope, he briskly told him, that his Master expected the Crown of Portugal should have Justice done it at Rome, in having his Ambassador receiv'd, who was preparing to come thither; and all its vacant Bishopricks filled, with those the King had named to them: But the Pope, whose Affection for Spain, mixed with some Fears of Her, had made him resolve to grant neither of those Demands, did fence stoutly against being brought by the Ambassador to grant or deny either of them positively; so he told the Ambassador that he could say nothing to either of those two Points, before he had a full Information from his Collector in Portugal, where he was told there were Laws which infringed the Liberty of the holy Church, and several Bishops were imprisoned, with divers other Abuses; of all which he must know the true State before he could give any Answer to the things which he demanded of him: In this put-off the Pope seems to have had a double Aim; the one was to gain Time, hoping the Spaniards might in a little while put an end to this Controversy by reducing Portugal to their Obedience; and the other was to have made Use of this Opportunity to have got the Laws he complained of repealed, which were the imprisoning of Ecclesiastics.
A History of the Pope's Ecclesiasticks in some disputable Cases; and the Church's not being permitted to have any more Land given her, without the King's Licence; which Laws when they were alledged by the Venetians to justify their having made the same, Bellarmine's Answer to them was, that they had been in Portugal Time out of mind, and had probably been made with the Pope's Consent, which the Venetians could not pretend to have, being at that time laid under an Interdict by the Pope for having made them: But the Ambassador insisting warmly on having an Answer presently, the Pope was forced at last to promise to appoint a Junta of Cardinals, to consider what could be done as to the Point of the vacant Bishopricks; but for the other Point of the Ambassador, he said he could not meddle with it, the Title to the Crown of Portugal not having been referred to his Arbitriment, by either of the Pretenders to it. And accordingly he named the Cardinals Capponi, Barbarino, Ginetti, Sacchetti, Palletti, Pancioli, Pamphilio, and Cochini, to make up that Junta, and who having met together, Three Expedients were started by them.

The First was, that the King of Portugal should present one, and the King of Spain another, to every one of the vacant Bishopricks, and who should both be precogniz'd by the Pope; and this, they said, could be no
no wrong to those who were presented by the King of Portugal, seeing that King would not suffer those who were presented by Spain, to come to their Dioceses which were within his Dominions: And to justify this Expedition, they quoted St. Austin and Valerius's having been both Bishops of Hippo at the same time.

The Second was, That King John should be named in the Pope's Provisions; but that he should be stiled in them, the Possessor of the Kingdom.

The Third was, That the Pope should present the Persons to the vacant Bishopricks who had been named to them by the King of Portugal, but that he should present them Motu proprio, without any mention of either of the Kings.

The First and Second of these Expedients, having been rejected by the Prior, the Pope waved them both; but insisted on the Third; and did accordingly in a full Conistory, proprio Motu, provide the Church of Guarda of Don Peter a Lancaster, that of Miranda of Don Peter Menezes, and that of Viseu of Don Emanuel de Saldania; who were the Persons that had been named to those Bishopricks by the King; but without any mention of the King's Name in the Provisions: And as the King of Portugal would never allow of those Motu proprio Presentations,
tions, so the Pope adher’d to them to the last; and having declared, that he was ready to present to all the rest of the vacant Bishopricks, in the same manner; after that, he still answered all Applications that were made to him, with telling those that made them, That he had done all that was in his Power to have filled the vacant Bishopricks in Portugal and its Conquests; but if the King would not receive the Bishops whom he had presented, tho’ they were of his own Nomination, he could not help it. And having thus put the King of Portugal in the wrong, as he hoped the World would think; after this, the great Evils and Miseries which attended so great a Want of necessary Pastors in Portugal, and in its Conquests, were aggravated more at Rome, and in Spain, than they were before by the Portugueses; and were all charged to the Duke of Braganza’s Account, as they stiled him; who, they said would suffer the Church of Portugal to perish for want of Pastors, rather than admit of those who had been presented by the Pope. And as this was a popular Story, so the Spaniards made use of it, to have prejudiced the Portugueses against their new King: However, the Court of Portugal was resolved to venture all, rather than allow the Pope to present to their Bishopricks Motu proprio, without naming the King as the Patron of them; and tho’
the several of the Cardinals declared, that this Promotion should not be made use of as a President to the prejudice of any former Right; yet as the Pope himself did never make any such Declaration, so if he had, the Court of Portugal would not have trusted to it, being sensible, as they themselves published, how difficult a thing it was ever to recover any thing from the Papacy, which it had been once allowed to assume. And in this persuasion the Portuguese were much confirmed, by some of the Cardinals having told the Prior, that the King of Portugal had no Right to present to any Bishoprick within his Dominions; no such Privilege having ever been granted to that Crown, by any Pope; nor had it ever been practised in Portugal, before the King of Spain came to be King of her, who had the Privilege of presenting to all the Bishopricks within his Dominions; and there was no Reason that Portugal now she had thrown that King off, should enjoy any Privilege that belonged to her, only as she was a part of his Dominions: To this the Portuguese answered, That tho' it was true, that their Portuguese Kings being all much devoted to the Roman See, had still supplicated the Popes to confirm the Bishops which they had named to them; yet there was no Reason, that for using that humble Form, they should loose the
the Patronage of all the Bishopricks within their Dominions: For as that Supplication had been always, in their Kings Intention, tantamount to a Presentation, so it had been constantly the same in Fact; none for whom their King had supplicated, having ever been refused by the Popes; no more than if they had been presented by them to their Bishopricks. Now by this the World may see, as I have elsewhere observed, how dangerous it is for Princes, or Bishops, to be liberal in bestowing Complements upon Popes, who, on many Occasions, have given such a Turn to Complements, as to make them the Foundation of some acknowledged Right or other; tho' nothing was farther from their Thoughts who paid the Popes those humble Civilities, than the acknowledging any such Right by them.

The great Inconveniencies also, which attended Persons being presented to Dignities and Benefices in Portugal by the Pope, proprio Motu, were much insisted on on this Occasion: For whereas all the Dignities and Benefices which are in the Gift of the Bishops, that do fall in one six Months of the Year, are of the Pope's Presentation; so these Dignities and Benefices were commonly provided of Clerks who did the Church no Service, nor their Patron much Honour: So that were it not for the Portugueses sacrificing their Resentments
Resentments of the great Inconveniencies which they daily felt, by means of those Presentations, to the Reverence they had for the Apostolical See, those Presentations would lye under a very great Scandal in the World; most of those Dignitys and Benefices being conferred by the Nuncio, or by his Officers, upon Persons of no known Merit, besides that of having Money; and who are for the most part absolute Strangers to those that are so kind as to help them to their Presentations; and if Portugal, said they, suffers so much by having her inferior Dignitys and Benefices presented to in that Manner, how much worse would it be for her to have all her Bishopricks bestowed so?

And thus the Roman See never fails when Kingdoms are in distress, and do stand in need of her help, to fish for one Advantage or another for her self out of their being in such Circumstances: So that if they will have her Help, they must buy it dear: And by such Steps it was that the Popes ascended to that Height of Grandeur the World sees them in at present: Tho', it is true, that since the Restoration of Learning, and which was a consequence of that, the Reformation, the Popes, on such Occasions, have not been able to drive so good Bargains for themselves as they us'd to do before.

The
The Prior having still remain'd at Rome, tho', for any hopes he had of doing Business there, he might well have left it sooner; he was affronted in the Streets by some Spaniards, as he was going to Church; and who having pick'd a Quarrel with his Footmen, they shot one of them dead that was close to the Coach; and the Prior having dropped down off his Seat at the same Time, it was believed he was shot too; but having been taken for dead out of his Coach, as they were searching for his Wounds, he came to himself, without any Hurt about him, but what the Fright had caused; and the Ruffians, who had made this Insult, having fled straight to the House of the Spanish Ambassador, that Minister, tho' he denied it, was suspected of having had an Hand in it; however the Pope believed it, and resented it so much, that all the Interest Spain had in Rome, and in the Pope's Affections, could never, after that, procure that Ambassador an Audience.

The Prior, upon this Disaster, having received a Complement from the Pope, began to have some Hopes of Success in his Business; but having had an Audience granted him when he first desired it, he found the Pope immovable resolved not to grant Bishops to Portugal, by any other Way but by that of Motu proprio: So the Prior left Rome, and returned to Lisbon, where he published
an Account of his Embassy, for so he would still call it; but in such a Stile, and with so many Excursions, for no other End but to flourish with a Collection of innumerable Scraps of Latin, that tho' it is no great Book, he must have abundance of Patience that reads it over.

The King of Portugal now perceiving, that no Hopes remained of procuring Bishops from the Pope, by any other Way but by that of Motu proprio, and which he was resolv'd never to admit; he first consulted his own Divines, and afterwards the Doctors of the Sorbon for Direction what to do in this Case: Three Expedients were offered to the King, and which I believe came all from the Sorbon, tho' it is not said they did.

The First was, That seeing the Kingdom of Portugal was in great Distress, for want of Bishops, and the Pope, tho' he had been apply'd to by all the Ways that could be thought of, had deny'd her his Succour; that the King was therefore, both by Conscience, and in Policy bound, to resent this, as the greatest Injury that could be done to his Crown, and to his Kingdom; and to make the Pope sensible of his resenting it so, by sequestring all the Fruits and Pensions, which were paid out of Portugal to any Ecclesiastick residing in Rome, whether a Native or a Foreigner: And by strictly forbiding the sending of any Money,
Money, to the Roman Court out of his Dominions upon any Account whatsoever; and by divers other Ways, which the Portuguese say their Veneration for the Roman See would not suffer them to record, and so we cannot tell what they were.

The Second Expedient was, That the King, since there remain’d no Hopes of being able to obtain Bishops from the Pope, by a Way which he could allow of; should cause the several Chapters of the vacant Bishopricks, to choose the Ecclesiasticks whom he had nam’d to them; and who being thus Chosen, and consecrated Bishops, should take upon them the Governmet of their Diocesses: And this was maintained to be lawful, from Bishops having their Jurisdiction, no less than their Order, immediately from Christ; whereas the modern Custom of Bishops, tho’ they are Consecrated, not exercising any Jurisdiction before they have Power from the Pope to do it, was said to be founded only on an ecclesiastical Constitution, and which was of no old Date neither in Spain it self: That in the West Indies to this Day, the Ecclesiasticks, who are named by the King, or by the Viceroy, are consecrated, and do exercise a full Jurisdiction within their Diocesses, long before they have any Briefs of Confirmation from the Pope: And that an Archbishop, in those parts,
parts, for having lately, out of a Scruple of
Conscience, as he pretended, represented
that Custom to the Pope as a dangerous Ab-
use, had been severely reprimanded by the
King of Spain.

The Third Expedient was, That consider-
ing the great Distress of Portugal and its Con-
quests were in, for want of Bishops; and that
they could have none from Rome; the King,
with the Consent of the Clergy, should call
a National Synod, and which being met,
should choose a Patriarch to govern Portugal
in Spirituals, till recourse might be had to the
Roman Pontiff; this was maintained to be
agreeable to the primitive Government of the
Church; to which, the Distress the Church
of Portugal was in at present, would justify
her returning: And to which, if they
durft have spoke out, it is probable that they
would have added, that the Inconveniencies
which at first gave Occasion to those great
Changes in the ecclesiastical Constitution,
were nothing near so great as those were,
which the Church of Portugal at that Time,
by Reason of the Pope's obstinacy, groaned
under; nor in truth, as she, and all other
Churches which are subject to him, are un-
der constantly, even when he his in his best
Humour with them: For when any thing
established by Men, only to prevent an in-
convenience, comes it self to be a greater, it
ought
ought to be laid aside, for the same Reason that it was at first established.

These Expedients, which were well re-
ceived by the Court of Portugal, but especi-
ally the Second, being in the King's Hands, he did resolve, since nothing was to be got a
Rome by Submissions, to try what threatening
the Pope with providing Bishops for them-
selves, if he would not give them any, would
do: And accordingly, he ordered Father
Nuno de Cunha, his Agent at Rome, to let the
Pope understand so much, and to observe
how he resented it; and which that Father
did, in the Year 1647, in a long and very
shrewd Memorial, whose Heads I shall here
set down; in it, he told the Pope,

That God had raised King John to the
possession of his Kingdom of Portugal, to
which he was called, not only by Right of
Inheritance, derived from his great Grand-
father, the Infante Don Edward; but also
by the Laws of the Kingdom; and that he
had not entered upon it with Violence, as
Philip the Second did, without regarding
what Pope Gregory the Thirteenth had writ
to him against doing it; but had been called
to it by the Three Estates of the Kingdom
by whom Philip the Fourth King of Castile
had been deposed, for having broken the
Oath which he had taken to preserve the
Laws and Privileges of Portugal: and that
King
King John notwithstanding, when he took Possession, did find the Kingdom disarmed and poor, every thing of Value having been carried out of it by the Castilians; yet had withstood all the Treasons which had been enterprized against his Person, and the Armys which had attempted to invade his Frontiers, having been always victorious, and that without any dependance or Succour from any Foreign Prince; from whence his Holiness might gather, how deceitful the Assurances were which the Castilians had given, of conquering Portugal in a short Time, if there were a Peace once without Portugal being comprehended in it; and who judged it to be more profitable and more honourable for them, to make a Peace with the Hollanders, who are Hereticks, and their Vassals; than with Portugal which is a free and Catholick Kingdom: And that the King, to justify himself with his Holiness, had declared, that in case the Catholick King deny'd to admit of the just means of an Accommodation, to which he was ready to agree; that he did take God to witness, that if the Succours from France, with whom he professed an inseparable Amity, should not be sufficient; that he must then, in his own Defence, be forced to make use of the Arms of Sweden, and of England; tho' at the same Time, it would be a great trouble to him,
him, to see Spain in a Flame of War, and of Heresie; when he would gladly employ the Valour of his Subjects and spend his Treasures against Hereticks and Infidels, a Spirit which he inherited from his glorious Ancestors: And that the King, as an obedient Son of the Church, did as soon as he was proclaimed, send the Bishop of Lamego, who was of his Council of State, to have given obedience to the chief Pontiff, Urban the Eighth: but who, after a year's stay in Rome, was not able to obtain an Audience: And that the ecclesiastical Estate of Portugal, had afterwards, with the Kings consent, sent the Prior of Codofeyta, Bishop Elect of Portalegre, to Rome, to treat concerning the Provision of Bishops; and that they had both been assaulted in the chief Streets by Castilians, with an Intention to have murdered them; without attending to the Veneration and Respect which ought to be preserved in the presence of the chief Pontiff: And that the King had likewise determined to have sent the Marquis de Nisá for his Ambassador to Rome, but, that he might not run the risque of a second Affront, having got Gremonvil Ambassador of France, to ask his Holinesse leave for that Minister to come, it was deny'd; tho' all that was desired was, that he might in the Name of a Catholick Prince give obedience to Christ's Vicar: And that the King notwith-
notwithstanding all this ill Usage, yet had restored to the Apostolical See, and to its Officers, that Jurisdiction which had been taken from it by the King of Castile, when he ordered the Bishop of Castracane the Apostolical Collector, to be committed to Prison; and that he had farther ordered the Censures which were before despised, for to be observed; and had commanded the Officers of the Crown to submit themselves to the Auditor of the Vice-Collector, and to beg an Absolution of him; neither had the King suffer'd those Officers before they had done it to come into his Presence, nor to execute their Offices; and did likewise resolve, to oblige them to restore to that Collector, when he returned to Portugal, all the ecclesiastical Rents which the Castilians had usurped, with all the Writings and Papers which they had taken from him; and to have put an end to all Disputes about that Affair; and to have order'd the Alms of the Bulla cruzada, which is apply'd to the Fabrick of St. Peter's Church in Rome, to have been paid to the Apostolical See, which they had not been in many year before: But that none of these Finezas had been able to oblige the Apostolical See to grant Bishops to the Church of Portugal, which was the thing the King desired above all others: And that as our Lord Christ had committed the care of Souls to his
his Holiness, so the Blood of all the Souls which perished in Portugal for want of Pastors, would lie upon his Holiness's Conscience; and that this great want of Pastors extended itself, with a lamentable Ruine, to the vast Dominions which the Crown of Portugal had in Asia, Africa, and America: where in many Places, the Sacraments were not administered for want of Parish Priests.

And that whereas it had been the constant Custom of the chief Pontiffs, to have all Affairs of great moment discussed in a publick or private Consistory; this Affair, tho' there cannot be a weightier, has never been suffered to be brought into one; for which, the King can think of no other Reason, but there not being one Cardinal that would offer to counsel his Holiness not to suffer so many Souls to perish for lack of Pastors, rather than confirm the Bishops which the King, after the Example of his Ancestors, had presented to the vacant Churches; and especially after it had been determined in the Council of Trent, that Kings, or Possessors of Kingdoms, should present to all Bishopricks within their Dominions: Neither could the King of Castile, being a Catholick, be displeased with his Holiness for executing a Decree of that Council: That the Pontiffs were not Judges of Titles to Crowns; neither would Philip the Second suffer them to be so, when he took possession of
Behaviour towards Portugal; but their Business was still to attend to the good of Souls; and being Christ's Vicars on Earth, they reckoned it their Duty to be equally the common Fathers of all Catholicks: Whereas his Holiness had taken a contrary Way with Portugal, and had treated her Prince, neither as a King nor a Catholick; and tho' his Holiness might be certain, that he had never so much as in Thought inned against the Apostolical See, yet he had treated him, as if he had been a Heretick or an Infidel: And tho' the Temporal State of the Church in Italy, might have a dependence on the King of Castile, its Spiritual state, was not less beholden to Portugal, which had exceeded all other Nations in a Zeal for augmenting the Faith, and a Veneration and obedience to the Church, which he had with great losses and troubles carried to the most remote Parts of the World: That Clement the Seventh had lost the Kingdom of England, for having judged it necessary for him to accommodate himself to the dictates of the Emperor Charles the Fifth; and which Emperor did in a short Time after make a Peace with Henry the Eighth, King of England, without regarding the Pope; and so did suffer the Catholick Faith to be lost in that Kingdom; neither did he ever treat about the restoring the Lands to the Church, which the Hereticks had taken from
from her; and that Clement the Eighth did receive Henry the Fourth, into the Bosom of the Church, and stiled him King of Navarre, without any regard to the diligences and contradictions of Philip the Second, and his Ministers: That it was certain the King would not deny obedience to the Apostolical See, nor to the chief Pontiff, nor would ever consent to Heresie or Schism; but if through military Liberty, and commerce and trade with Heretics and Infidels, some things which are not decent, nor profitable to the Church, should arise, for want of Bishops, he hoped the blame of it would not fall upon his Conscience. Finally, that the King having consulted divers pious and learned Divines, within, and out of his Kingdom, was assured by them, That he might act securely as if there were no access and recourse to the Apostolical See; and that since there was not it belonged to the Chapters, upon his nomination to choose their Bishops, as the Custom was formerly in Spain, and which is still observed in some parts of it.

The Pope understood the old ecclesiastical Customs of Spain too well not to feel the Sting that is in the close of this brisk Memorial; and so being sensible, that that was a course which the Portugueses might take and justify; he was in so much pain, that it was believed, that if it had been insisted on and
and pushed on briskly by the King of Portugal, that the Pope, to prevent its Execution, would certainly have granted Bishops to him in the usual manner.

But the Inquisition in Portugal, moved either by its own blind Bigotry, or by some secret Papal Engines, did soon after disarm their King of this useful Weapon: For they having taken all the forementioned Expedients, but particularly that which related to the Chapters choosing of their Bishops, under their Examination, they did crudely as well as impolitickly, condemn them all, as matters savouring of Heresy; to the Pope's great Joy, who did not only extol that Court highly for its Zeal, but did declare, that it had condemned a Proposition for him, which he should scarce have ventured to determine. And thus the King of Portugal was robbed of the Arms the Skill of France had helped him to, by the Bigotry of his own Subjects, and which would have brought the Pope to Reason, had he believed the Portugueses to be in earnest with them: And the King himself, tho' he was animated to have held them still, in contradiction to the unlearned Censure of the Inquisition, by the most eminent Divines in Portugal and in France, he could not be persuaded to it; but either out of Respect to that Court, or out of Fear of it, did
let them drop, neither did he suffer them to be made use of any more.

There were two things, which, during this Difference with the Pope, disturbed the Peace of Portugal, and of all its Conquests, the most sensibly.

The one was, the great Heats and Quarrels which were in all Monasteries and Convents of Friars and Nuns, about the Elections of their Superiors, and other Officers; for as the Regulars, Men and Women, are under none but the Pope, so there being no Nuncio, or other Papal Minister in Portugal at this time, to curb their keen Spirits, the Monasteries and Convents were all in a Flame, and like so many Bedlams rather than Religious Societies; there being no sort of People, that do thirst more eagerly after any Honours, or do use more indirect means to obtain them, than the Regulars do everywhere, to get into the Offices of their Order and Convents; and of this I have seen such demonstrations, and under a Nuncio's Nose too, that I have often wondered, that the Pope, for his own Ease, and for the Peace and Quiet of Monasteries and Convents, does not take the Power of all Elections from them, into his own Hands; neither can I think of any other Reason for his not having done it, but only, that knowing their Tempers to be too eager to part with that Liberty quietly,
quietly, he will not venture to attempt to take it from them, for fear of raising a loud Storm about his Ears: And in truth, the Feuds were at this time so high in all the Monasteries and Convents, that the King was compelled to exercise the Royal Authority to keep them within some bounds; notwithstanding he was sensible, that his doing of that, would be made use of to his great prejudice in the Court of Rome; as it was, having been represented there by the Spaniards, as nothing less than an Usurpation of the Pontifical Authority.

The Second was, the Behaviour of the Chapters of all the vacant Bishopricks; who having had the Administration of the whole Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, in their several Diocesses, in their hands for many years, were grown very corrupt, and were so imperious, that they used the inferior Clergy very ill, and did use none worse than those that had been named by the King to the vacant Bishopricks; whether they lived in their own Diocesses, or in any other that was vacant: And this Tyranny of the Chapters was risen to that height, that the nominated Bishops not being able to bear it any longer, did assemble themselves together in Lisbon, to see how a stop might be put to it; and having come to a Resolution to petition the Pope to grant them the Exercise of the Episcopal Jurisdiction,
on, without mentioning the King, over their several Dioceses; they did with the King's leave, send an Agent to Rome to supplicate the Pope for it: But the Pope, who always favours Chapters, and all other exempted Bodies, against their Bishops, told the Agent plainly, That he could not grant what they had desired, without doing an injury to the Chapters, to whom, by the Canons, the Episcopal Jurisdiction over Dioceses, whilst they were vacant, did belong: And the Papal Ministers, being vehemently urged by that Agent, he was told by them, That they had reason to think, that they that sent him, did grasp at Jurisdiction, more out of Ambition, than out of any Desire they had to remedy the Evils they complained of so much.

After this rude repulse, and which the Chapters were reckoned to have promoted by their secret Agents, I read of no Motion made in Rome, by Portugal, for above a year; when she was roused to make one, by a new Stratagem of the Pope and Spaniards: The Plot was, to have sent a great Mission of Bishops and Friars, who were not Portuguese, and without taking any Notice of the King of Portugal in it, into the Kingdom of Congo; and in pursuance of this design, two Capuchin Friars, the one a Spaniard, and the other an Italian, who had lately come to Rome from those Parts, did give out, that they had been sent by the King of Congo, with the Character
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Character of Ambassadors, to yield Obedience, in his Name, to the Pope; and to supplicate to have some Bishops and Missionaries forthwith sent into his Kingdoms.

And as the Popes, for a long time, have affected, now and then to make a Noise with Embassies of Obedience being sent to them by some remote great King or other; so the Missionaries having observed that, have taken care to gratify him with such Embassies, as often as he is disposed to receive them; being pretty sure, that People, in this part of the World, will believe that they have those Characters, rather than go to the Courts they pretend to come from, to enquire into the Truth of their Credentials. So the two Capuchin Ambassadors of Congo, had a publick and very solemn Audience given them by the Pope; and to whom, in the Name of the great Christian King of Congo, their Master, they did kiss the Pope's Foot; and having afterwards in their Master's Name supplicated for some Bishops and Missionaries to go forthwith to Congo, the Pope, with the advise of the Congregation de propaganda fide, did Name One Archbishop, Two Bishops, and Thirty Friars, to be sent thither, with all Expedition; his dear Son, the King of Congo, being said to expect them with great Impatience; neither was there one
one of the Portuguese Nation among all those Missionaries.

Father *Nuno*, who had opposed this Mission from the beginning, doubting he should not be able to hinder it, acquainted the Court of Portugal with it, as a Contrivance to affront the King, and to worm him out of his African Conquests: Upon that Intelligence, Doctor *Emanuel Carillo*, who I suppose was a Lawyer, was immediately dispatched to Rome, to remonstrate against that Mission, as a great injury to the Court of Portugal, to which the Mission of *Congo* had always belonged; and to lay before the Pope, that as those Countries were first discovered by the Portuguese, so ever since the Kingdom of *Angola* was conquered by them, there had been a close friendship and brotherhood between the two Kings of Portugal and Congo; and by which means that King had been brought to Baptism: And as it was one of the Articles of that Union, that the Bishop of Angola, and the Canons of that Church, who are all Portuguese, and maintained by the Crown of Portugal, should assist at the Court of Congo; so should that Mission be taken from the Portuguese, and put into the Hands of any other Nation, it would be of fatal consequence to the Christianity of those Parts; there being no Catholick Prince near them, besides the King of Portugal, that had Forces to
to oppress the Boldness of the Heathens, or to hold the Christian Converts steady in the Faith: And that should the King of Congo separate himself from the Crown of Portugal, as that Crown would be obliged to make a War upon him; so the consequence of that War, might be the establishing of the Dutch in those Parts; who, upon a misunderstanding between the King of Congo, and the Governor of Angola, had been invited by that King into that Country; and in which they had already taken the City of Loanda, and several other Places from the Portuguese. Carillo likewise had Instructions to make an Offer to the Pope, that if he would confirm the Bishops which the King had nominated, and in their Breves mention the King as their Patron, that he would agree, that it should be inserted into them, That it should not be to the prejudice of the pretentions of any Person whatsoever; and that if this were not granted, that he should then supplicate the Pope, to appoint one of the remaining Bishops in Portugal, to be his Visitor in that Kingdom and in all its Conquests, and with so full a Power, that he might be able to extinguish the great Flames which were among the Regulars, about the Elections of thier Superiors and other Officers, to the great Scandal of the Seculars and of the Laity. Carillo had likewise a Letter.
ter to the Pope, from the Cortez of the Kingdom, which was fitting at that time, full of passionate complaints of the deplorable State Religion was reduced to, in Portugal and in all its large Conquests, for want of Pastors.

But Gallio cared for none of those things; perceiving plainly by their Letter, that out of Reverence to the Inquisition, they, as well as the King, had laid down the only Arms which could dislodge him out of his Motu proprio, in which he had entrenched himself so strongly.

When Carillo came to Rome, he found the Congo Mission advanced so far, that the Missionaries having received their last Dispatches from the Pope, were preparing to begin their Journey into Spain; where they were to be supply’d with Money, and all other secular Provisions; the Merit of that Part in all Missions, being constantly left by the Pope to some secular Prince or other.

But what the King of Portugal would not have been able to have diverted, by complaining of its being a great Wrong to him; had an End put to it, by the certain News of the City of Loanda’s being taken from the Dutch by the Portuguefes, having come to Spain before the Missionaries had embarked: By the recovery of which City, the Portuguefes had got the Bridle into their Hands again,
again, which they had formerly put into the Mouth of their Christian Ally and Brother the King of Congo: As to the other two Supplications, which Carillo was to have made, they were both rejected with Scorn; the Spaniards hopes of being able to conquer Portugal in a short time, being, upon the Peace of Munster, which was now concluded, raised too high, for those Supplications, or for the Cortez's Letter, to meet with a favourable Reception at Rome.

The King of Portugal likewise, now that the House of Austria had a Peace with the Dutch and Swedes, did begin to dread the power of Spain more than he had before; and was for that Reason more solicitous than ever to have got the Pope to have acknowledged him: And not seeing any other way by which that could be brought about, but by gaining Donna Olimpia, the Pope's Niece, and by whom he was entirely governed, to be his Advocate; he applied himself to that Lady, by the Method all the World knew she was to be gained, and so having made her very costly presents, she undertook his Cause, and with those appearances of Zeal for it, that the King did not doubt but that he should gain his point; but whether that Lady, who was believed to have the Keys of the Papacy at her Girdle, as much as Pope Joan, if there was ever any such Pope, did play the
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the Portuguese a Trick for the rich Presents which they had made her, and did never intend to assist them in their business; or was not able to prevail with the Pope her Uncle, which few believed; this secret chargeable Negotiation came to nothing: And the King, not knowing what Course to take next, the Cortez which was then assembled, did undertake that business again, and did send the Pope a passionate and very long Letter about it; but as this Letter, no more than their former, did threaten the Pope, that if he did not forthwith grant Bishops to the Church of Portugal, that she would help herself to those she wanted, and by a way more agreeable to the practice of the Spanish Church in her purest Ages, than this of sending to Rome for Bishops was; so it had no more Respect paid to it by the Pope. I shall not insert that Letter here, tho' I have it by me, all, and more than is in it, being contained in the Memorial, of which I have given the Heads; only the miserable State the Church of Portugal, and all its Conquests, was in in the year 1649, for want of Pastors, I shall here set down, as it was laid by that Cortez before the Pope, and in their own words.

THE Kingdoms of Portugal and Algarves, do consist of thirteen Cathedral Churches; of which three, Braga, Lisbon, and Eboia, are Metro-
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Metropolitans; and in these, and the others, which are Coimbra, Guarda, Lamego, Viseu, Porto, Algarves, Miranda, Leiria, Portalegre, and Elvas, there is only one Prelate, in Elvas, which is the least in the whole Kingdom; and who does not reside in his Diocese neither, being dispensed with by your Holiness, on the Account of his being Dean of the Royal Chappel.

In Asia, which comprehends above Three Thousand Leagues, inhabited by People and Colonies of our Nation, five Bishops are wanting, they are Cochim, Malaca, Meliapor, China, and Japan: And two only are there, the one in Goa, and the other in Cranganor; but who are both so laden with years and infirmities, that we may well say, the solitude of those two Churches, is equal to that of the rest.

In Africa, where there is the like Dilatation of our Empire, obedient to the Roman Church, four Bishops are wanting, who are all the past chief Pontiffs have assigned to those large Provinces; and in many years there has been no Bishops in the City of Tangier, the Frontier to the Moors, and which, to the Glory of the Church, sanctified Africa, to Mahomet's great grief: Neither is there any Bishop in the City of Santiago, which comprehends the nine populous Islands of Cabo Verde; it is the same with the Island St. Thomas, which extends itself along the Coast.
Coast of Guinea, a Countrey most fertile in
the conversion of Idolaters: Neither is there
a Bishop in the City of St. Paul of Loanda, the
Metropolis of the vast Kingdoms of Angola.

In America, there is not one Bishop in the
whole populous Territory of Brazil, whose Ju-
risdiction extends it self above Two thou-
and and two hundred Leagues by Land;
and is peopled with rich Towns, Garrisons,
and Citys, and of which the greatest part at
this time are infested by the Nations of the
North; who watching over our Carelessness,
are labouring to introduce their Heresies,
with the same Craft, with which they have
spread them over the whole World; and the
perfidy of the Jews, for want of Prelates,
meets with a very weak Opposition: So, that
to our great Grief, we see the large Vine-
yard, which was planted by other Priests,
plucked up by the Roots, without remedy,
and Tares sowed in it by the Enemies of the
Gospel.

The Islands in the Ocean, which are a-
dorned with stately Citys and with two
Cathedral Churches, do mourn under the
same common Misery, by reason of their
having been so long neglected by the Apo-
tolical See; Angra which is the most popu-
lous, and has seven Islands subject to her,
has not seen, nor known her Pastor for ma-
ny years: And the City of Funchal, the Head
of the Isle of Madera, is now likewise without a Bishop; after having been divers years without the Pastoral Exercise, by reason of the great Age her last Bishop lived too.

As this Account magnifies the Empire of Portugal strangely; so the Countreys which the Portuguefes do still call their Conquests, a Nation of less Vanity would call their Plantations only; all or most of the Portuguefes, having settled themselves in those Regions at first, either with the consent of the Natives, or with too little fighting to Glory in them as their Conquests: For many more Mens Lives have been often lost in the taking of one Town in Europe, than the Portuguefes lost in Fight, in making the Conquests, which they say here do extend themselves many thousands of Miles.

But as none of these things moved the Pope, so the King finding that all that Portugal could do at Rome, signified nothing; he ordered his Ambassador in Paris, to try if he could engage the Court of France to use all its Interest in Rome in his Favour: And which that Court having promised to do; a Commission was presently dispatched to the Cardinal d'Este, not to give over soliciting the Pope, until he had granted Bishops to Portugal: And which the Cardinal, who was a brisk young Prince, executed with
with so great Heat and Vigour, that the Pope being grown quite sick of his incessant Importunities, he told him one Day, His Conscience was troubled with a very painful Scruple, and having been asked by the Cardinal what it was, the Pope answered, it is for having suffered you to stay so long in Rome, to the great prejudice of your Church, where you ought to reside, and to take care of your Flock: The Cardinal reply'd, your Holiness's Scruple is very just; but asked him at the same time, whether the Churches of Portugal, and all its Conquests, having had no Bishops for many years to take care of them, has not raised a more tormenting Scruple in his Holiness's Conscience. The Pope was so incensed with this brisk Repartee, that turning a way from the Cardinal, he said to those that were about him, I will take the Cap from the Boy; to which the Cardinal, before the Words were well out of his Mouth, reply'd, If you do, I will put on one of Steel: And so having flung out from the Pope's presence, without any Ceremony, he went strait to his own Palace, which he turned into a Garrison; taking into it a great number of armed Men, and planting Ordnance at his Gates and in the Windows. But tho' this Heat betwixt the Pope and the Cardinal was soon over, and the Pope's painful Scruple of Conscience was removed, without the Cardinal's
Cardinal's leaving Rome to go to his Church, from which he had been so long absent; the Affair of Portugal remain'd in the same Posture it was in before.

But the King, who would leave no Stone unturn'd, having been inform'd that an Assembly of the Clergy of France was to meet in Paris in the year 1652, he commanded his Ambassador in that Court, to attend that Assembly, and to desire them to make an earnest Application to the Pope, in their own Names, in the behalf of the distressed Church of Portugal, and of its Conquests; and that Assembly, having received Orders from the Court to undertake that Affair, after some Consultations, they came to a Resolution, not only to write to the Pope about it, which they had done some years before to no purpose, but to send an Envoy to Rome to press it home upon the Pope's Conscience; and having named the Bishop of Beaujeu, the most celebrated Prelate in France, at that time, for Parts, Piety, and Learning, for that Employment; they sent the following Letter by him.

**The Clergy of France's Letter to the Pope.**

Having been asked by the most serene King of Portugal, what Course he should take to prevent the Christian Religion
ligion being totally lost among his Subjects, by reason of the Churches in his
Kingdoms being without Bishops; and there having been always a close corre-
spondence betwixt the Ecclesiastical Estates of France and Portugal, he desired us to de-
clare our Thoughts of that matter.

We the Bishops of the Church of France have now recourse to your Holiness a second
time about that Affair; and do acquaint you, most holy Father, that the State the
Church of Portugal is in at present, is such, that none can be more prejudicial to the
People, nor more dangerous to Religion, nor so likely to stir up the Envy of evil
Men against your Holiness: We are not ignorant, that your Holiness being a Per-
son of great Wisdom and Experience, cannot but foresee all those Dangers, nor of your retaining still a fatherly Af-
fection for the Church of Portugal; tho' by reason of great consideration you have
hitherto been withheld from relieving and
comforting her miserable Widowhood.

Wherefore we who cannot but be sen-
sibly touched with the great losses, and
the immense grief of our Sister, are pre-
waded that it is our Duty to solicit your
Holiness a second Time, and to urge you
now with much more vehemence; and
for that reason we do not only send your
Holiness
Holiness this Letter, but we do also send to you the Bishop of Beaujeu, who for his great Talents, and Piety, and for the Esteem he is in among us, cannot but be very acceptable to your Holiness.

Hear the Church of France, which calls upon you, to succour Portugal in her great distress, and to attend to the dignity of the Apostolical See, and to prevent a Schism, the worst of all Evills; and to drive away the Wolves, which whilst there are no Pastors in Portugal, will destroy its Fold. To create new Bishops, to prepare People for God, and to provide Churches, which are under a desolate Widowhood of Spoufes, as soon as it is possible, that Religion may not suffer for want of them, has been in truth always the first Care of the chief Pontiffs: And if, as St. Cyprian faith, the Origin of Heresies is the Bishop, who is one, being despifed by some of his Subjects; your Holiness may easily foresee, how great the danger of Heresie and Schism must be which threatens the Church of Portugal, in which at this time there is but one fingle Bishop, and who is very ancient too. You may answer all the King of Spain's Reasons with one Word, By bidding him recover, what he faith is his own, with the Sword, as that Kingdom is defended by the King of Portugal; who
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gained it by the benefit of Restitution:

For what if Spain should always oppose in-

conveniencies to your granting of Bishops
to Portugal, would your Holiness never
allow her any?

You who are constituted the chief Pont-
tiff of the Church by the Prince of Prelates,
execute your Office, and grant Pastors to
the Church of Portugal, that they who
have strayed may be brought back to the
Fold, and be rescu’d out of the Jaws of the
Wolves, who are roaring over them to tear
them in pieces.

But that we may not be farther trou-
blesome to your Holiness, we remit the
rest to the Bishop of Beaujeu, who will in
our Name treat about this Affair; and
who will, we do hope, obtain in your Ho-
liness’s Presence, that place which is due
to the Episcopal Grandeur, and to the
Authority of those by whom he is sent,
and to that Respect which is born to them
by the holy Apostolical See. In the mean-
time we wish your Holiness a long Life
for the good and profit of the Church.

Paris, in the year 1652.

This Letter, as it is writ with much more
Spirit and Freedom than that of the Church
of Portugal, so I do not doubt, but that if the
Assembly by which it was writ had been left
to
to themselves, and not been restrain'd by the Portuguese, from touching upon any of the Points which had been condemned by the Inquisition, but that they would have threaten'd the Pope with those, or some other such Methods, to very good purpose; as they would certainly have done long before, if the Church of Portugal, had been the Church of France's Case.

The Bishop of Beaujeu, before he left Paris, did write a long Letter to the King of Portugal, to assure him that he would do him all the Service that lay in his power; and having express'd a wonderful Zeal in that Affair, he did seem to be pretty confident that he should bring it to a good Issue, to the great Joy of that King.

But both the King and that Bishop found afterwards that they had been too sanguine; for tho' that Prelate did as much at Rome, as a great capacity, assisted with great Learning and Zeal could perform, it did all signify nothing; for he could draw no other Answer from the Pope, but, That he was ready to fill all the vacant Bishopricks in Portugal and in its Conquests, Motu proprio; but that if they would not receive Bishops from him in that manner, he could not help them to any. This was a Treatment, no Kingdom in the Roman Catholic World, besides Portugal, would, I believe, have endured so long; no not Spain her self.
as Popish as she pretends to be; and for France, she, I believe, would have eased the Pope of the trouble of denying her twice. But as a King of Portugal, as has been before noted, who was offer'd a high religious Title by the Pope, would accept of none but of that, of the Pope's most humble Servant; so the Portuguese after that King's Example, may justly lay claim to that honourable Title of the Pope's most obedient Slaves. And of this Ignatius Loyola was sensible, who being told, that King John the Third of Portugal was angry with the Pope for supporting the Cardinal Michael de Silva against him; did say, That he knew the Kings of Portugal to be so Catholick, that if the Pope did trample upon their Beards, they would not resent it so as to disobey him in any thing. And how was it possible for France to do a People any Service at Rome, who would not allow her to make use of the only Means which could have serv'd them there?

And here, upon the great and constant charge and trouble which France was at for Six and twenty years, to separate Portugal from the Spanish Monarchy; and the much greater charge the House of Austria was at, during all that time, to have kept them united: I cannot but take notice of what has been the success of all that cost and trouble on both sides; which is, That the House of
of Bourbon, at this time, is like to loose the Crown of Spain by that Separation; and the House of Austria is like to gain that Crown by it: A double clear Instance of the short-sightedness of all human Policy; and to these a third, and which is Modern too, may be added, which is, Spain's having had ten times more assistance against the overgrown Power of France, by the Dutch's having thrown off her Yoke, than she could ever have had from them, if they had continu'd subject to her; and yet what an immense Treasure, and how much Blood, did Spain spend to have hinder'd that Separation?

After this Denial in the year 1652, I read of no Diligences us'd in Rome about the Affair of Portugal, during the Pontificate of Innocent the Tenth; to which an unwelcome Death did put an End in the year 1655.

Innocent being dead, the Barbarino's, and the French, strove hard and long in the Conclave, to have exalted the Cardinal Sachetti, who was an intimate friend of Mazarine's, and had been long a French Pensioner, and from the beginning had appear'd Zealous to have had the King of Portugal own'd at Rome: But as the Spaniards were not ignorant of this, so they did with their whole strength oppose that Cardinal's Exaltation; the Ambassador of Spain having on the first day
day of the Conclave declar'd his Master's Exclusion of that Cardinal: And as this Conclave did fit near Three Months before they came to an Election, and had all the Tricks and Forgerys play'd over in it which the Papacy and Machiavel have inspir'd Italians with; so having met with a short Account in Spanish of the proceedings in that Conclave, and which I believe came from a good Hand, I shall, for a little Variety, set it down here.

On the Eighteenth of January, in the year 1655, the Mafs of the Holy Ghost having been heard, according to custom, in the Chappel of St. Peter, and where an Oration was made by the Abbot Rospilliosi, concerning the Election of a new Pope; all the Cardinals, that were present, went to the Palace of the Vatican; where the Conclave having been made ready, and divided into as many Cells as there are Cardinals, they did all enter into their several Apartments; the Cells of the Cardinals Sandoval, de la Cuva, and Mazarine, being all that were empty: In the Evening, the Cardinals were visited by the Ambassadors, the Roman Barons, and most of the Prelates in Rome; and the Ambassador of Spain, when he was in consultation with the Cardinals Montalto and Lugo, having, according to his Custom, been doubtful to say any thing concerning the
the Exclusion of Sachetti; the Promoters of that Cardinal's Exaltation, were so animated by it, that they hoped to have been able to have exalted him the next Morning; and having gone to work presently, they did something towards it that Night; but the rest of the Spanish Cardinals, and the Medici's, who are of the Spanish Faction, were outrageous against their Ambassador; and the Cardinal John Carlos Medici did let him understand, That he would not fail to send an Account of his Conduct into Spain, and which he believed would give him Cause to repent of what he had done: The Ambassador being much terrify'd with this Threat, desired the next Morning to be admitted into the Conclave; and which having been granted to him, he did there declare openly, before the Cardinals to whom he had spoke ambiguously about it before, that he did in the Catholick King's Name, pronounce the Exclusion of the Cardinal Sachetti; and as this declaration very much startled the whole College, and did cool the courage of Sachetti's Promoters, so the Medici were helped to time by it, for to strengthen their Party. The Conclave was not shut up before the Twentieth of January, for want of Officers; and on that Day there was a Scrutiny in the Morning, and another in the Afternoon; but those early Scrutinys are but little considered, matters not
not being then fixed and settled by Negotiations; but after a few days the number of Sachetti's Votes was much increased, and that contrary to what had been agreed on among his Promoters, which was that Sachetti should not be brought upon the Stage, until the Conclave was tired out with all the other pretenders having tried what they were able to do; and which Agreement was of use to the Spaniards and the Medici's, who got time thereby to establish his Exclusion.

The Conclave being thus divided, into the Spanish and Barbarine Parties; the Barbarini's when they treated about the Exaltation of Sachetti were joyned by the Squadron Volant, which consisted of Eleven Cardinals, and who were every one their own head, and by the French likewise, who had Five Cardinals, and who, above all others desired to have Sachetti exalted; not only for his having been excluded by Spain, but chiefly for his being an intimate Friend of Mazarine's.

The Barbarini's, the French, and the Squadron Volant, did vote obstinately for some time Twice a Day, for Sachetti, and did once make up Five and Thirty Votes for him; however they had but little hopes of being able to exalt him, seeing the Medici's who were of the Spanish Faction, had fortify'd themselves with Seven and Twenty Votes for his Exclusion; without reckoning in the old
old Cardinals of Urban's Creation, who did
understand very well, that the Exclusion of
achetti, was a thing convenient for their
fortunes; in the mean time a Paper appear-
d, and as was suppos'd by Barbarino's Order,
in which the Cardinal Sachetti was pro-
lounc'd the fittest Person in the whole Col-
lege to be exalted to the Papacy; and which
was done by him, on purpose to excuse his
not putting any of his own Creatures into
the balance against him; and so, tho' sev-
al of them were proposed, they did all meet
with unconquerable Opposition and Con-
radiction; and the Arts which were used
in their favour, being detected, did hinder
rather than further, their Exaltation.

By these means the Conclave was contin-
ued to the great dissatisfaction of the Col-
lege; those delays being very ill taken by
the Cardinals, as were also the Plots of the
Cardinal Barbarino, who insisted on the Ex-
altation of Sachetti, not regarding the in-
commodities the College laboured under,
or the dangers their Lives were in: For so
full was Barbarino of that matter, that he
was often overheard saying, O Sachetti, O Ca-
leti! whereby he meant, O Pope Sachetti, O
the Coffins of the contrary Votes.

But the humourfome Cardinal John Car-
los de Medici, did now with singular Industry
begin to complain of the Catholic King's
Exclusion
Exclusion of the Person of Sachetti, and did offer to undertake, if that Bar were remov'd and Leave were granted to choose any Cardinal that one should be exalted that was in his Catholick Majesty's Interest; but the Plots vanished quickly, being perceived, by the Persons themselves that were nominated, to be only Venues against Venues, or Tricks play'd against Tricks; however Sachetti's Hopes did sink so fast daily, that having given it over for a lost Game, he began to cast about, since he could not have the Papacy himself, by what Means he might exalt his great Friend and Confident the Cardinal Gichi to it; and knowing that Cardinal to be under the Exclusion of France, he wrote his Friend Mazarine, and did assure him that if that Exclusion was taken off, France should receive all Satisfaction: And Mazarine, trusting to his Friend's Word, persuaded the King to write to Monsieur Leon, his Ambassador in Rome, to take off the Exclusion and to promote the Exaltation of the Cardinal Gichi, that he might in part owe his Election to him, and not wholly to the Spaniards.

Upon this the Cardinals Lomelino, Barbarino, Sachetti, and Imperiale, did all agree to exalt the Cardinal Gichi; but being sensible, that without the Concurrence of the Medicis, and of the Spaniards, they would not be able...
able to bring it about, they resolv'd to treat of it with the Cardinal Lugo, who they knew was afraid left St. Clement's Practi-
ces, which were still boyling, might gather more Heat; and that he was also jealous leatf Barbarino, finding himself defeated of his Hopes, might, contrary to his Inclination, out of necessity, or out of fear of danger, accept of something that was not convenient.

Lugo was glad to have an Occasion given him of bestowing his Vote on a Person of so great Merit as Cardinal Gichi, whose Exaltation was passionately desired by the Jesu-
ites, of which order Lugo himself had been; but being doubtful of the Medici's, tho' he had no reason for it, he writ to the Ambaffa-
dor of Spain, to acquaint him with all that had passed between the Cardinal Barbarino and him; and did tell him farther, that to secure the Exaltation of the Cardinal Gichi, it was necessary, he should by a Letter signi-
fy to the Medici's, that by a Courier which passed lately thro' Rome to Naples, he had re-
ceived fresh Orders from Madrid, commanding him to do all that he was able to promote the Exaltation of the Cardinal Gichi, and in case he were opposed in that, he was then commanded to go to the Conclave, and there immediately to withdraw the Catholick King's Exclusion of the Person of Cardinal Sachetti; and the Ambaffador having, ac-
cording
of the Pope's

cording to Cardinal Lugo's Directions, writ to the Medici's, that he had received such express Order from Madrid, tho' there was no such thing, the Medici's did agree to it presently, and with a very good Will, but being still apprehensive left the old Cardinals, being dissatisfied with Gichi for his being young, might joyn themselves to some other Malecontents, to the ruine of the whole business, the Cardinal Bichi was employ'd to negotiate for Gichi, and who being a Prudent and crafty Man, and constantly confined to his Apartment by the Gout, was visited daily by the greatest part of the Cardinals: And accordingly on the Third of April, Bichi after Dinner, did begin a discourse about the Exaltation of the Cardinal Gichi; and the Cardinals, Medici, Barbarino, Este, and Antonio, having been observ'd to go to his Cell, after that, oftner than they used to do before, a Rumour was presently spread, not only in the Conclave, but over the whole City, that the Cardinal Gichi would be chosen Pope, and who thereupon, on Sunday Morning, was, as it were, proclaim'd Pope by the People.

The crafty Bichi, fearing least this unseasonable Rumour might have an ill Effect in the Conclave, he presently gave out, that Barbarino was resolv'd to make his last Effort for Sachetti; and that he had brought Gichi upon
upon the Stage, for no other end, but to gain the old Cardinals, who he knew would never give their Votes for one so young as Gichi; and this having been believed by the major Part of the Cardinals, Gichi pursued his point so close all Sunday and Monday, that on Tuesday Morning he had fixed the business with Barbarino, Este, and the Squadron Vanta, and soon after with the Medici's; and in the evening it was adjusted with Lugo, that the next Day, Barbarino and Este should go to Antonio the Dean of the College, and propose the Cardinal Gichi to him, as the Person that was desired by them all, having been induced to it by his great Capacity, Virtue, Modesty, and Affability; and that the Dean and Barbarino and some other Cardinals should go to Gichi's Cell, to make him an offer of the Pontificate: And accordingly, not only the Cardinals, who had been named, but all the rest having had a hint of it, went to wait on Gichi with that offer; and having gone soon after to a Scrutiny, Gichi was chosen Pope with the unanimous vote of the whole College; and being asked by the Dean whether he did accept of the Pontificate, he returned no answer, but went to God for Direction, in a Resolution of so great Moment; and being, after a short Ejaculation, inspired to accept of it, he took on him the Name of Alexander the Seventh: Obedience as the Custom is,
was then immediately paid to him in the Chappel of the sacred College; and which being over, he went to an Apartment where a Dinner was provided, and continued there till within two Hours of Night; and having then gone to the Chappel of Sistus, Obedience was yielded to him by all the Cardinals a second Time; and having descended from thence to St. Peter's, where he was seated on the Corner of the Altar of the Apostles, and not in the Middle of it, as other Popes used to be, Obedience was paid to him a third Time by the whole College; with which Ceremony, this holy and glorious Action ended to the great Joy of all People; the Chair of St. Peter having been Vacant from the seventh of January of the Year 1655, until the seventh of April of the same Year.

I have enlarged on this Election, because I had a true Relation of its Proceedings, on which I took a Summary; but have here forborn to mention divers Artifices, which were made use of in that Conclave: God serving himself of human Stratagems, in the Election of his Vicar on Earth.

This Account was written by a bigotted Spanish Papist; and who for that reason, did forbear, as he tells us, to publish many of the Tricks of that Conclave, which had come to his knowledge: However, upon what he has
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as made publick, one may, I think ventures to say, that there are no Elections, less of the Spirit of God appears in, than in those of the Popes.

The Exclusion of Sachetti, and the Exaltation of Gichi, in which the French do seem to have been out-witted by the Italians and Spaniards; did cost the Crown of Spain so dear, that a certain Minister of that Nation did declare upon it, that if Spain would be adjourn’d by him, she should never be at the charge of making any more Popes; for he was sure she might buy them cheaper ready made to her Hand, as tho’ they were of a French Manufacture.

And now, considering by what Arts the Popes are, and have for a long time been hosen, can one that knows, that there is a papal Constitution in force, which nulls and voids all Elections to the Papacy, in which any Money, Office, or Benefice, has been given or promis’d to any of the Electors, either by the Person who is Elect, or by any of his Friends, tho’ he be chosen by the unanimous Voice of the whole College; can any, I say, that know this, possibly think that there has been so much as one true Pope in the Chair of Rome since that Constitution was made; or that ever there will be one, whilst it remains in Force, and the Papacy is so high a Dignity: And yet for all that, I do not take that Constitution to
to be in much danger of being repealed, for
the Popes rather then undergo the reflection
which would be made upon its being re-
vok'd, tho' no doubt they do wish it had
never been enacted, will endure to be told
by their own Consciences, that, by reason of
that Constitution, they have no Right to the
Chair they sit on, nor to any of its Profits or
Privileges. And when to this is added the
uncertainty they are at of their Popes being
Bishops, or in any holy Order, which, accor-
ding to the Doctrine of their Church, depends
wholy on the Intentions of the Persons by
whom they were ordained, is it possible for
a Man of Thought, not to stand amaz'd at
the Romish Doctors dictating, as they do, that
an infallible Certainty is absolutely necessa-
ry to a belief of the Truths of Religion? since,
Tho' they were certain to that degree, of the
Bishop of Rome's being infallible, they can-
not, upon their own Principles, be infallibly
certain of any Man's being Bishop of Rome;
So that unless they think they shall be able
with Clamour, and pure dint of Forehead,
so to bear down Peoples understandings, as
implicitly to Submit to all their Dictates;
I cannot see how they can hope to do Reli-
gion any Service, by thus slighting that Cer-
tainty, and the Evidence of it, which it has;
to set up an Idol of Certainty, of which, up-
on their own Principles, they cannot possi-

bly
Behaviour towards Portugal.

bly be infallibly certain: But this, and their comparing their Legendary Miracles, in point of Certainty, with those which were wrought by Christ and his Apostles, are not the only Wounds, tho' they are deep ones, which Popery, to advance it self and its own Credit in the World, has given to the Christian Religion. But to return to the new Pope, whose Case this was visibly, and to the King of Portugal.

That King, tho' he was extreamly troubled at his great Friend Sachetti's having left the Pontificate, and had but little reason to hope for more favour from the present Pope, who was a Creature of Spain's, than he had met with from his Predecessor: Yet there being several Instances of Popes, who had not been much devoted to the Princes at whose charge they had been exalted; he did resolve forthwith to surprize the new Pope with an Embassy: And having no abler Minister any where, than Don Francisco de Sousa a Coutinho, his Ambassador in France, at that time; and who had done him great service in that Court; he commanded him to repair immediately to Rome, and with as little noise as was possible, with the Character of his Ambassador extraordinary, to congratulate the new Pope's Exaltation, and to yield obedience to him in his Name: And which that Minister having done with all possible
possible secrecy and expedition, he appeared in Rome with the State and Equipage of an Ambassador, and was there treated as such by the French and by all their Creatures in that Court: But notwithstanding that able Minister did stay several Months in Rome, and did use all the Diligences that could be thought of, he was never able to procure an Audience of the Pope; neither did that Pope, to his dying Day, then he lived to the Year 1667, ever grant Bishops to the Church of Portugal; then she had only one Bishop, and who was very ancient, during the whole Time of his Pontificate.

What other Diligences were used in Rome by Portugal, or whether she used any after this there, I have not been able to learn; having seen no Memoires by which that Affair is carried lower than the Death of King John, who dyed in the year 1656, leaving his Subjects ingaged in a War with Spain; and leaving an Heir behind him, who, beside that he was young, did not appear well qualified to hold a Crown on his Head, which had been so lately taken by his Father from so powerful a Neighbour. But as Donna Luisa, the Queen Mother, had done most of the Business in her Husband's Life time; so by having doubled her application and diligence after her Husband's death, she caused him to be but little missed; and the War, both before and after Spain.
Spain had a Peace with France, was carried on by her with that steadiness and dexterity, that the Spanish, after the Battle of Montesclaros, in which they were soundly beat by the Valour of the English Auxiliaries, were in the year 1666, glad to conclude a Peace with Portugal, and to leave the Crown of that Kingdom to the House of Braganza, after a continu’d Struggle for Twenty six years to have recover’d it. And upon that Peace, of which the King of England was the Mediator, all things in Portugal having return’d into their old Channel, Pope Clement the 9th, tho’ in his Affections he was more a Spaniard then either of the former, perceiving it was in vain to insist longer on his Motu proprio Provisions; did confirm all the Prelates nam’d by the Crown of Portugal to the vacant Bishopricks, in the usual manner.

I shall here conclude this Tract, with observing how incommodious a thing it is, now that Christendom is divided into so many distinct and independent Civil Governments, and the Bishop of Rome himself is likewise become a great secular Prince, for any National Church to be subject to that Bishop: The true and greatest Interests of all the Churches, which are under that Bishop’s ecclesiastical, and not under his secular Dominion, being constantly sacrificed to the secular
lar Advantages, and ambitious Aims of the Papacy; and to those of the Princes like-will, who either out of Fear or Love, are the most regarded by the Pope. So that to this Bondage, the Words of St. Peter may well be apply’d, by all the reformed Churches: *It is a Yoke neither our Fathers nor we are able to bear.* And may God in his great mercy ease all Christian Churches of it, breaking all its politick Bonds asunder; but above all, that of the merciless Inquisition, by which Portugal was, on this Occasion, diverted from those Primitive ways, which would have led her into Freedom and found Christian Doctrine, after the Example of the Church of England.

**FINIS.**
THE APPENDIX.

THE last Article in the Concordate betwixt King Philip the Second of Spain, and the Three Estates of Portugal.

And in case it do so happen that I, or any of my Successors, do not observe what is promis'd and sworn in the foregoing Articles; the Three Estates of this Kingdom shall not be so bound, that they may not freely deny Submission, Vassalage, and Obedience to me; without incurring, on that Account, the crime of Treason, or any other ill Case.

This Article was left out by the Spaniards in all the printed Relations of that Concordate, notwithstanding it had been printed in it, and at Madrid too, in the Lege Regia of Portugal, and is in all the Manuscripts of it. And of this Article the Portuguese Writers
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ters made great use, to vindicate their having taken the Crown from the Spaniard, by whom they said those Articles had been all violated; and bestow'd it on the House of Braganza.

The Portuguese and their Friends in Rome, having all still insisted on the Pope's being bound, after the example of his Predecessors, to confirm the King's Nominations to the Bishopricks in Portugal, as he was the Possessor of that Kingdom, suppose he had no Right to it; did urge the Authority of the Council of Trent for the observation of that wise and safe old Custom; the same Respect being paid by that Council, in the Ninth Chapter of its Twenty Fifth Session, to the Possessors of Kingdoms, as if they were their lawful Kings; where, in an Exception made in favour of Sovereign Princes, in the matter of Patronages, it is said,

Exceptis Patronatibus, quæ ad Imperatorem, & Reges, seu Regna Possidentes, aliosque sublimes ac supremos Principes Jura Imperii in dominis suis habentes, pertinent.

And that it has been the Pope's constant Custom to acknowledge the Prince that is in possession of the Kingdom to be its King, however he got into the Possession of it; is manifest from Pope Gregory the Tenth having for that, and for no other Reason, acknowledg'd
ledg'd Rodolph Emperor of Germany in contradiction to Alfonso King of Castile; and from Pius the Second having acknowledg'd Matthias Corvinus King of Hungary in contradiction to Frederick; Ferdinand King of Naples in contradiction to Reyne; and from Boniface the Ninth having acknowledg'd Don John the First of Portugal, King, in contradiction to Spain; and King Henry the First of Castile in contradiction to Donna Constance Dutchess of Lancaster, and Heiress to King Peter the Cruel, who was murther'd by that Don Henry his Bastard Brother: And to which Twenty instances more might be added, to prove this to have been the constant Practice of the Roman Chair.

Having in the fore-going History, often mention'd the Way by which the Ancient Spanish Church was provided of Bishops, I shall here set that down which was in use in her at the end of the Sixth Century; as I find it enjoyn'd in the Three first Canons of the Collection made by Martin Archbishop of Braga, who flourish'd in Portugal at that Time.

First Canon. De electione Episcopi.

' Non liceat populo electionem facere, qui ad Sacerdotium provocantur, sed judicium sit Episcoporum; ut ipsi eum qui or-
Second Canon. De ordinando Episcopo.

Episcopum oportet maxime quidem ab omni Concilio constitui; sed si hoc aut pro necessitate, aut pro longinquitate itineris difficile fuerit; ex omnibus tres colligantur, & omnium praesentium vel absentium subscriptiones teneantur; & sic postea ordinatio fiat: Hujus autem rei potestas in omni provincia ad Metropolitanum pertineat Episcopum.

Third Canon. De evacuanda ordinatione quasi absente Metropolitanano fuerit facta.

Non debet ordinari Episcopus absque consilio & praesentia Metropolitanani Episcopi: Adesse autem oportet omnes qui sunt in provincia Sacerdotes, quos per suam debet Epistolam convocare. & si quidem omnes occurrerint, melius; si autem hoc difficile fuerit, pluriores oportet occurrere: Qui autem non venerint, praesentiam sui per suas epistolas faciant; & sic omnium facto consensu ordinationem Episcopi fieri oportet. Si autem aliter, praeter quod a nobis terminatum est, fuerit factum, talem ordinationem nihil praevalere decernimus. Si
Si autem fecundum Canones ordinatio Episcopi fuerit facta, & aliquis contra, sua malitia, in aliquo contradixerit, plurimum consensus obtineat.

By this way, Bishops were, I believe, chosen in the Spanish, and in most other churches, for some Ages after the Laity were excluded, for just and weighty Reasons, from their Election: And this way, I suppose, did continue until the Temporalities of the Bishops were come to be very great; when the Kings, for that reason, did take the Nomination of all the Bishops within their Dominions into their own hands; only for form's sake, they did send to the Chapters of the Cathedrals to choose the Persons whom they had nam'd, and which being done, they who had been so named and elected were consecrated by the Metropolis, and were thereupon in the full Possession of the whole Episcopal Jurisdiction.

But when the Papacy grew powerful, and spread its Wings over all the West; the Chapters were encouraged by it, on some pretence or other, many times to reject the Ecclesiasticks who had been nam'd to them by the King, and to choose others recommended to them by the Pope: And as this was always ill taken by the Kings, so upon those Elections such great heats were frequently struck up betwixt them and the Chapters.
Chapters, who had the Pope for the most part on their side, that the Kings and the Popes at last judged it to be for both the Interest, to divide the matter betwixt them. And so the Nomination of all the Bishops within their Dominions did remain lodged in the Kings; but they who were named to them, were not to be consecrated, nor to exercise any Episcopal Jurisdiction, before they were approved of, and confirmed by the Pope. And as this late Composition was the thing that first gave Occasion to the Papal Parasites, to maintain, that all Episcopal Jurisdiction was deriv'd so from the Pope, that it is not lawful for any, tho' they be consecrated Bishops, to exercise the last Jurisdiction without the Pope's Leave; so the Fees at Rome for those Papal Confirmation were set so high, that they became a considerable Branch of the Pontifical Revenue.

And is it not a matter of Amazement, the Church of Portugal, rather than return to a Path which was thus chalked out for her, in her purer Ages, and by her own Primate; should for Six and Twenty years together, be at so much Charge and Trouble, and be for above Fifteen years reduced to one single old decrepitious Bishop? It was certainly, the Vision of things, thus unreasonable, and unaccountably absurd, that caused St. John, when he saw the Woman who had...
and Mystery, &c. writ on her Forehead, To wonder with great Admiration. But the thing that makes the Portugueses suffering themselves to be reduc'd to so great straits for want of Bishops, to be yet the more wonderful, is, That they wanted not, in their own kingdom, abundance of instances of Ecclesiastics, who had been consecrated Bishops, and had upon that immediately exercised Episcopal Jurisdiction in their Dioceses, without waiting for any Approbation or Confirmation from Rome; witness, 1st, Girald in the time of their first Prince the Conde Don Henrique. 2dly, Godinho in the Reign of King Alfonso the Third. 3dly, Peter in the Reign of King Sancho. 4thly, Giraldes in the Reign of King Alfonso the Second. 5thly, Miz in the Reign of King Dennis. 6thly, Oliveira; and thly, Pereira in the Reign of King Alfonso the fourth. 8thly, Vasco in the Reign of King Fernando: And even since the Cap: Avari- ne, by which the Pope's consent came to be required to Bishops exercising of their Jurisdiction, Portugal had not thought her self so tied up by that Constitution, as not to act contrary to it, when there was Occasion: since that time, the Episcopal Jurisdiction had, without any leave from the Pope, been exerciz'd in the Bishoprick of Braga, of which Church all the forementioned Prelates were Bishops. 1. By Don Martin. 2. By
The A P P E N D I X.

By Don Bernard in the Reign of King John the First. 3. By Don John in the Reign of King John the Second. 4. By the Infant Don Edward in the Reign of his Father King John the Third. 5. By Don Baltazar, and 6. By Manuel in the same Reign. and 7. By Don Antony in the year 1581, in the Reign of Philip the Second: and Dr. Navar, who at that time was a Professor in Combra, did stoutly maintain that all Bishops deriv'd their Jurisdiction immediately from Christ, and not from the Pope.

The enacting Part of the Constitution of Pope Julius the Second, which makes void all Elections to the Papacy, procur'd by Promises or by any other Bribes.

' Cum tam divino quam humano jure, in spiritualibus præcipue, detestabiliter Simoniae labes prohibita, & longe magis in electione Rom. Pontif. Vicarii Jesu Christi D. N. abominabilis sit, & univerali Ecclesiae pernicioosa.
' Nos, qui regimini ejusdem universali Ecclesiae, meritis imparibus, annuente domino, præsidemus; cupientes quantum cum Deo possumus in præmissis, pro tantâ re necessitate ac periculi magnitudine, ut in nemur in posterum salubriter providere de fratrum nostrorum sanctæ Romanae Ecclesice
cleisæ Cardinalium consilio & unanimi consensu, hac nostra, perpetuo valitura, constitutione, Apostolica auctoritate, & de po-
testatis nostræ plenitudine, statuimus, ordinamus, decernimus & definimus, quod si, quod Deus pro sua clementia & ineffabili bo-
nitate avertat, contigerit postquam nos vel succedere nostròs successive, ipse Deus ab hujusmodi universalis Ecclesiæ regimine absolverit, humani generis inimico procuran-
te, & ambitione vel cupiditate ad hoc in-
clinante seu impellente, electionem Romani Pontificis ab eo quem elegi contigerit, vel ab aliquo seu aliquibus de cætu Cardi-
nalium quomodo libet votum dantibus per simoniacam hæresim, in dando, promitten-
do, vel recipiendo pecunias, bona cujusque generis, castra, officia, vel beneficia, seu promissiones & obligationes, commissam per se vel alium seu alios quomodocunque & qualitercumque, etiam in duarum partium, vel omnium Cardinalium unanimi concor-
dia, quomodolibet etiam per viam assumpti-
onis unanimiter, nemine discrepante, etiam sine scrutinio factæ celebrari vel fieri, non solum hujusmodi electio, vel assumptio eo ipso nulla existat, nullam eidem sic electo vel as-
sumptio administrandi in spiritualibus & tem-
poralibus facultatem tribuat, sed etiam con-
tradictum sic electum, vel assumptum de simoniaca labe a quocunque Cardinali qui ' eidem
This perpetual Constitution was published in the year 1505, and it was well for him that made it, that it was not in being when he was chosen Pope; for if it had, his Election would have been palpably nulled by the Promises of rich Benefices and Offices, and the Distribution of a vast sum of Money among the Cardinals, having been the steps by which he had visibly ascended the Pontifical Chain, as we are told by Guichardin, and the Council.
of Pisa, which was assembled by the Emperor and by the French King, to call Julius to an Account for his Perjury, and other great misdemeanors: And to the driving of this great Bargain Julius was encouraged, it is like, by his Predecessor Alexander the Sixth having said among his familiar friends; That the Papacy was a Benefice which had always been bought and sold cheap by unskilful Men, who understood not its true Value; it being one of the things in the World, that could not be purchased too dear. The thing therefore that mov'd Julius to shut the back door of Simony, by which he himself had entered, against all that came after him; was boldly to have born down the certain notice, and the loud clamour, which was everywhere at that time, of his having been Simoniacally hosen Pope. So Usurpers after that they are in the Throne, do take care to have the steps remov'd by which they ascended, least others should make use of them to their prejudice.

The Canon of The Council of Trent, which necessarily hinders all Roman Catholicks from being infallibly certain of the Pope's being a Bishop, or in any holy Order.

' Si quis dixerit, in ministris dum sacramenta conficiunt & conferunt, non requiri...
intentionem, saltem faciendi quod facit Ecclesia; Anathema fit.

Now if without a Revelation they cannot possibly be certain of the intention of the Bishop by whom the Pope was ordained a Priest, or a Bishop: How can they be infallibly certain of any of their Popes being in holy Orders, or indeed of any other Bishop or Priest being in them. So that the Pope is either fallible in having made this Canon; or according to it, none can be infallibly certain of his being a Bishop, or so much as a Christian.

These and Twenty things more, do cause it to be no easy matter, to find a Rock anywhere, for the Roman Infallibility to stand upon, (for on a Rock they will have it to stand,) unless it be in the Foreheads of its Champions.

FINIS.
A DISCOVERY
OF SOME
Gross Mistakes
IN THE
Roman Martyrology
Reform'd, Publish'd, and Authoriz'd by Pope Gregory the 13th.

By Michael Geddes, LL. D. and Chancellor of the Cathedral Church of Sarum.

Were the Bishops of Rome infallible in any Matters of Fact, there could not be any Mistakes in the Martyrologies which are published and authorized by them; there being no case, wherein mistakes are of worse consequence to Religion: For as should the Popes, who do exhort their Sheep to pray to all the Saints which are named in their Martyrologies, be so mistaken as to name that for a Saint in them, which is nothing in the World, they would be Accessory to their Sheeps being guilty of Idolatry, in their own Notion of that Crime; so should they, in them, mistake Things for Persons, or Heathens for Christians, or Heretics for Orthodox, they would be accessory to their praying to Things and Persons, to which Prayers ought not to be made, supposing it to be lawful to pray to Angels and Saints.

And that there are several such Mistakes, in the present Reform'd Roman Martyrology, is, I think, demonstrated in the following Treatise: Neither do I in the least doubt, but that if any, who have more leisure, and more Martyrologies, and a greater insight into Roman Antiquities, than I have, would diligently apply themselves to it, they would be able to discover an hundred more such mistakes in that Book: And

The

Preface.
The Truth is, the Reason why I do offer this handful of them to the Publick, is, to encourage some who are possess'd of those Advantages, to make use of them for that purpose; and which would be a great service to the Church of England, and to her true Christian worship of God only, in exposing the Dorgages and Frauds which do still attend all sorts of Creature-worship, and in discrediting the Papal Authority, by which most of them are authoriz'd, and the rest are tolerated and encouraged: So we see the Prophet Elijah judged no way to be so effectual to cure Mankind of their sensual inclination to an Idolatrous worship, as the exposing of its Folly to Scorn; and especially when its followers are become Argument-proof; as the Roman Church is, by experience, known to be: More than enough having been publish'd by learned Protestants, to have convinced her of her being involved in that forbidden way of worship; if unanswerable Arguments could have done it.
A DISCOVERY OF SOME Gross Mistakes IN THE Roman Martyrology, &c.

Pope Gregory the 13th, having employed some learned Mathematicians to reform the Kalender; after that was done, he employ'd some Antiquaries to reform the Roman Martyrology, which was in great Confusion at that Time; and which being finish'd, he commanded it to be publish'd: Authorizing it with the following Bull, which is always printed in its Front.
Mendato jam Kalendario, curavimus (quod antea quoque decreveramus) Romanum Martyrologium nonnullis in locis librariorum typographorumque negligentia mendosum, per viros eruditos, ad fidem historiae, quæ rerum gestarum, personarum, locorum, temporum veritate continentur, adhibitis etiam codicibus vetustioribus atq; emendatoribus, corrigi; correctumq; & multis in locis auctum, proposita etiam atq; explicata Epactarum, Lunæq; singulis diebus numerandæ ratione, edì; vetustissimoq; Ecclesiæ more in Choro legendum proponi; ad Dei gloriam, ad Sanctorum ipforum, quorum memoria celebratur, laudem ; ad eorum qui legunt, quiq; audiunt, fructum. Habet enim Sanctorum innocentiae, charitatis, fortitudinis, cæterarumq; virtutum commemoratio, stimulos quosdam acerrimos, quibus tum maxime incitamur, cum illorum propositis exemplis, nostram desidiam agnoscamus, quamq; procul ab illorum laude & perfectione absfumus, cogitamus. Mandamus igitur omnibus Patriarchis, Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Abbatibus, cæterisq; Ecclesiis, Monaf-
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Monasteriis, Conventibus, Ordinibus, five secularibus five regularibus, quibus cunctis, ut in peragendo divino in Choro officio, omni alio Martyrologio amoto, hoc tantum nostro utantur, nulla re addita, mutata, adempta. Si quos alios habuerint Sanctos, in suis Ecclesiis aut locis celebrari folitos, eos in hunc librum ne inferant; sed seperatim descriptos habeant, eumque illis locum atq; ordinem tribuant, quiregulis hic descriptis traditur. Eadem etiam iiis qui in Horis Ecclesiasticis privatim Martyrologio uti voluerint, (quod quidem magnopere cuperemus ut omnes facere vellent) mandamus: omnibusq; aliorum Martyrologiorum omnium publice privatimq; in Ecclesiasticis Horis usu interdicens. Typographis etiam prohibemus, ne in posterum hoc nostrumulla in re minutum, autum, mutatum, edere audeant. Siquis aliter quam hoc nostro decreto comprehensum est, fecerit; noverit se in Dei omnipotentis, beatorumq; Apostolorum Petri & Pauli Indignationem incursurum. Datum Romæ apud sanctum Petrum, sub annulo Piscatoris, die 14. Januarii, MDLXXXIV. Pontificatus nostris anno duodecimo.

Ant. Buccapadulius.

In this Bull, Pope Gregory commands his Reform'd Martyrology, and no other, to be used.
ed in all Churches and Chappells; and wishes that all would use it privately too in their Ecclesiastical Hours; and having strictly forbid the adding of any thing to it, or the changing, or leaving any thing out of it; he denounceth, all that shall presume to do so, to have incurred the Indignation of Almighty God, and that of the Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul; which that Pope would not certainly have done, if he had not judged that Martyrology to be free from all Errors, that might mislead his Sheep in their Worship.

And yet, notwithstanding this Martyrology being arm'd with so terrible a Thunderbolt, and its being so much against the Grain of the Roman Church to acknowledge herself, or her Popes, to have committed any Error, Two who where then named in that Martyrology as Saints, have been since left out of it; and that many more ought to be, for having no better Title to Saintship than those two had, will I believe be manifest from the following Instances.

On the First of January, the first Saint in the Roman reform'd Martyrology, is St. Almachius, and who is said there to have suffer'd Martyrdom in Rome, at the Command of Alpius Prefect of that City, having been kill'd by the Gladiators, for having said, this Day is the Octaves of the Lord's
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Lord's Day; cease from the superstition of Idols, and from polluted Sacrifices.

Now as this Almachius is not nam'd in the ancient Corbey Martyrology, nor in that of Luca, publish'd by Franciscus Maria Florentinus; so in that of Antwerp, set forth by Bollandus, there is no mention of him; but in his Place there is one St. Corona, and who next after him in the Roman Martyrology; and to that St. Corona the foremention'd speech, in the very same Words, is attributed; and he is also said to have suffer'd Martyrdom for it, in the same Place, and after the same Manner.

It is not easy to guess, how St. Corona came to be joind out of his Post of Honour, and to be robbed of his Speech, by St. Almachius; unless it were by some ignorant Scribe's having taken the Word Almanack before the Calendar for the Name of a Man; and having put him in the first place in the Year because he found that Word there, the forementioned Speech did fall to him of course, as belonging to the first Saint of the year, whoever he was: But whether that Speech was made by St. Corona, or by St. Almachius; or whether he that made it, did suffer Martyrdom or it under Dioclesian, or under Honorius; and whether St. Corona be a Person or not; in one of which the Learned are agreed; it will not be an easy task to prove, that the first of January
January was called the Octaves of the Lord's Day, as it is in that Speech, so early as the latest of those two Dates. I shall here only mention, that Macrobius writes positively, That among the Romans it was not lawful to put any to Death, or to punish any corporally, upon the Kalends, or the first Day, of any Month.

But tho' an old Almanack is proverbially the most useless thing that is known, yet it is not nothing in the World; as we shall see anon a great many are, who are recorded as Saints in the Roman Martyrology.

On the Second of January, in the reform'd Roman Martyrology, it is said, At Antioch, the Passion of St. Isidore Bishop; and after, on the same day, it is said, of St. Siradon Bishop.

Here we have two fantastical Saints, by blunder, created out of one true Saint; who was Domnus Bishop of Antioch: And the ancient Martyrologies do discover, both the true Reading, and the Origin of this Mistake, for in the Corbey, and in that of Luca, and in that of the Queen of Sweden, and in that of Antwerp, on this day, it is said, In Antioch of Syridoni Bishop of that place.

That is in Antioch of Syria (to distinguish it from the Antioch in Pisidia,) of Domnus Bishop of that City. Now it is certain, that there was a famous Bishop of Antioch, of the Name
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Name of Domnus, and who was exalted to that Chair in the place of Paulus Samosetanus; whereas that City never had a Bishop of the Name of Isidore, or of that of Siridon.

On the Sixth of January it is said, At Geris in Egypt, of Saint Nilammonis, &c.

As on this day there is no such Saint as Nilammon, in the ancient Luca Martyrology, nor in that of Corbey, nor in the Queen of Sweden's; so I find no such place as Geris in any of my Dictionarys, tho' Baronius says it stands near Fifty Furlongs from Pelusium; and whether Nile and Ammon, two well known Names in Egypt, having been some way or other blundered together, did not give both Being and a Name to this Saint Nilammon, I shall leave to the enquiry of the Critics.

On the Twenty Fourth of January, in the Reform'd Roman Martyrology, authorize'd by Pope Gregory the thirteenth, it was said, In the same City, (that is in Antioch) of St. Zynorides a Martyr.

This Saint and Martyr had kept the Place which was given her by Pope Gregory, if it had not been for some spiteful French Critics; who having started at her Name, then they met with it in the Reform'd Martyrology, did write to Rome to know where that Saint had been met with; and having had word sent them of the Place, it did
did plainly appear, that Zynorides was the Name of a Man, or of a Woman, did only signify a Pair or a Couple; and this blunder was so palpable, that poor Zynorides, was not, with the Shield Pope Gregory had given her, able to maintain ground long; having been left out in all following Editions of that Martyrology intin: And so in that which I have by printed at Antwerp, with Barodius's Note upon it, in the year 1589, Zynorides is nam'd; only in the Index she holds ground, that having been made to the Impression of that Martyrology under Gregory.

But in the Reform'd Roman Martyrology translated into Portuguese, and printed at Conimbra, in the year 1592; tho' that ville Three years after her annihilation at Rome Zynorides keeps her place: The Portuguese and Spaniards being so much truer Papists than those at Rome, that rather than knowledge a Pope to have committed gross an Error, in a matter of so great importance to Religion, they will, with wrangling Reasons and false History, maintain it Doom's Day: So that tho' at Rome St. Zynorides, or St. Couple, is nothing in the Word, she will in all likelihood, be pray'd to by the Portuguese and Spaniards, as long as they pray to any Saint.
In the 29th of January, in the Reform'd Roman Martyrology, it was said, At Brugis, of St. Sulpitius Severus Bishop, the Disciple of St. Martin, conspicuous for Virtue and Learning.

This virtuous and learned Saint, tho' he maintain'd the Post he was put into by Pope Gregory, near Threescore years; was at last lodged by Pope Urban the Eighth, who, having the fear of Pope Gregory's Thunderbolt before his Eyes, commanded this Saint to be expung'd out of the Roman Martyrology.

But, as St. Severus, and Zynorides, are both in the Martyrology in Portuguese; so the Bishops will, rather than by a publick Act prohibit the praying to them, to the discretion of the Papal Authority, wink at their Bishops praying to that which they have stifly own'd to be nothing in the World; and one, whom they have expung'd out of their Martyrology for having been an Heretik.

On the 16th of February, in the Reform'd Roman Martyrology, it is said, In Egypt, of St. Julianus the Martyr, with other Five Thousand.

Now, if this is the Julianus who was Pamphilus's Companion, as it is undoubtedly, Pope Gregory has mightily increased his Company; they that suffer'd in Egypt with him having
having been but Five in Number; and having been Soldiers, the contracted Word Mil: for Milites, was taken for Mille, or a Thousand. So that unless the Creatures of a Blunder are something, here are Four thousand Nine hundred and Ninty five, pray'd to Saints in the Roman Martyrology, who a nothing in the World.

And ought not a Pope's having authorized such gross Errors, and declar'd those to have incurr'd the Indignation of Almighty G that shall correct them; to teach all Successors, not to be (after Gregory's Example) so hasty in thundering out of Curse until they are more certain of their Chair being infallible.

On the 4th of March, it is said, At Rome in the Appian Way, of Nine hundred Martyrs.

This number is much lessen'd in the ancient Antwerp Martyrology, in which it is said At Rome, of Ten Martyrs.

On the 14th of March, it is said, At Rome the Birth-day of Forty seven holy Martyrs who were baptiz'd by the blessed Apostle S Peter in the Mamertine Prison.

I shall leave it to those who have Skill in Architecture, to judge whether that Edifice could be built for a Prison; and I shall be glad to know of those who are well read in the Greek and Latin Descriptions of the City of Rome.
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ome, whether they have ever met with a
risen, or any other Place in that City, which was call’d the Mamertine; or, before the dark Ages of Legends, did read of any risons being in that part of that City.
On the 15th of March it is said, At Cæsarea
in Cappadocia, the Passion of Longinus, who pierc’d our Lord’s side with a Spear.
The Greek word Ἀγον, or Spear, having been taken by some ignorant Latin, for the soldier’s Name who pierc’d our blessed Lord’s side with a Spear, did, I conceive, give Personality and Saintship with the Name of Longinus to this Saint.
On the 23d of April, it is said, The birth day of St. George the Martyr, whose illus-
trious Martyrdom the Church of God ve-
erates among the Crowns of the Martyrs.
The Acts of St. George were condemned as Fictions above Twelve hundred years ap-
; and whether the Acts of that Saint, which are not extant, be the same or not, it will not be easy for any that reads them, to doubt of St. George’s having been, from a Symbol of Christian Valour, metamorpho-
ed by Ignorance into a Man, and a Christi-
ian Champion. The same may, I believe, be said of St. Christopher, and St. Katherine, who are both in the Roman Martyrology, and to make a great Figure in the Roman Churches:
On
On the 29th of May, it is said, In Umbria
the Passion of one thousand five hundred and twenty five Holy Martyrs.

This great Battalion is not mention'd in the Luca nor Corbey, nor any other ancien Martyrology; nor no where else, but in the Acts of the Martyrdom of St. Venantius. Which Acts Baronius himself, on another occasion, acknowledges to be so full of Blunder as to want a Censure, and not a small Correction.

And if such a Legend as this, can by a single Authority advance One thousand five hundred and twenty five to the Title of Saints and Martyrs in the Roman Martyrology; that Book had need be arm'd by the Popes with Thunderbolts, to help its own Authority to any Reverence.

On the 31st of May, it is said, Of St. Petronilla a Virgin, the Daughter of St. Pet the Apostle, who having slighted the Marriage of Flaccus a Nobleman, did obtain three Days to consider of it; and who having during that Time given herself wholly to Fasting and Prayer, on the third Day, as soon as she had received Christ's Sacrament, she yielded up the Ghost.

Now this St. Petronilla, which by the way does not found much like a Jewish Name, must either have been born a Year after St. Peter was an Apostle; or she must have been Forty years old when the noble Flaccus...
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was so charm'd with her Beauty, that he was wild to have had her for his Wife: But the Roman Catholicks, as much as they venerate St. Petronilla, will not, to help to take out her Story, allow St. Peter; after he was call'd to be an Apostle, to have cohabited with her Mother: Nor indeed ought this Saint to be made use of as an argument to prove that Cohabitation, since whoever reads her Story, may by divers marks plainly discover her to have had no other Parent but an ignorant and superstitious Invention, the fruitful Mother of many strange Births.

On the 22d of June it is said, On the Mountain of Ararat, the Passion of Ten thousand holy Martyrs, who were crucified.

This Army is not mention'd in the Luca or in the Corbey, nor in any other ancient Martyrology, if we may believe Radulph Bishop of Tongres; and who for that Reason declared honestly, that untill he saw better Evidence for them, he should look on them as a fabulous Invention. And so skilful a Geographer was the Deviser of this Legend, that the Mountains of Ararat are planted by him in the Neighbourhood of Alexandria; which Funder Baronius thinks he has cover'd sufficiently, by telling us out of Pliny, that there was a place call'd Alexandria near the River Tigris: It is very true there was, but as that O Alexandria
Alexandria was but little, if it was at all known in the West, in the Legendary Ages, so Tigris is not so short a River, that if Mountain and a City stand upon it, they must needs be near to one another; as it is truth that Mountain and City were not, but at a great Distance from each other. This shift of Baronius's, may very well serve for a Sample, of the wiggling Ways that are taken by the Popish Champions, to palliate the grossest Blunders in Geography, History, and Chronology; when they cannot be owned without doing some prejudice to their Causes.

On the same day it is said, At Samaria, One thousand four hundred and eight holy Martyrs, under Cosbroe King of the Persians.

These Martyrs are not mention'd in the Luca, nor in any other Ancient Martyrology, that I have seen: And upon a strict Enquiry, I do very much suspect, that in Cosbroe Time the People of Samaria will be found to have been Jews, for the most part; and then it may be found that Cosbroe never had any power in that City, to put either Christians or Jews to Death in it.

On the Ninth of July, it is said, At Rome, at the Drop that is still Dropping, the Birth-day of the Holy Martyr Zeno, and of Ten thousand two hundred and twenty more.
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Now in the Ancient Luca and Corbay Martyrologies it is said, At Tomis, of St. Zenonis; and who is said to have had but Five Companions: And in a very Ancient Manuscript, he is said to have had but One, whose Name was Mimia; and who, in the Martyrologies where Zenonis is said to have Five Companions, is still the next after him.

And now that the Two last Letters in Zenonis, and the M and other Letters in Mimia, having been taken for Numerals, did make up this Army of Ten thousand two hundred and three Martyrs, none can doubt, that knows how common such Miftakes have been in Martyrologies. And as we have had one instance of it already, so we shall have another and greater instance of it anon, which is acknowledg'd both by the Roman Martyrology, and by Baronius himself; so I do not doubt, but that Number's having refer'd to a Greek, and not to a Roman army, caus'd him to be more impartial in his Judgement of it than he would have been otherwise.

On the 24th of July, it is said, At Amitemnum in Vestinis, the Martyrdom of Fourscore and three Soldiers.

Now from the ancient Martyrologies it is manifest, that the having here mistaken the
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Contraction of Milliaria Miles, for Milites Soldiers, did raise this good Company; and which having been thus rais'd, Florentinus and Felix, were, for being two lucky Names, preferr'd to be their Commanders. For in the Luca Martyrology on this Day, it is said, In the City of Amiternum, Fourscore and three Miles from the City of Rome, in the Salutary Way, Of St. Victorinus: And in the Queen of Sweden's Martyrology on this day, it is said, In the City of Amiternum, Fourscore and three Miles from the City of Rome, Of St. Victorinus: And in the Corbey Martyrology, it is said, In the City of Amiternum, Fourscore and three Miles from the City of Rome, in the Salutary Way, The Birth-day of St. Victorinus the Martyr.

Now here, as I observ'd in another Place, we have Fourscore and three Italian Mil caniniz'd, and made Fourscore and three Soldiers, Saints and Martyrs; and have like wise their Captain and Lieutenant's Name given us by Baronius.

On the 27th of July, it is said, At Ephesus, the Birth-day of the Seven Sleepers.

These seven Saints having hid themselves in a Cave, in the heat of the Decian Persecution, and fallen asleep in it, did not wake again untill the latter End of the Empire of The...
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donis Junior; when they had slept about
two hundred Years.

Now they that can believe a Man
may take so long a Nap as this, in a Cave,
may believe if they please that there were
seven such Sleepers; and if they will, they
may pray to them too, as Saints, for having
slept so long; for that is the best Thing I
have seen said of them.

On the 1st of August, it is said, At Rome
the Passion of the holy Virgins, Faith,
Hope, and Charity, who acquir'd the
Crown of Martyrdom under Adrian the
Emperor.

Now considering that these Three Chris-
rian Virtues, were never any where very
common proper Names; is it not strange
that three Virgins, who bore those three
Names, should be martyr'd in the same
Place, and on the same Day? But the Hea-
then Roman Kalender does, I think, help us
to some Light as to this Matter, by telling
us, that the First of August was the Festivi-
ty of Hope among the Romans: Now if it
was so, might not Christian Superstition,
finding Hope in Possession of that Day, joyn
Faith and Charity with her; and which com-
ing afterwards to be mistaken for the
Names of Three Persons, the making them
to have been Three Virgins and Martyrs
was very easy. And in truth, if those Three
Virtues
Virtues are consider'd, not as Persons, but as Christian Graces, they may be truly said to have suffer'd, and still to suffer Martyrdom in Rome.

On the 5th of August, it is said, Augusæ Vindelicorum, The Birth-day of St. Afra, who when she was a Pagan, was converted to Christ by the holy Narcissus, a Bishop; and was baptiz'd with all her House, and for the Confession of Christ was committed to the Fire.

We have already had Saints made out of Nothing, and out of Miles, and out of Emblems; we are now come to a Female Saint made out of a Male. For, on this Day, in the Luca, and in the Queen of Sweden's Martyrologies, it is said, In Civitate Augusta Paffio Sancti Afri. And in Notokermus's Martyrology, In Augusta Euphratenfis, Nativitas Sancti Afri. In all which, Afer is said to have been a Man, and in the last he is said to have suffer'd Martyrdom at Augusta Euphratenfis in Syria, and not at Augusta Vindelicorum, or Ausburg in Germany: And so Augusta in Syria, having been taken for Augusta in Germany, St. Afer was translated to Ausburg, and was there turn'd into a Woman; and notwithstanding that City's great Distance from Jerusalem, was still said to have been converted to the Faith, by Narcissus Bishop of Jerusalem; as St. Afer of Sy-
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ria was: Such Blunders as these, were too common in those unlearned and fraudulent Ages, for to be wonder’d at; the superstitious Credulity of the People, having made the Monks not to be at any Pains to make their Lies look probable, or to avoid the committing of the grossest Blunders: And so after having turn’d St. Afer, a Man of Syria, into a German Woman, they quickly found a Mother for her that kept Three waiting Maids.

For, on the Twelfth of August, in the Roman Martyrology, it is said, At Ausburg, of St. Hillaria, the Mother of the Blessed Martyr Afra; who together with her Three Maids Digna, Euprepia and Eunomia, was committed to the Fire by the Persecutors, for the Faith of Christ; as she was lying at her Daughter’s Tomb.

But now, tho’ both in the Luca and in the Corbey Martyrologies, St. Hillaria is mention’d on this Day; it does not appear that she was any thing akin to St. Afra: And tho’ her Legend agrees with that other’s so far, that it is plain they do both speak of the same Person, yet it gives a very different Account of her: For this St. Hillaria, had her Husband Claudius, a Tribune, thrown into a River with a Stone about his Neck, and had her two Sons, Jason and Maurus, with Seventy Soldiers, put to death in Rome, by the Emperor Numerianus;
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merianus; and having buried her two sons
in a Farm of her own, she gave up the Ghost
at their Tomb, and was buried there by her
waiting Maids. Neither does the Roman
Martyrology's giving this St. Hillaria another
Day, mend the Matter at all, as to St. Afra,
and her Mother and Maids. And thus
both Rome and Syria were robb'd by Augs-
burg, to make her St. Afra, and to trim up a
Legend for her; and which Legend is very
much improv'd by the Germans, who
have not only given her Mother's Maids
Three fine Names, but have made both her
and them Martyrs.

On the 13th of August, in the Reform'd
Roman Martyrology, it is said, Of blessed
Hippolitus the Martyr, who for the Glory
of a Confession under Valerian the Emper-
or, after other Torments, had his Feet tied
to the Necks of wild Horses, and being
cruelly dragg'd thro' Thorns and Briars,
did with a Body, torn all to Pieces, yield up
the Ghost.

And on the same Day, it is immediately
after said, Blessed Concordia his Nurse, did also
suffer Martyrdom.

Now let any one compare the Story of
Hippolitus the Son of Theseus, and the Manner of his Death, with what has been here
said of St. Hippolitus; and also know, that
on this very Day, that Hippolitus's Memory
was
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as celebrated in Rome by the Pagans; and
how great a Part a Nurse bears in the Tra-
edy of that Hippolitus, and which on this
day might probably be acted among the
Heathens; and after that, if he can, let him
not suspect, the Hippolitus and the Nurse,
which are here recorded as Saints, to be Hip-
politus the Son of Theseus, and the Nurse
which bears a great Part in this Tragedy:
and the truth is, this St. Hippolitus, and St. Spes
of Hope, being in the Roman Martyrology, on
the same Day on which the Roman Pagans cel-
brated their Festivities; inclines me to think,
that if we had but a full Heathen Roman Ka-
nder, to collate with the present Roman
Martyrology, a great many, besides these Two,
would be found in them both, on the same
days of the Month; and who, in all likelihood,
were at first brought into that Martyrology,
by the same Conduct, which the Jesuites are
said to make use of in China at this time, to fa-
ilitate the making of Proselytes: And I shall
save it to the enquiry of the Criticks in Ro-
an Antiquities, whether Patus and Soranus,
wo noble Romans, of so eminent a Probity,
that Virtue it self was said to be cut off with
them, having been put to Death in Rome by
Jeru, in his Twelfth Year; might not give
occasion to the Story of St. Peter and St.
Paul's having been put to Death in Rome by
Jeru in that Year; as the following Inscrip-
on upon a Stone in Rome, found there not
many
many Years ago, and in the very Place where a Monument of Simon Magus being worshiped there, was said to stand,

Semoni Sango Deo Fidio Sacrum,
does seem to have given Occasion, to the Story of Simon Magus being worshiped in Rome, and of all that is said concerning that Magician in that Place, and of his contending there with St. Peter.

On the 11th of September. it is said, In Egypt, Of Paphnutius, a Bishop, &c.

I shall leave it to those that have Leisures and Conveniencies, to enquire, whether this Paphnutius was not a Miletian Heretick; and whether Theodotus, Bishop of Laodicea, on the Second of November, was not an Arminian; and whether Pope Felix, on the Twenty ninth of July, was not a Schismatich; and whether Cletus, on the Twenty sixth of April, and Anacletus on the thirteenth of June, be not one and the same Man; and whether there was ever any such a Person. King Lucius, who is on the Third of December; and whether the Martyrs Quartus and Quintus, on the Tenth of May, might not spring from Quinquatrus, a famous Heathen Roman Festival.

On the 1st of October, is is said, At Cologne, Of St. Ursula, and her Companions, &c.
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Tho' the Number of St. Ursula's Companions is not set down here, they are nevertheless known by every Body to be Eleven thousand, taking in their Captain, in all the Roman Legends.

In most of the ancient Latin Martyrologies on this Day, it is said, In Nicomedia, The Birth-day of Dafus, Zoticus, and Gagus, with Twelve thousand more.

Now these Two great Armies of Martyrs being both commemorated on the same Day; and that of Nicomedia being mention'd alone in most of the ancient Latin Martyrologies; and, in the Latin Martyrologies, in which they are both mention'd, that of Nicodemia being reduc'd to a very small Number; inclines me to think, that the Cologn Army was by a Western Emulation, set up against the Nicomedian; and that the Latins, tho' they did keep to the same Day, did, to disguise the matter, not take just the same Number, nor did make their Army of the same Sex. And if this be the true Case of the Eleven thousand Virgins, as I am very apt to think it is, St. Ursula does now very far exceed the Nicomedian Army in Number; that Army being justly reduc'd by Ado, Usardus, Muralitius, Petrus Natalis, and also by the Roman Martyrology, and by Baronius himself, from Twelve thousand, to the low Number of Twelve Soldiers; and
and whose contracted Word Mil. for Milites or Soldiers, having been taken for Mille or Thousands, did they own, give Occasion to this great false Muster, as we have seen the same mistake has done before.

But whether the mistaking the Number of that Nicomedian Army, did give rise to St Ursula's, or not; it is now known certainly, that the two strong old Evidences of the Legend of the Eleven thousand Virgins, are all altogether groundless; which Evidences were, the vast Multitude of Womens Bones, which were found in the Burying-place, near to the City of Cologn; and the Earth of that Burying-place still throwing out the Bodies of Children, that were buried in it, tho' they were laid never so deep, as Bodies, which if they remain'd, would reflect on the Virginity of those Martyrs: For Mazerey, Roman Catholick, tells us, That in the Tomb said to belong to those Martyrs, were found the Bones both of Men and Children. For ever since the first Dawnings of Idolatry in the Roman Church, when any great Number of Bones happen'd to be found together any where, out of Churches and Church-Yards a Legend was presently writ upon them and which having made them all to be the Bones of Martyrs, and reported some Miracles they were invented to have wrought, they were forthwith sacredly laid up.
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p in Shrines, and venerated as Relicks; and as such Burying-places have been the Mines, out of which that immense Treasure of Bone-Relicks in the Roman Church has been chiefly dugg; so it is more than probable, those rich Mines, were the Burying-places of Heathens, and of the worst and basest sort of People among them.

To conclude, that Creature Worship, in all its Branches, should be still oppressed with a Multitude of such gross Blunders, as not at all to be wonder'd at; for besides that judicial Blindness, which is inflicted on that great human Presumption as a most just Punishment; Superstition, the darkest of all Human Weaknesses, being the Mother and Guide of Creature Worship; how can it be otherwise than involv'd in numberless Dotages? And untill some abler Hand shall gratify the World with a full Entertainment of them; I shall to whet their Appetites, give a Taste of them in the following Tract; in which, a Tale is truly told, that really tempts one almost to think, that it was studiously fram'd unlikely, on purpose to afford a Triumph to the Authority of its Devisers over the Minds of all that should believe it; and which Spain did greedily, and does to this Day with great Devotion.

FINIS.
THE LEGEND
OF
Saint James,
the Patron of Spain.
WITH SOME
Animadversions upon it.

By Michael Geddes, LL. D. and Chancellor of the Cathedral Church of Sarum.

Mirum est, quo procedat Papistica Credulitas; nullum tam impudens Mendacium est, ut testis careat.
THE PREFACE.

Having, as often as they came in my way, still slighted all the Popish Legends, as so many monstrously false, and ill told Tales; to justify my having treated Writings in that Manner, which are highly reverend by whole Nations, I thought it was convenient, once for all, to present the Lovers of Truth with one of those Histories; and, having made a few Animadversions upon it, to leave it to them, to judge, whether he that pays no regard to such Writings, is not all in the wrong.

And that I may not be taxed, with having pitch'd in an old blind Legend; which at present is little known, and less believ'd by the Papists themselves; have instance'd in one of the most publick of the whole Sett; and which, if we may judge of the reality and power of a Cause, by the greatness of its Effects, most firmly believ'd: One of the richest and most magnificent Churches, and one of the most numerous and wealthiest Military Orders in the whole World, having been founded on nothing else, but the Belief of that Legend; and are still maintain'd by it: And which besides an immense Treasure, has cost Millions of Christians, many a weary step, over Rocks and Mountains; who otherwise would have stay'd at Home, and perform'd their
The P R E F A C E.

their Devotions; and not have, by long antring Pilgrimages, reduced themselves and their Families to Beggery: Having nothing, by that means, left them, but a few Scollop Shells upon a Thread-bare Weed, and a Feather or two of the Cast of the Cock which crow'd when St. Peter deny'd his Lord. Neither shall I insert any thing here, that is not solemnly still related in this Legend by the gravest Spanish Writers. I have two things to desire here of the Protestant Reader; the one is, to thank God for not having his Mind under so heavy a Bondage, or rather a Judgement, as to believe Legends; and the other is, his Pardon, for having troubled him with Proofs of a Tale's being false, which in itself, must to him, appear to be too incredible to deserve any Confutation.
THE LEGEND OF

Saint James, the Patron of SPAIN.

SAINT James, the Son of Zebedee, having, presently after St. Stephen was martyr'd, been commanded by Christ to go and preach his Gospel in Spain; he would not begin that long Voyage before he had the Blessed Virgin's Blessing, and Licence: Which having been begg'd by him with many pious Tears, she said to him, Go on, and obey thy Master's Commands, and in that City of Spain in which thou shalt make the first Christians, be sure to build a Church to my Honour, and I will direct thee how it is to be built.

P 2 Having
Having thus received his last Dispatches, St. James, according to the Custom of the Apostles, took to himself Twelve Disciples, who were to attend him into Spain; and having with them landed in Galicia, tho' he might have landed in Spain some hundreds of Leagues short of it, he wrought many stupendous Miracles; and among others, he rais'd an old Prophet to Life, who had been dead and buried near Six hundred years; and having Baptized that ancient Spanish Prophet, and given him the Name of Peter, he consecrated him Arch-bishop of Braga.

From Braga, St. James went to Caesarea Augusta, now Saragoza, where, as he was at Prayers one Night, he heard an innumerable Company in the Air singing the Ave Marys; and having looked up to Heaven, he beheld the Blessed Virgin coming down, sitting on a Pillar of Jasper, betwixt two Quires ofThousands of Angels; and she having called him to her, said to him, Son James, this is the Place which is dedicated to my Honour; and the Pillar I sit upon, is sent down to you from Heaven, by your Master; and about it you are to build a Church, and an Altar, before which many Miracles shall be wrought; and this Pillar is to remain here until the End of the World, neither shall this Place ever be without Christians in it.
St. James went presently about building a Church, and having finished and consecrated it, he dedicated it to the Blessed Virgin; and this was the first Lady Church that was in the World. But St. James after he had built that Church, being much griev'd, that in the Five year which he had been in Spain, he had made but Seven Profelytes, besides he old Heathen Prophet he had rais'd from the Dead; he return'd to Jerusalem, with his twelve Disciples, taking France and the Isle of Britain in his Way; and having been soon after beheaded there, his Twelve Disciples took his Body, and carried it to Joppa; and at that Port, having either met with a Ship ready made to their Hands of Marble Stone, or built such a Ship there themselves, in that low Sayler they passed all the long Southern and Western Coast of Spain, without touching any where, before they came to the City of Flavia, near the Cape of the End of the Earth, in Galicia: Neither had they put in at the first Port of Spain which was in their way, could they have been more inhospitably entertain'd; the King of that Country, when they came ashoar in their Marble Vessel, having, notwithstanding the Rarity of it, persecuted them most furiously; and Queen Lupa, who well deserved that Name, was yet more savage than her Husband: But in the End, the Disciples having by Miracles
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racles vanquish'd the Rage of those Two Princes, they carried their Master's Body to the Place where Compostella now stands; but which was then a thick Wood, and having dug a Vault, they laid his Body in it, in a Marble Coffin.

But tho' the Memory of St. James's Body having been interr'd in that Place, did last near Three hundred years; yet during the whole time of the Five hundred years following, the Memory of it was quite extinguisht in Spain, untill it was restor'd again about the Year Eight hundred and thirty, by some miraculous Lights that appear'd over the Place where it lay; and which having been seen for several Nights by the Country People, they went and acquainted Don Theodemire the Bishop of Iria, with it who went presently to the Wood, and having seen the same Lights, he set all Hands to work to dig for the Treasure he concluded was hid there; and they had not dug long before they came at a Cave made with Hands, in which they found a Marble Coffin, and in it St. James's Body: For which Invention, the Bishop having return'd solemn Thanks to Heaven, he waited on the King, and acquainted him with the unexpected Treasure he had metwith: The King being overjoy'd at the News went presently to visit the Place; and having paid his Devotion
Devotion to St. James's Body, he built a Church over it, and endow'd it with great Lands and Priviledges.

It was not long before the Spaniards were abundantly rewarded for the Honour they had done to it; for after that, St. James appear'd arm'd Cap-a-pie, mounted on a stately prancing white Horse, in most of the Battles which they had with the Moors; mowing down those Infidels, before the Spaniards, by whole Squadrons; but most signally in that Battle which Don Ramiro had with the whole Power of the Moors, upon his having deny'd to pay them the Customary yearly Tribute of an hundred Christian Virgins; neither was that Tribute, after St. James had once entered the Lists, as the Champion of so many distressed Damsels, ever demanded any more by the Moors; whose Posterity will, to this day, tremble, if St. James and his white Horse be but nam'd to them.

And as this Chivalry of St. James's, gave Birth to the rich and numerous military Order which is call'd by his Name, and to his being made Patron of Spain; so it gave Rise likewise to all that Knight-errantry which afterwards over-ran that Kingdom, so that Don Quixot has not been able to cure the Spaniards wholly of it.
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The first Church which was built at Compostella by King Alonso Castro, being but a mean Edifice, it was taken down in the year 960, and a more sumptuous Church was built in the Place of it by Don Alonso the Great: For a Greek Bishop, whose Name was Stephen, having happen'd to come in Pilgrimage to the first Church, he laughed at the Spaniards, when he heard them relate St. James's great military Feats; saying in railing, I thought St. James had been a Fisher man and not a Warrior: But St. James did not suffer this Greek Pilgrim to ly long under that Mistake, for the very next Night he appeared to him arm'd and mounted just as he used to be when he beat the Moors, and having a couple of Keys in his Hand, he held them out to the Greek, and said to him, You see now I am a Warrior, and to Morrow I will with these Keys open the Gates of the City of Conimbra to my dear Spaniards: And that City having, after an obstinate Siege, been surrendered on that day, by the Moors, to King Ferdinand; St. James his Name was raised high in Spain by that Vision, which help'd Compostella to that new Church.

Untill the Year 1080, the Spaniards had only St. James's Body, but not his Head; but his Head having been sent at that time from Jerusalem to the King's Daughter, she was so kind as to give it to Don Diego de Gilmorez,
gilmorez, the first Archbishop of Compostella; who with great solemnity joyn'd the Head and the Body together, after they had been parted a Thousand years: That Archbishop did likewise take down the Church which had been built by Don Alonso the Great, and on the same Ground did build that magnificent Church which is now standing.

And whereas, until this Time, St. James's Body had lain open in the Marble Coffin it was first found in; but so as not to be shewed to any Person but the King, if he desir'd to see it; Archbishop Gilmorez built it up so in a Vault under the high Altar of his new Church, that it should never be seen any more by any Person whatsoever: For which Action, that Archbishop's Prudence is highly extol'd by the Spanish Historians; who say, that Relicks, tho' they may not lose their miraculous Virtue by standing open, yet may lose their Reverence, and specially with Eyes which are not so full of Superstition as not to have something of Curiosity in them.

This is the Substance of the Legend of St. James; and that the Reader may not think that this Story is believ'd no where but in Spain, he must know, that the Truth of St. James's Body being at Compostella, has been confirm'd by the Breves of several Popes:

And
And who having granted the same Indulgences to those that go thither in Pilgrimage, as are granted to Pilgrimages to Jerusalem, the Western Christians were, by those Indulgences, set on flocking from all Parts to Compostella in vast Multitudes; to the great Benefit of the distressed Spanish Kings: For tho' the Reports of St. James's own personal military Feats against the Moors may not be very certain; certain it is, that his Pilgrimage did both with their Purses and Persons do the Spaniards great Service against those Infidels; and the Truth is, that was the great Design of that pious Fraud.

I shall here only enumerate the Absurdities expressed in this Legend, which are plain Indications of its being a foolishly fram'd and cunningly devis'd Fable.

As, First, St. James's going to the Blessed Virgin to have a Licence from her to do what Christ had commanded him.

Secondly, The blessed Virgin, in whom no Grace shin'd more illustriously than a profound Humility in the Sight of God, requiring him to build his first Church in Spain to her Honour.

Thirdly, St. James's having fail'd round Spain before he landed in it.

Fourthly, His having rais'd an old Heathen Prophet to Life, who had been dead and buried near Six hundred Years.

Fifthly,
the Patron of Spain.

Fifthly, His having built a Church in Spain within Ten years after Christ's Assent; with the whole Story of the Jaspar Pillar; and which Story is so firmly believed, that, o this Day, there is no Lady so famous all over Spain and Portugal, for working of Miracles, as our Lady of the Pillar.

Sixthly, The Marble Ship his Body was carried in from Joppa to Galicia.

Seventhly, There being a King of Galicia at that Time.

Eighthly, His fighting against the Moors, armed Cap-a-pie and mounted on a prancing white Palfrey.

Ninthly, The yearly Tribute of an Hundred Christian Damsels paid by the Spaniards to the Moors.

Tenthly, St. James's Head having been sent from Jerusalem to the King's Daughter, and by her sent to Compostella, above a thousand Years after he was killed. His Head is likewise at Braga; and if the Dean of that Church his Word may be taken for it, who shewed it to me and to some Protestant Merchants, it is certainly the true Head; more Miracles than can be numbred having been wrought by it, as he told us, to confirm its being so.

In a Word, this whole Legend strikes one so with the Air of an idle Tale; that it is not easy to imagine, how any Credulity can have
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have a Throat wide enough to swallow it.

But as it looks like a Curse on the Devours of pious Frauds, as I have elsewhere observed, that they do not only not garnish their Stories with any Appearances of Truth but do seem to have studied to have made them as improbable as it was possible, to make the believing of them to be the more meritorious; so this Legend is, I think, very plain Instance of such an Infatuation.

For had the Inventors of this Legend, as who were entirely at their Liberty to have done it, but told the same Story of any other Apostle, but chiefly of St. Paul; tho' it would not have been without sufficient Evidence of its being False, yet it would not have had its very Foundations so visibly overturned'd by the Scriptures, as they are, being told of St. James: And in truth as to the Scriptures the same may be said of the Story of St. Peter's having been at Rome, and of all the Consequences drawn from that Supposition.

For, First, as St. Luke faith expressly, that St. James was kill'd at Jerusalem, and he is the only Apostle whose Death is recorded in the Holy Scriptures; so all ancient Historians do agree, that St. James suffer'd Martyrdom within Ten years after Christ's Assension.

Secondly, Whereas this Legend faith, that St. James left Jerusalem and went into Spain upon the Dispersion which was caus'd by St. Stephen's
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Stephen's Martyrdom; St. Luke saith expressly, That none of the Apostles departed from Jerusalem on that Occasion.

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Thirdly, It was not lawful for St. James, or for any of the Apostles, to preach Christ's Gospel to the Gentiles, until they were commanded to do it, in the Vision which St. Peter had before he went to Cornelius: Now it is certain that Vision, which open'd the Door to the Preaching of the Gospel amongst the Gentiles, was not till within Three years of St. James's Death.

Lastly, St. Paul speaking of his purpose to go and preach the Gospel in Spain, in the Fifteenth Chapter of his Epistle to the Romans, faith expressly, on that Occasion, That he striv'd to preach the Gospel, not where Christ had nam'd, lest he should build on another Man's Foundation. St. Paul when he writ that Epistle, and which he did Fifteen years after St. James's Death, must not therefore have known any thing of St. James's having reach'd in Spain, and of his having built a Church and erected Bishopricks in it.

And as the Foundations of this Legend are overturn'd by the Holy Scriptures, so neither has it any Colour of ancient Tradition to stand upon; having never been once mention'd by any Author that writ before the Ninth Century: Neither is there a Syllable concerning it in any of the ancient Spanish
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By which deep and long Silence of Antiquity, the Devisors and Patrons of this Legend, were prompted to open the richest Vein of Forgerys, and of Interpolations of ancient Writings, that was ever open'd to support any novel Fiction, that of the Papal Supremacy only excepted. For in order to help this Legend to some Credit, an History was forg'd by them, under the Name of Dexter, who lived in the Fourth Century; and another under the Name of Isidore, who liv'd in the Sixth Century; and another under the Name of Bede, who lived in the Seventh Century; and another under the Name of one Turpin, who if there was ever any such Man, lived in the Ninth Century: And by the same Hands this Story was foisted into the Mozaribick Liturgy, and into some other ancient Writings.

I shall not trouble the Reader with any Proofs of those Histories being all spurious, seeing they are all acknowledged to be so, by Baronius and Bellarmine, and by all other Criticks, Papists as well as Protestants, that were not Spaniards. And in truth their Spuriousness is so palpable, that one cannot read them and not feel it.

There is but one truly ancient Monument made use of, to bear Testimony to the Truth of this Legend; and which, tho' I have
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I have mention’d it on another Occasion, I shall here insert.

That ancient Monument is the Stone of the High Altar of the Church of St. Payo, in Compostella; on which the following Inscription is legible,

\[ \text{D M S} \]
\[ \text{Atiamo et Atte T Lumpsfa} \]
\[ \text{Viria Emo Neptis Piano} \]
\[ \text{XVI E T S E C.} \]

Which Inscription is read and commented on as followeth, by the Champions for this Legend,

Consecrated to the greatest God.

Atiamo, Erato, Viriamo, Nepotis, Piano,

Zuuito, Telisoro,

Were all Martyrs, faith the Compostellan Commentary, and did suffer in Galicia, in the Village of Sarep, before the Apostle went to Jerusalem; and who did for that reason leave his Altar with his Disciples, to say Mass upon, in memory of the abovenam’d Saints.

But this ancient Monument, after it had been for some Hundreds of years, an unquestioned Evidence of St. James’s having been in Spain; had, about an hundred and fifty years ago, the ill Luck to have its Authority very much shaken, by having been critically read by Ambrosius Morales, a famous Spanish Antiquary;
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Antiquary; who has left us the following Account of that Inscription.

'In the famous Monastery of the Benigne Nuns, that joyns to the Holy Church of St. James, (faith Morales,) and is dedicated to the glorious Martyr Pelay whom in that Country they commonly call St. Payo; there is an Ara on the Altar which they affirm to have been consecrated by the Apostles, and that they themselves said Mass on it, and that it was brought thither with the blessed Body of St. James: Now there is not, (faith Morales,) not only no Foundation for the Truth of this Story; but there is just Cause to believe, that that Stone, which is at present in the same State it was in when it was first made, could never be an Altar. I observed it with great Attention in the Company of several learned Men; who had the same Thoughts of it that I had, the thing indeed being too Clear and manifest for any such to doubt of. For it is very probable, that the Stone is the Grave-Stone of some Heathens, and the Inscription may with great Ease be translated as followeth:

This Stone is consecrated to the Gods of the Dead, and dedicated to the Memories of Atiamo and of Atte, and of Lumpia; as also to her Memory, who erected it, Viria Emo...
This is what the Stone contains; therefore they that consecrated it an Altar, would have done well to have defaced the Letters; by which means they would have remov'd the Indignity that staves all People in the Face, that consider what a thing it is, to have the most Holy Body and Blood of Christ our Redeemer, consecrated and placed upon the Tomb-Stone of Heathens, whereon the Devils are invoked. Thus far Morales.

But so far is Superstition from being oblig'd, by such Discoverys as these, to part with the Blunders which are thus clearly detected by them; that on the contrary, on all such Occasions, it shuts its Eyes closer, and embraces its Blunders faster, than it did before: And having its Spleen whetted by such Detections, it rageth against Grammarians, and Criticks, as an impious Brood, not fit to be suffered to live. And so, notwithstanding Morales's true Reading of that Altar-Stone, Atiamo, and all the other Heathens, nam'd on it, are at Compostella still St. James's Disciples, and Christian Martyrs; and are pray'd to as such, if not more, than they were before: As Viarius is likewise at Ebora, notwithstanding Refendius,
above an hundred years ago, did demonstrate, that that Saint did owe both his Name and his Being, to an ancient Heathen Roman Inscription; whereon nothing was legible, but the Words Viarum Curator.

In the Spanish Martyrology, we meet with another very odd Evidence of St. James's having been in Spain, and consecrated several Bishops there; where on the fourth of March, it is said, At the Cheronenfus, in the South of Spain, not far from Valentia, St Basil Bishop of Carthagena, Eugenius of Valencia, Pius of Sevil, Agathadorus of Terracona, Elpidius of Toledo, Ætherius of Barcelona, Capito of Lugo, Ephrem of Alturias, Neftor of Palencia, and Arcadius of Santono, Bishops, and the Disciples of St. James; being assembled together to hold a Council, did, in the beginning of Nero's Cruelty, by Martyrdom, through the Power of Fire, attain to the inexhaustible Light of Whiteness.

Now in the Greek Menology, on the very same day of the same Month, we have all the same Saints nam'd; but as Greek, and not as Spanish Martyrs: And in the Roman Martyrology, it is said, That they all suffer'd Martyrdom in the Chersonesus, a Place well known in Greece.

Now the Spanish Monks, as they were fishing for Evidences to support the Credit of this Legend; having by some Accident
or other, come to understand, that Chersonesus signify'd a Peninsula; tho' not so neither as to be able to spell it Right; upon there being such a Tract of Land on the Coast of Spain, they made that Peninsula the Place where all those Christians suffer'd Martyrdom; and created them all St. James's Disciples, and the Bishops of the above-named Spanish Citys: There are several other such Evidences as these, in the Spanish Martyrology, of St. James's having been in Spain; but shall not trouble the Reader with them, who may judge of the rest by this Sample.

But I am sorry, that I am not able to present him with a List of the Relicks, which have been drawn to Compostella by this Legend, and which, without it, is imperfect: tho' I have seen a Catalogue of them, and a noble Collection it is, at present I have not by me; and I shall therefore, to make some amends, give him a List of the chief Relicks in Oviedo, a City not far from Compostella, and which Relicks having been brought to that Place, by the Legend of St. James's Body being in its Neighbourhood, they are visited there by all St. James's Pilgrims, with great Devotion: I shall here expose that List, in Marineus Siculus's own Words, out of whom I had it.

'In the City of Oviedo, faithi Marineus, besides a Cross which was divinely made
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by Angels, there are many more things
worthy to be publish'd; of which I shall
relate a few, that they that read them may
desire to see them.

1. There is a Chest worshipped, which
was made of incorruptible Matter, by the
Apostles; and is full of the wonderful
Works of God; which Chest, God, the
chief Opifex of all things, did miraculously
translate from the City of Jerusalem in-
to Africk, and out of Africk into Carthagena
in Spain, and from Carthagena to Sevil, and
from Sevil to Toledo, and from Toledo into
Asturias, and there into the Church of St.
Saviour, in the Place called Oviedo: In
which Chest, when the Priests had open'd
it, a great many Boxes were found, some
made of Gold, others of Silver, and others
of Ivory; and which having been all o-
pen'd, under a great Fear of God, Tickets
were found in them, containing many
Mysteries, and which are all kept at this
time in the Church of Oviedo, and shew-
ed there to Pilgrims, as they go that
way: But passing over many of them, I
will briefly enumerate a few of the chief
saving Monuments, in the Church of O-
viedo, in whose most holy Temple are all
the following wonderful Relicks. 2.
There is a Piece of the Wood of Christ's
Cross. 3. Some of the Thorns of his
Crown,
Crown, and a Piece of his Sepulcher. 4. Some of the Linnen, and some of the Coat, and some of the Clouts, Christ was wrapt in in the Manger. 5. Some of the Bread of the Lord’s Supper, and some of that with which he satisfied Five thousand. 6. Some of the Manna which God rain’d down upon the Children of Israel. 7. The Earth of Mount Olivet, which our Lord’s Feet stood upon when he ascended into Heaven. 8. The Earth our Lord stood upon when he rais’d Lazarus; and some of the Earth of Lazarus’s Grave. 9. Some of the Blessed Virgin’s Milk, and some of her Hair and Cloths. 10. One of the Thirty Pieces of Silver for which Judas sold the Lord. 11. The Pall and Ornaments which the Queen of Heaven gave to Ilenfonfo Archbishop of Toledo. 12. A piece of the Mantle of the Prophet Elias, and some of St. Tirus’s Vestment. 13. The Hand of St. Stephen the Protomartyr. 14. St. Peter’s right-Foot Shoe. 15. St. John the Baptist’s Forehead, and some of his Hair. 16. Some of the Bones of the Innocents. 17. The Joynts of the Fingers and other Bones, of the Three Children, Ananias, Azarias, and Misael. 18. Some of St. Mary Magdalene’s Hair, with which she wip’d Christ’s Feet. 19. Some of the Stone with which Christ’s Sepulcher
was sealed. 20. Some of the Olive, which Christ held in his Hand on the Feast of Palm Branches. 21. Some of the Rock of Sinai, on which Moses fasted. 22. A piece of Moses’s Rod with which he divided the Red-Sea before the Children of Israel. 23. St. Peter’s and St. Andrew’s Baskets. 24. Some Pieces of the broyl’d Fish and Honey-comb. And besides all these, there are so many Bodys of holy Martyrs, so many Bones of Prophets, Confessors, and Virgins, and so many other Pledges kept there, that God only is able to number them.

But before I leave Oviedo, I cannot but take notice of an ancient Martyr, belonging to that City, of whom the Spanish Martyrology speaks as followeth,

On the Twenty second of May, faith that Martyrology, St. Publius Babius Venustus, a Martyr; who in honour to the Temple of the Blessed Mary, built a Bridge, at the Request of the Order of the Oviedoans; that so a Passage might be open’d to that Church XXC HS; in which Bridge he left this Monument of his Piety, in the Bowels of a Stone.

Now the Stone which contains this Monument in its Bowels, has the following Inscription upon its Surface.
That is to say,

Publius Bæbius Venustus, of Oviedo, the Son of Publius Bæbius Venetus, and the Grand-son of Publius Bæsisceris, did at the request of the Order and People, build a Bridge to the honour of the Divine House; it cost Eighty Sestertiums, and its dedication was celebrated with Stage-Plays.

Let any one that reads this Inscription, judge, whether by Domus Divina, in it, a Church dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, or a Heathen Temple is meant; and whether Ludi Circensses, or Heathen Stage-Plays, are most proper at the Dedication of a Christian or of a Heathen Work of Piety.

And on this Occasion, I cannot but say, that it is well for Popery, that it has immense Wealth and Honours to give it Credit; for, were it naked, and without those charming Advantages, its Relicks, Legends, Blunders, Forgerys, and pretended Miracles, would certainly make it the most contemptible, and the most ridiculous Sect of Religion.
The Legend of St. James

gion in the World; as its unparalelled Pride and Cruelty, make it now the most hated. And as considering the great Zeal where-with the Learned Spaniards, as well as others, do contend for the Truth of this Legend, I cannot but think, that they believe it: so I cannot impute their Belief of it, and of a thousand more such idle Tales, to anything else, but to the Execution of the following Scripture Sentence upon them: Because they receive not the Love of the Truth, God shall send them strong Delusions, that they shall believe a Lie: That is, incredible Stories; which they could not otherwise have believed. And if by the Truth here, the Apostle means the true Worship of the true God, as probably he does; by a Lie he must mean the absurd and false Stories whereby Idolatry was supported: For let Images, and the other visible Objects of Creature-Worship, be but without bold Reports of Miracles being daily wrought by them; and in a short Time they would certainly fall under for great, and universal Contempt, as to be cast, by all their Worshipers, with Indignation, to the Moles and to the Batts; or to be preserved only for Ornaments. And as 'tis manifest, that the Image, and all the other Creature-Worship, which is in the Church of Rome, was deriv'd from the Heathens, so it is not less manifest, that that Worship did
the Patron of Spain.

...did bring along with it, that lying Spirit to support it under a Profession of Christianity, which had so long upheld it among the Heathens: And under which *holy Profession*, whose first Principle is, that there is but one God, and that he only is to be worshiped; that lying Spirit, has been both bolder and plusher, than it was ever known to have been elsewhere: The Heathen Legends, tho' bold and numerous enough, yet were both, for Number, and Length, much short of the Popish: However, as to the main, they are much alike; in that they leave no Room for doubting of their being descended of the same Father; and who is call'd the *Father of Lyes*, (as Idols are called a *Lye,* ) I suppose, on the Account of *Legendary*, more than of any other sort of *Lyes* whatsoever.

Finally, since all Legends are certainly of Heathenish Extraction, and are devis'd for the Heathenish Purpose of giving Credit to Creature-Worship; I shall conclude this Tract, with Polybius's Thoughts of them; who, in his 15th Book, having Occasion to mention the Legends of the Image of Diana, among the Bargylites; and of the Image of Vesta among the Jaseans; which do affirm, that no Snow, nor Rain, tho' those Images stood in them, could fall upon them; and likewise the Legend of the Temple of Jupiter in Arcadia; which affirm'd, that whoever
ever was once within the Doors of the Temple, (but into which no Body was suffer'd to enter,) his Body did never after cast an Shadow, tho' it was in the clearest Sun-shine; that wise Historian passeth the following Censure on those, and on all other such Legends.

'In things which do help a Reverence for a Deity in the Vulgar, Writers who do indulge themselves a little in the relating of Miracles and Fables, may be pardoned for it; whereas, if they do it beyond Measure, in my Judgement, that ought not to be forgiven them.

Whether the Devisors and Relators of this Legend, and of that of Loretto, and of thousand more, have kept within the Bounds set to the Heathens, by Polybius, I leave to the candid Christian Reader to judge.

FINIS,
AN
HISTORY
OF THE
Sad Catastrophe
OF
ANTONIO PEREZ,
Secretary of State
to
PHILIP II:
King of SPAIN.

an peligroso estado de un Criado de Rey, posseer grandes Confianzas suas.

by Michael Geddes, LL. D. and Chancellor of the Cathedral Church of Sarum.
THE PREFACE.

The following Tract, if I am not much mistaken in it, presents the Reader with one of the greatest Riddles in History; and which, after I had endeavour'd all that I was able to have penetrated into it, I must own I was not Oedipus enough to interpret: I wish the Reader better success with it.

To have a King command a Minister, in whom he repos'd great Confidence, to procure the Death of another of his Ministers, as a thing necessary for his Service; and after that was done, tho' that King might easily have prevented it, to suffer that Minister to be hung and cruelly persecuted for it; and at the end of eleven Years, to order him to declare the Causes, in Judgment, which had mov'd him to command that Death; and upon that Minister's having deny'd to do that, because he had promis'd the King in private never to discover them, to permit him to be rack'd to oblige him to confess them; and instead of giving Way to that Minister's putting an End to that Prosecution, either by coming to an Agreement with the Prosecutor, or by fleeing to a Sanctuary, furiously to drive it on; which is the Case in the following Tract; is, I confess, a Mystery, I was so little able to comprehend, that I have sometimes found my self dispos'd to question, whether the King that acted that Part, could possibly have commanded that Death.
And had it not been for one thing, I believe I should have been inclined to have thought that he had no which was, that tho' that Death was positively let to the King's Charge, in Print, some Time before he died and in a Book which must have made as great Noise as ever any Book did; yet nothing was ever offer'd in Print, in the King's Vindication, or in Contradiction to any thing contain'd in that Book, either by the Court of Madrid, or by any Spanish Writer that I have seen, or heard of, tho' I have made Inquiry.

For had not the King commanded that Death; believe, that neither the Court of Madrid, nor any Spanish Writer should ever have offer'd one Word to his Vindication, after he was so publickly charg'd with it; appears to me, to be much more difficult than that the King tho' he had commanded it should afterwards take the Course he did; considering how difficult the King had made it for that Minister to prove it judicially, and the Methods he used at last to have destroy'd him and all his Discharge.

But however that Case was, its having been unhappily carried out of Castile into Arragon, was of fatal Consequence to that Kingdom; which by having contended violently to maintain its Rights in that Cause, had them all taken away; to the great Satisfaction of the Castilian Ministers, to whom the Arragonese Rights and Liberties had been long a grievous Eye-sore; fearing, it is like, that, if they were let alone, they might in Time work their way into Castile.

In History we meet With Two Evidences of the great ill Will the Castilian Ministers bore to the Arragonese Rights.
The Preface.

The First is in the Reign of Ferdinand, the Catholic, who being by Inheritance King of Arragon, and by Marriage King of Castile, the Castilian Ministers, when he was among them, urg'd him vehemently, and at a time when he was very angry at his Commands having met with some Opposition, to destroy all those Rights which gave him daily so much Trouble.

But that great Prince, who had always Wit in his Anger, told them, That besides that he inherited the Crown of Arragon, with those Conditions, and had taken an Oath, and under heavy Censures, never to violate any of those Rights; he had a Rule to Kings and their Subjects; which Rule was, keep the Ballances even betwixt them; since if they were not kept so, the one or the other would be always striving, not only to bring them back to an equality, but to get more Weight than they had lost; the Ruine of the one, or the other, if not of both: a Rule, which would make both Princes and People happy, if they both observ'd it. The Second was in the Reign of Philip II, who being angry with the Arragonefes, for having insisted on some of their Rights, in Contradiction to his Will; was told by the fierce Duke of Alva, that one would not accept of a Kingdom, on the Terms he was King of Arragon; and who did offer, if the King would but send him to that Kingdom with Six thousand of the Soldiers which he had train'd up in the Art of War, to reduce so to his Obedience, that their Rights should never molest him any more.

But tho' at that Time the King did not think fit to follow that violent Counsel; yet on this Occasion, and being call'd to it by the Arragonefe Inquisitors,
he took it, as the Reader will see in the followi:
Story: And in which he may see likewise, that he
till forever Ministers, whilst they are in Favour,
stand affected to the Legal Rights of the Subject;
yet if they themselves come to be prosecuted, as ti
are commonly, after they fall to Disgrace; that th
are then glad that there are such Rights, and do se
to cover themselves with them, against the Prince
Displeasure, or which is worse, the Malice of th
Successors in the Ministry; and which, if I am m
mistaken, was the Duke of Alva's own Case, in
many Years after he gave the King that violent Cov
sel: So that in this Case, Affliction does certain
give Understanding, to those that were without
whilst they were in Honour; and which a Royal Pr
phet has declared not to be an uncommon Thing.

I have but one thing, besides his Candor, to defe
the Reader; and that is, after he has had the Patien
to peruse this Treat, to consider how great a Men
it was to England, to be so soon deliver'd from a
Government of such a Prince, as he will see Phil
was, and to have Queen Elizabeth succeed him,
whose long and happy Reign, under God, it is w
plain, that England does owe its present great Tr
Strength, and Wealth, but above all the Establis
ment of the true Christian Religion in it; and hav
considered this, to thank God for it, and to hon
the Memory of a Queen who was so great a Blessi
to her People; and to pray that our present gracious
Queen, who treads in that great Princess's Ste
may have a longer, and yet a more prosperous Rei
than she had.
AN
HISTORY
OF THE
Sad Catastrophe
OF
ANTONIO PEREZ,
Secretary of State
TO
PHILIP II.
King of SPAIN.

Antonio Perez, the Subject of the following Tragedy, was Son to the famous Gonzalo Perez, who was Forty Years sole Secretary of State for Spain to

the
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the Emperor Charles the 5th, and to his
Son King Philip the 2d. Which was a long
time for one to stand in so slippery a Post,
and in the Reigns of Two Kings so different
in their Tempers.

Antonio being a Lad of pregnant Parts,
was, by the Emperor's express Command,
taken off of his Academical Studies, in
which he was making an extraordinary
Progress; and was put young into the Sec-
cretary's Office, under his Father; and in
that School of Politicks, and under so good
a Tutor, Antonio became such a Proficient,
that, when his Father died, he succeeded
him in his Place of Secretary of State: And
that Office being judged by King Philip not
to be a Province large enough for Antonio's
great Capacity, he made him likewise Sec-
cretary of War; and at a time when those
two Offices never had more or greater Busi-
ness: In both which difficult Posts, Antonio
for many years, behav'd himself so well, as
to be, what few publick Ministers have ever
been, both a great Favourite and very pop-
pular.

He liv'd also in an intire Friendship with
Ruy Gomez Prince of Eboli, and his Prin-
cefs; and with the Marquis de los Velez
who were the Persons most in favour with
the King: So that never, did any Publick
Minister seem to be more firmly establishe
Sad Catastrophe of Antonio Perez. 243

in his great Offices; or more likely, than he was, to have died in them, after his Father's Example.

But such is the Uncertainty of all Human Affairs, and particularly in Princes Courts; that, by one false Step, and which he could not avoid making neither without present Ruin, he was not only tumbled down all at once; but was, for all the rest of his Life, and which lasted many years after, one of the unhappiest Men that we read of.

The bad Step, which prov'd so fatal to Antonio, was his having order'd John de Escovedo, who was Secretary to Don John of Austria, to be murther'd one Night in Madrid; and which, tho' it was done by the King's express command, I do call Murder; because, how guilty soever the unfortunate Escovedo might be of Crimes which deserv'd Death, yet he was never legally convicted of any, and was therefore put to Death contrary to the standing Laws of that Realm.

But this Death of Escovedo's, and the great Misfortunes which befell Antonio Perez upon his having had a Hand in it, having open'd to us a Scene of History relating to Don John of Austria; which, tho' very considerable, might otherwise never have taken Air; and its Light being necessary to let us see the bottom of this sad Catastrophe;
I shall here display it to the Reader, from its Beginning to its End.

Don John of Austria, who was the natural Son of the Emperor Charles the 5th, by an unknown Woman; having had a Prince-ly Education given him by his Father; and being both a fine Person of a Man, and of a lofty Genius, he still aim'd at higher Honours than he had been born to; seeking by the Loftyness of his Views, and the Prow-ess of his Achievements, to remedy the Misfortune of his Birth.

For tho' he was left young by his Father and to a Brother who had nothing of a German in his Temper, nor did seem to have much Regard for his Father's Memory; ye this young Prince, did, by some Charm of other, so insinuate himself into Philip's Affections, that he was very kind to him; but allowing him a Princely Maintenance, an placing such Persons about him as were able to qualify him for the highest Posts he could give him.

And as his Father the Emperor had made Don Lewis Quixada, who was a considerable Man, his Governour: so his Brother King Philip did place Don John de Soto about him who had been Secretary for the Kingdom of Naples, and was a Person well skil'd in Affairs of Peace and War.
The Moriscoes of Granada, having, in the Year 1569, taken up Arms on Occasion of some new Laws which had been imposed upon them, in order to convert them to Christianity; and to fortify’d themselves among the Mountains of that Kingdom, that the Spaniards had not, in the space of Sixteen Months, been able to reduce them to Obedience; the King judg’d it necessary to send a considerable Army against them: And having made his Brother Don John, who was then but two and twenty years of Age, General of it; he appointed Soto to attend him, as his Secretary and Councillor: And Don Lewis Quixada, who was very dear to Don John, having been kill’d by the Moriscoes in that Expedition; Soto did become so much this Prince’s Favourite, that he seem’d to be wholly govern’d by him.

Don John’s extraordinary good Success in his first Enterprize; the Moriscoes having, in a short time, been totally subdu’d by him; recommended him to the King so much, that he presently after nam’d him Generalissimo of that great Fleet which was in the year 1571, in Conjunction with the Pope’s, and the Venetians, set out against the Turks: And which having gain’d the most famous Victory of Lepanto; the greatest Share of the Glory of that Victory fell upon Don John, as being Generalissimo; and who hav-
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ing on that Occasion been highly compli-
mented by the Pope, the Venetians, and
most of the other Princes of Europe, those
loud and universal Applauses did raise such
strong Fumes in a Head over which but bare
twenty five Years had past, as set it on aki-
ing so after a Crown, that it was never cur’d
but by Death; the only Remedy, except
Fruition, for that Distemper of the Mind.

These aspiring Thoughts of Don John’s,
were probably the ruine of the League against
the Turks; he having been hindred by them
from prosecuting the Victory of Lepanto,
that he might be at Leisure to seek out a
Kingdom for himself. But whatsoever it
was that led Don John to Tunis, when he
should have gone against the Turks; after he
had conquer’d that City and Kingdom, it
is certain that he did set his Heart extream-
lly on being made King of them: And fo,
though after he had taken that City, he receiv’d
express Orders from the Court at Madrid, to
plunder and dismantle it; he was so far
from yielding Obedience to those Orders,
that he made it much stronger than he
found it; and at the same time dispatch’d
an Envoy secretly to his great Friend the
Pope, to intreat him to try if he could per-
swade King Philip to give way to his Holi-
ness’s making him King of Tunis. The
Pope, who is always very liberal of his E-
emies
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nenies Kingdoms to his Favourites, readily undertook that Business; and sent Orders to his Nuncio at Madrid to sollicite it in that Court with all possible Diligence; and which the Nuncio having done, he was at last told by the King, after many Compliments passed on the Pope and his Brother Don John, That it was not a thing feasible; and so it was dropt. But the King, who did not at all like this secret Negotiation of Don John's with the Pope, before he had made him privy to it; being satisfy'd that these aspiring Thoughts of his Brother, if they were not infus'd into him, were at least cherish'd and much animated by his Secretary Soto, who was known to be a Man of great Ambition; he had some Thoughts of removing Soto presently from about his Brother: But having consulted with the Prince of Eboli, and Antonio Perez, about it, it was judged to be more convenient, considering how unwilling Don John would be to part with Soto, to let Soto remain with him; yet in some higher but not so close a Post; and to send Don John a new Secretary, to be a Spy upon Soto, and to infuse wiser Thoughts into that Prince: And accordingly a Commission was dispatch'd, constituting Soto Proveedor General of the Armada; and John de Escovedo, who was a Creature of the Prince of Eboli's, was made Secretary to
Don John, in Soto's Place; and who was charg'd particularly by the King, to watch Soto, and if he found him giving Don John any more such Counsels, to acquaint him with it.

But so far was Escovedo from faithfully discharging that Office, that he had not been long in Don John's Service, before he was got deeper into those Counsels, which he was placed about him on purpose to have countermined, than Soto himself. And being a Man of great Dexterity in Business, he had, without acquainting the Court at Madrid with it, set a secret Negotiation on Foot at Rome, in order to obtain a much greater Crown for his Master than that of Tunis would have been; which was, the Crown of England: And having made several Journeys betwixt Don John, after he was returned to Italy, and Rome, where he was well receiv'd by the Pope; he was at last, upon the King's having appointed Don John Governor of the Netherlands, sent by him to Madrid, to negotiate that Affair with the Pope's Nuncio at that Court: Which, when he had begun to do, the Nuncio one day sent to Antonio Perez to come to his House, having an Affair of great Importance to communicate to him; and when Antonio Perez was come, the Nuncio, having taken him into a private Room, asked him, Who that Escovedo
Escovedo was that was lately come to Court? Antonio Perez answer'd, it was John de Escovedo, who was Secretary to Don John of Austria: It must be the same, say'd the Nuncio, for he hath brought a Dispatch to me, from his Holiness, with a Cypher; commanding me to use all possible Diligence, but in such a Manner as John de Escovedo shall direct, to persuade his Majesty to invade England; and having conquer'd it, to accommodate Don John of Austria with the Crown of that Kingdom. Antonio Perez, having return'd such an Answer to the Nuncio as he thought was proper, went immediately to the King, and acquainted him with the great Secret he had been entrusted with by the Nuncio; and the King being highly displeas'd with Escovedo, for having without his knowledge ingag'd the Pope in a Design of so important a Nature, would have made an Example of him, for his unfaithfulness in the trust which had been particularly committed to him, and for which he knew he had been made Secretary to Don John, had not his fear of disobligeing the Pope and his Brother too much, restrain'd him from it: He therefore commanded Antonio Perez to go presently and acquaint Escovedo, with what the Nuncio had told him; and, in Order to pump the whole Secret out of him, to offer to join with him in assisting the Nuncio,
cio, in this weighty Negotiation; which having been done, the Nuncio, at a private Audience, communicated this great Affair to the King, and in the Pope's Name pressed him very hard to enter into it with all his Force.

The King's Answer to the Nuncio was That he was much pleased to find his Holiness so Zealous for to advance his Brother to whom he should be ready to give all possible Assistance in this Case. And Don John believing that if he were at Madrid himself he might there, in Conjunction with the Nuncio, settle his Business concerning England; notwithstanding he had receiv'd the King's express Command to go directly from Italy to Flanders, he came unexpectedly to Madrid; and having receiv'd an Account from Antonio Perez and John de Escovedo, of the good Posture his Affair about England was in, he prepar'd himself to go forthwith to his Government of the Netherlands: And to which, that he might go the more cheerfully, the King, before he left Madrid, did assure him, that so soon as the Affairs of the Netherlands were accommodated by the Project he carried with him, and the States of those Countries would give their Consent to the embarking of the Troops which were to be rais'd there for that Service, that he would not only give Way to it, but should be glad to have him invade England, and made King of that Realm.
With these Assurances Don John left Madrid, in the year 1576, and went to the Netherlands, with his Head full of Hopes of wearing the Crown of England; which at that time, for the publick Good of England, was on the best Head it was ever on before.

But being come to Flanders, the Differences betwixt the King and the States of the Netherlands were so far from being composed by what he had offer'd, that they were made rather greater by it; and when the raising and embarking of Troops was propos'd by him, they all declar'd against it, as an Infringement of the Libertys of the free People of that Country. Don John being extremly concern'd at this Disappointment, had Recourse to his old Friend agen, the Pope, whom he supplicated for the Investiture of the Kingdom of England, and for Money, Bulls, Indulgences, and other Spiritual Artillery, to enable him to invade that Kingdom.

As to the Investiture, Indulgences, and other Spiritual Preparations, which Don John desir'd, the Pope having an inexhaustible Treasure of them, was without doubt very ready to furnish him with them; but as to the carnal Preparation of Money, that is never easily to be had out of the Papal Treasury. However, the Pope being very Zealous to have
have England invaded and reduc'd to his Obedience. did write to his Nuncio at Madrid to speak to the King agen about it, and not to give over solicit ing him, untill he had persuad’d him to undertake that holy War: And the Nuncio having thereupon called Antonio Perez to him, he acquaint ed him with the Dispatch he had receiv’d from the Pope, and with Don John’s having writ to his Holiness in Cyphers from Flanders, for to dispose matters for the invading of England: With all which Antonio Perez made the King acquainted presently, that he might be prepar’d with an Answer for the Nuncio when he came to speak to him about it.

The King, who was very angry at Don John’s negotiating this Affair still with the Pope, told the Nuncio, when he spoke to him of it, but without making any Discovery of Don John’s having writ from Flanders to the Pope, ‘That this was an Affair that ought to be well weighed and considered; and was not to be enterpriz’d, without seeing whether they should be able to go through with it; and that not having heard any thing from his Brother for a pretty while, he knew not how things stood in the Netherlands; where, if things went not well, the invading of England was an Affair not to be thought of.’ And having dismiss’d the Nuncio with this Answer, the King
King commanded Antonio Perez to write presently to Don John, and to give him an Account of what had passed lately betwixt the King and the Nuncio concerning the Affair of England; which Antonio Perez did, and by the same Courier did write one Letter privately, (as he pretended) to Don John, and another to Escovedo; in which having reprov'd them for the Application they had made to the Pope, without having acquainted the King with it, he told them, however, that he had accommodated that Matter as well as he was able: Both which Letters and all the others that he wrote to Don John, and to Escovedo, and all their Answers, (knowing this to be an Affair of a very delicate and ticklish Nature,) he still shew'd to the King, and who, with his own Hand, writ something both upon his Copy's and upon their Answers:

Not long after this, Antonio Perez receiv'd Advice from Don John de Vargas Mexias, the King's Ambassador at the Court of France, that there were Envoys daily going and coming betwixt Don John and the Duke of Guise; and who, tho', at their first coming to Paris, they did appear abroad, were afterwards shut up with that Duke; who at that time, by having made himself the Head of the Zealots, had more Power in France than the King himself: And Vargas upon
upon this Intelligence, having been commanded by the King narrowly to observe all the Motions of those Envoys, and if were possible to discover what their Business was with the Duke of Guise; in a short time he wrote Word, that he had finished it out, and that Don John and the Duke were enter’d into a solemn Confederacy, in the Names and for the Defence of the two Kingdoms of Spain and France, and of the Catholic Religion.

The King was much more troubled at this, than at all Don John’s former secret Negotiations; his having entered into League with the most aspiring and insolent Subject of Europe, and in the Name and Defence of his Kingdom, without his Knowledge, being so bold a Step, that he apprehended it must needs end in great public Disturbances. And these Fears of the King were much increased, by the Letters that were writ at this time by Don John and his Secretary Escovedo to Antonio Perez; in which that Prince expressed a most desperate Discontent, upon his Hopes of the Crown of England being vanish’d; and did vehemently demand to be eased of the Government of the Netherlands; with which, I cannot see no other Reason for his being so much discontented, besides that of their having deny’d to suffer him to embark any of their People
People for to invade England. In his Letter of the First of March 1577 to Antonio Perez, he writ as followeth, 'My Life, Honour, and Soul, depend so on my leaving of this Government quickly; that the two First will certainly be lost, and the Third, through my Despair, will run a great Risk, if I am not speedily eased of it. And in another Letter of the Tenth of February, in the same year, he writes, 'Now that the Design upon England is blown over. I know not what to think of; being, by that terrible Blow, struck into so deep a Melancholy, that I have many times strong Impulses to hide my self in an Hermitage: For neither the Shortness of my Life, nor my own Breast being accustom'd to know all its Obligations, will Consent to the remaining course of my Life being answerable to that which is past: Adding, And that if he should be continu'd in the Post he was in, any longer than one could be found to succeed him in it, there was no Resolution that he might not take, even to the throwing up of his Government, and going to Madrid, when he was least expected there; notwithstanding he were certain that it should cost him his Head. Concluding, ' That if he were not quickly recalled, that he should certainly incur the Case of Disobedience, to a-
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void that of Infamy; and would, perfa

cas, leave Flanders, and return to

Spain; and what would follow upon hi
doing that, God only knew, whose Hand
is all-sufficient. By this we see how un
happy a thing it commonly is, for Prince
to have their younger Years so prosperous
that their succeeding Years cannot well keep
Pace with them; which was the Case of this
uneasy Prince.

His Secretary Escovedo's Letters, writ
to Antonio Perez from Flanders at the fame time
were all of the fame desperate Strain; in one
of which of the Third of February, he faith:
That his Master, Don John, would rathe

go an Adventurer into France, with Six

thousand Foot, and Two thousand Horses

than be continu'd Governour of the Ne

derlands. And in another he writ; 'Let u

preserve the Man that has preserv'd us all

and do all that we are able to help him to

Contentment; whose Life, since his last Diff

appointment, is Weariness and Death to him

Escovedo, before he went to Flanders, had
talk'd rashly too, having said to one in Con
fidence, that, were his Master Don John
once King of England, he would with the
Castle and Port of St. Ander, and a Fortrese
on the Rock of Megro, be able to over-run
Spain when he pleas'd; and which, he said,
had formerly been conquered by that Way:

And
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and what made those Words to be the more regarded, was Escovedo’s having advis’d the Building of such a Fortress, and petition’d to have the Command of it.

Whilst the King was in a great Perplexity, how to prevent Don John’s Discontents breaking out into some publick Disturbances, Escovedo came unexpectedly from Flanders to Madrid, with a Dispatch from Don John; and to which he demanded a speedy Answer: The King judging it neither to be safe to return such an Answer to that Dispatch as would give Satisfaction; nor to delay given one; was more intangled than he was before; and seeing no such Way to disembarrass himself, as by dispatching Escovedo, not to Flanders, but into the next World; he resolv’d to have it done, and to trust no Body, but Antonio Perez, with the Execution of it: And so having called him one day into the Wardrobe of the Escorial, and commanded him to lay the Papers, which he had brought for him to sign, down upon the Table; he said, ‘Antonio Perez, I have both waking and sleeping revolv’d the Course of all my Brother’s Negotiations over in my Mind; or rather indeed of Escovedo’s, and of his Predecessors John de Soto: And I do find that by their Plots they have brought things to that pass, that it is necessary to come to a Resolution to put
put a speedy stop to them; and the only Remedy that I can think of in this Case, is, to have Escovedo made away; since to apprehend him would make my Brother more desperate than any Dispatch I can send by him into Flanders. I am resolv'd therefore to have that done, and not to trust any Body but your self with the Execution of it; both for your known Fidelity and Dexterity, and because those Plots are not known so well by any, as by you: And for the same Reason that this ought to be done, it ought to be done speedily.

Antonio Perez, who was much surpriz'd, made Answer, 'That tho' he was infinitely oblig'd to his Majesty for the Confidence he repos'd in him; yet his Zeal for his Majesty's Service made him desire to have leave to propose one thing.

'What is that said the King?' 'Sir,' said Antonio Perez, tho' your Majesty's Prudence and State are such as do secure you against Ill-will amidst the greatest Offences; yet in this Case I cannot but consider your Majesty as a Party, and my self, by Reason of the Resentments which their Intrigues have rais'd in me, as a Party likewise; it would therefore, in my Opinion, be convenient to have the Judgment of a Third Person, which, would both much ascertain and credit this Resolution
solution: As to the rest, here I am, and so much your Majesty's, as to have no Will of my own, no more than the Hand has in the Execution of the Master's Commands. To this the King reply'd presently, Antonio, if you propose the communicating of this Secret, because you are not willing to venture on the Execution of it alone, there is something in that; but if it is for Counsel you propose it, there is no need of it: For I must tell you, that Kings, like eminent Physicians, in Extremities do execute their own Wills, without advising with those they do consult with in other Cases; for in Matters of this Nature, and in which you may believe me, because I speak in my Profession, the asking of Counsel does more Hurt than Good. But Antonio Perez, who knew his Master too well, not to be willing to have a Witness of his having commanded this; insisted so on having it communicated to the Marquis de los Velez; that tho' the King would not himself speak of it to him, he gave him Leave to ask that Marquis's Opinion of it; which Antonio Perez having done, the Marquis, having laid all that had been writ and said by Escovedo together, told him; 'That were he ask'd, when he had the Sacrament in his Mouth, whether Escovedo, or any other turbulent Person, should be put to Death? he would Name Escovedo: S 2 But
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But tho', upon this Declaration of that Marquis, Escovedo's Death was resolv'd on; it was not so soon settl'd how it should be executed: At first they had Thoughts of arresting him, and trying him publickly for his Life; but that having been laid aside, as unsafe, because it could not be done without bringing Don John upon the Stage, to the exasperating of his present great Discontents to a dangerous Excess; and that of dispatching him with Poison having been rejected for the same Reason; it was at last agreed that he should be stab'd in the Street at Night, as he went home from Court, and that it should be given out that it had been done upon some private Revenge: And which being no uncommon thing at Madrid, they did hope that it would have passed over without any great Noise, and without giving Don John any Jealousy of its having been done on his Account.

And accordingly on the Eve of Good Friday, when the Streets of Madrid are all Night crouded with People of both Sexes; and which, for that Reason, is the Night of the greatest Mis-rule in the whole year; Escovedo being met in the Street by Four or Five Ruffians, they first jest'd him, and having afterwards pick'd a Quarrel with him, they all drew their Daggers, and immediate-ly stab'd him dead upon the Place.
And whereas Antonio Perez, that there might not be any Suspicion of his having been any way accessory to that Murder, had on pretence of an extraordinary Devotion retir'd to Alcala, some days before it was committed; so, when the News of it was brought thither, he seem'd to be so much disturbed for the Loss of so dear a Friend, that his Devotion, and all that were about him, had enough to do to keep him from immediately taking Post for Madrid, to find out the Authors of that execrable Murder: Notwithstanding among other Arguments, they very innocently endeavoured to offefs him, that had he been at Madrid when the Blow was given, it would have reached him likewise.

We are not told how Escovedo's Death was resented by Don John, who did not outlive the News of it many Months; he having on the First of October following, the Day whereon he used to celebrate his Two great Victories at Lepanto and Tunis, died at Namur; of a pestilential Fever, some say, of pure Discontent say others; and others say of Poison, which had been given him by the Procurement of the Court of Madrid.

This Prince, for some Time after he came to Flanders, seem'd to live in a better Correspondence with Queen Elizabeth than any of his Predecessors; that Queen having had
no Suspicion of his having a Grant from the Pope of her Crown; (and that, so far as I can find, without being oblig’d to marry the Queen of Scots, for the corroborating of his Papal Title;) untill she was advertiz’d of it, as a thing most certain, by that wise and great Heroe, William Prince of Orange; a most auspicious Name to England, and indeed to the Protestant Religion in general, and the Libertys of Europe: And whereas before, that Queen had trimm’d betwixt the Spaniards and the Dutch, and of the two did seem to incline most to the former; having, not long before, to gratify the Spaniards, forbid the Prince of Orange and all his Confederates to come into her Kingdom, and writ to the Dutch to dispose them to agree to what Don John had to offer to them; after this Intelligence, she begun to espouse the Dutch Interests; and having set herself to thwart Don John in every thing, she writ to the King of Spain, to call him out of Flanders.

And tho’ I do not believe, that Ratclif was sent by her, or by any that were about her, into Flanders, to have murthered Don John; on which Pretence that Gentleman was put to Death there; yet, considering how vehement and restless an Appetite that Prince had for her Crown, and how he was ador’d by all the English Papists, by whom his
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his Death was lamented, as the greatest Loss that could have befallen their Cause; if King Philip, for his own Security, did dispatch him, after his Secretary, into the next World, she had no cause to be sorry for it. But to return to Antonio Perez.

Tho' the Persons who had stabb'd Escovedo were neither taken nor known by any of his Relations; yet it was no sooner done, than, according to the saying, Murder will out, it was in every Body's Mouth that Antonio Perez had been the Author of his Death; and that he had done it for no other Reason but to gratify the fair Princess of Eboli, who was known to be angry with Escovedo, for some ill Offices he had done her with his Master Don John, who was believ'd to be her Gallant; and for his having talked freely of that Princess's Familiarity with Antonio Perez: By which Provocations she was so incensed against Escovedo, that she one day told Antonio Perez, that nothing less than the Blood of that Rascal, who had the Impudence to reflect so on her Honour, could satisfy her: But having been desir'd by Antonio Perez not to trouble herself any farther about Escovedo, but to leave him to the King's Vengeance, who was as angry with him as she was; she was quiet.

But the Man of all others that seem'd to resent this Murder the most, was the Secre-
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... Matthew Vasquez; who set all his Engines to work, and having made some Discoverys, he communicated them to the King in the Paper following, but under a feign'd Name.

' The People's Suspicion of one Secretary's having kill'd the other, gathers Strength; and a Response which it hath met with, affirms him to have caused his great Friend to be kill'd who is now in his Honour; and that he did it for a Woman: And faith yet farther, that when his Wife went first to visit the Widow of the Secretary that was murthersd, that Widow thundred out Curses against the Man who had caused her Husband to be stabb'd; and that she did it in such a Manner that there was great Notice taken of it. I conceive it will be convenient that his Majesty should ask Vegreee in secret, what he can say concerning that Death, and what his Suspicions are, and on what they are grounded; for tho' he has never said any thing to me, I hear by others that he has talkt of it.

' Wherefore to give Satisfaction to the Ministers, and to the whole Commonwealth, which is so much scandaliz'd at this matter; and to divert some ill Whispers of bad Consequence, which fly about; it is expedient that the Truth of this matter should
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should be narrowly searched after; both by the way of Suspicions, and by all other ways and means possible. Your Majesty, will be pleased to return this Paper, which belongs to Austin Alvaro de Toledo.

The King, having diligently perused this Paper, gave it to Antonio Perez; and commanded him to carry it to the Marquis de los Velez, to consult with him about the Answer he was to return to it; which Antonio Perez having done, he sent the following Paper to the King. 'I was last Night with Velez, and did communicate Matthew Vasquez's Paper to him, (1.) He is much scandaliz'd with it all; and at that Man's pressing your Majesty so hard, as if he would squeeze your Breath out of your Body. As to the Answer, he mention'd several, which might and ought to be given; but, not to tire your Majesty, he faith, this that followeth may do very well.

'I have with you been inform'd from whence this (2.) Case has proceeded, but by a Way that will not allow me to speak of it. (3.) However I can assure you that it is very different from that in your Paper. (4.) There is not therefore any Regard to be had to what you say here; which has no other Foundation but an extravagant Curiosity, and a very rash Judgment.

On
On the Margin of this Paper, the King after he had carefully perused it, did write with his own hand. (1.) 'He has reason in this, however I believe it may have happen'd for the best, since they may be undeceiv'd by this Answer. And to Antonio Perez's having added the word astonishing, (2.) the King writ, 'It is well and I have likewise made my Additions which are, (3.) 'Tho' I do much wish that I had known it by some other way, that I might have chastiz'd it, (4.) Tho' I believe he that did it, had great Cause for it. Writing in the Conclusion, If there be any thing in this that you do not understand, bring it to me at Night, and I will explain it to you.

But Vasquez not having been convinced by this Answer, of his Suspícions being altogether groundless; he did underhand perfwade Escovedo's Widow and eldest Son, to think of prosecuting the Princess of Eboli and Antonio Perez, as the Authors of her Husband's Blood; and of which he said there were strong Presumptions, if not clear Proofs.

Antonio Perez finding the Storm begun to thicken upon him, went to his Country House, and the Cardinal of Toledo with him, to spend some time there; and having had Occasion to write from thence to the King.
King about some publick Affairs, he put the following Expostulation in a Postscript.

"Will your Majesty command me to wear a Paper on my Breast confessing that Death? for there I do verily believe it will end, and that I must pay for all at last. In answer to this the King writ, 'The bad Humour reigns to day: I would not have you believe what you say, but the quite contrary. And he having afterwards writ a second Letter to the King, did put the following Expostulation to it, 'Sir, I am afraid that I shall be smitten by my Enemies under the Fifth Rib when I least think of it; and that taking Advantage of your Majesty's great Mildness and Sufferance in this matter; they will, before you are aware, have compass'd their Ends. I say this because I know they are restless."

In answer to this the King writ as followeth, 'I told you formerly that you must be out of Humour; for tho' they do not rest, believe me, they shall not prevail; and I do remember nothing, if I did not tell you what I said to them.

But, to Antonio Perez's great Misfortune, the Marquis de los Velez was at this time seiz'd with a dangerous Distemper, of which he died not long after; and who having retir'd to his Country House, which was a great way from the Court, for the recovery of his Health;
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Health; as he was in his Way Home, the following Letter was writ by him to Anton Perez.

S I R,

Since I had yours at Ocuna, I have heard nothing of your Health; neither was my own, at that time, in such a State as would allow me to answer you. That which I have at present, is, by travelling something better; I have a little better Appetite to my Meat, tho' it is not strong enough for any Flesh I can meet with in the Mancha. I go on recovering Strength as fast as I can, and may God increase it: It is no small Relief to me, that I am got from Court; so well do I bear your Business, or which is rather my own, being traversed as it is.

I believe the Affair of the Archbishop of Toledo's Hat is finish'd, and I do very much rejoice at it; I desire you to congratulate him, for me and the rest of his Friends: Neither do I rejoice less at the Vacancy of Hernando de Escobar, with which I am much delighted. I kiss you hands for your Enamelling, which I see I could not have had done at Bilbo, but with great Difficulty. I travel but slowly, so that I believe it may be the Middle of the next Week before I shall get Home; and I am fo
so much chagrined and wasted, that my Friends do not know me. I am extremely disgusted with all things, and have no other Comfort, but what my having withdrawn my self from that Ill-will which the Court has taken up against me, affords me; and which, believe me, is such, that no Man of Honour can bear it. And if, without the King's Favour, they have trampled upon all; will they, now they have it, spare either Lives or Honours? No, Life and every thing else will be made to give Way to the Considerations, and to the infinite Respects, which they will have for every Determination. Don't wonder at my Head's being so full of Speculations; for in this long Journey I have mused on all Affairs, and not without thinking of that which is out of the Kingdom; which I desire you to remember, as there shall be Occasion: For as things go at present, Peru occurs often to my Thoughts; neither shall I reckon that to be too remote a Banishment.

I do a Second Time entreat you to remember my Concerns, as the Friendship I have for you obligeth you; tho' all that I have done for you, is but of little Value.

In fine, in fine, we shall be pluck'd up by the Roots; being one and all of us deceiv'd, in imagining that we have found the Jew.
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eel of the Gospel: And our Master at the
tame time laughs at all this, and at us all.

What I have said, is enough to one who
knows all Affairs better than I do.

I do take care of my Health; and by
Starts do entertain my self with the Anti-
quitys which you gave me at Pinto; and
which, had you known how good they
are, I do not believe you would have part-
ed with them. Hereafter, if my Health
will allow it, I will entertain my self with
Perez. May our Lord preserve your Ill
lustrious Person, as I desire. From Inojo
fes the 26th of January 1579. Your Mer-
cy’s Servant.

El Marquez Adelantado

This Marquis had, ever since the Death
of Ruy Gomez, been the Favourite. He is
said to have been a Person of the highest
Genius, and of the noblest Qualities of any
that had ever been in that Post, in Spain.
This Letter came no sooner to Antonio Pe-
rez’s Hand, than he sent it to the King; and
on the Back of it he writ as followeth.

This Letter was writ to me by the
Marquis, as he was on his way Home; I
intended to have kept it, to shew it to
your Majesty, for what he speaks of out of
the Kingdom and of Peru: But upon Second
thoughts, I do now send it, on Account of
what
what he faith concerning Affairs here at Home, and which I believe is all true; for so it is, that they do haften the Archbishop away from my House; and are for whipping me about the Streets.

To this the following Answer was return'd by the King.

' What he faith of out of the Kingdom, and of Peru, I do not understand: And for the rest, I believe, his Sickness must have helped to chagrin his Temper: I know not how you have been for some days, not having heard from you. On Saturday I shall go to Madrid, and will then give fuch Orders about all things as shall be most convenient; and I will take Care that they shall not whip you about the Streets.

But notwithstanding all these Royal Assurances, Antonio Perez having been inform'd, that tho' Vazquez was known to be still at work, yet he was not at all frown'd upon or it at Court; he writ the following Letter to the King.

I do here remit the President's Dispatch concerning Navar, to your Majesty; your Majesty may believe that my Blood boy'd within me to see how the Matter goes on; and which I have often told your Majesty would, if delayed, cause greater Inconveniencys.
Inconvenience. I must therefore supplicate your Majesty either to come to some Resolution, or to leave me to my Liberty, to take my own Satisfaction; and if there has not been Cause enough given for such a Resolution, or for such a Punishment, I shall believe the Witchcraft: And the rather, for seeing my Services, tho' with weak Talents, yet with great Fidelity and Loyalty to your Majesty, and with all the Pledges of Favour which I have had from your Majesty, born down by my own ill Fortune, or by the good Luck of that other who has committed so many Faults, and who has put so great an Affront on so high a Lady, and on a Man who has always studied to serve your Majesty, and has ventured so much as I have done. I add no more left I should burst.

To this earnest Expostulation, the following Answer was return'd by the King. 'I do here send you back the President's Dispatch, which does not seem to require any Haste. I want to know what you mean by Navar, you must not forget therefore to acquaint me with it. As to the Satisfaction you speak of, it is in all Respects inconvenient; and you cannot but see how prejudicial it would be, for an hundred thousand Causes: So I doubt not but your Wisdom and Discretion,
creation will take care to prevent it, especially considering how ready I am, on my part, to do Justice: To burst will not do well, if there were no other Reason but that it would afford great Pleasure to the Plantiffs: My Strength will not allow me to apply my self to the various Affairs which are, at this time, in that Man's Hands.

But the Marquis de los Velez having died soon after he writ the foremention'd Letter, Antonio Perez was extreamly afflicted; having by his Death, lost, not only the greatest Friend he had in the World, but the only Witness that he had of Escovedo's having been kill'd by the King's Command: And having by a Letter laid this his irreparable Loss, with great Passion before the King; the King was pleas'd to write him the following consolatory Answer.

'I am so struck with this News, that I know not what I say; and the more I think of it, the more it afflicts me: My Loss, I am sure, is very great; but yours will not, I hope, be so, since I will not be wanting to you; and being sure of this, you may and ought to be of good Courage: And tho' I know not what I say of any thing else at this Time, yet what I have here said concerning you I do know, and will never unsay it.
But notwithstanding all these Assurances which the King from time to time gave to Antonio Perez, Vasquez and his other Enemys observing that the King did not seem to be displeased with the Report of the Princess of Eboli and Antonio Perez having been the Authors of Escovedo’s Death; they persuaded Escovedo’s Widow and eldest Son, to charge them both with it by Name: And which they having done in a Memorial which they delivered to the King; and the King being still willing to have it believ’d that Escovedo had been stab’d on some private Pique, he did promise that they should have rigorous Justice done on all that should be convicted of having had any Hand in that Murder.

But the King had no sooner made this Promise, than he sent for Antonio Perez to come to him immediately; and which he having done, and being certain that Escovedo’s Relations could have no Proof of his having been any ways concern’d in his Death, he consented to the King’s giving way to the clamorous Petitioners prosecuting of him for it; but at the same time conjur’d him to hold so ticklish a Matter so fast in his own Hand, as to be still so far Master of it, as to put a stop to it when it should be found necessary.
The King having remitted the Petitioners Memorial to the President of the Royal Court of Castile, did at the same time command Antonio Perez to go and acquaint him with the Secret of Escovedo's Death; and to consult with him how, without any immediate Interposition of the Royal Authority, a stop might be put to its being prosecuted; which Antonio Perez having done, the President sent immediately to Escovedo's Son to come to him, and who having waited on him, he told him very Gravely, 'That the King had put his, and his Mother's Memorial into his Hands; wherein they had charg'd the Princess of Eboli, and Antonio Perez, with his Father's Blood; and that as he had commanded him to do them Justice without Distinction of Person, Sex, or Quality, so he did promise him that they should have Justice done: But there is one thing, said the President, I must tell you in Friendship, That considering who the Persons are, and their high Quality and Posts, which you accuse, you had need have strong and clear Proofs of their being Guilty; otherwise you will bring certain Destruction upon your self and your Family: And in Confidence I will tell you one thing farther, that upon the Word of a Priest, I know the Princess of Eboli to
have had no more an Hand in your Father’s Blood, than I had.

Young Escovedo was so terrify’d with what the President had said to him; that, having thank’d him for his good Advice; he promis’d, that neither he, nor his Mother, nor Brother, should speak or stir any more in the Prosecution of those two great Persons.

The President having thus put a Stop to the main Wheels, he sent to Secretary Vasquez to come to him, and having carried him into a private Room, said to him, ‘Secretary Vasquez, I hear you do solicithe the King vehemently, to give way to the Princess of Eboli and Antonio Perez being prosecuted, as the Authors of Escovedo’s Death; I must tell you, that for a Priest, as you are, to do so, having no Relation to Escovedo, nor being under no Obligations to him, nor in no Post that requires it of you, does not look well; besides, I will tell you further, that I know that Escovedo came not by his Death, as you imagine he did.

But this grave Admonition of the President’s was so far from having the same Effect on Secretary Vasquez, as that had which he gave to young Escovedo; that he believing from what the President had hinted, that Escovedo’s Death had a State-secret in its Belly, he was more Zealous than before to pry into it, to find it out: And not being able to prevail
prevail with Escovedo's Widow, or either of her Sons, to go on with the Prosecution they had begun; he perswaded a more remote Relation to undertake it: And who having undertaken it, did, under his Direction, drive it on so furiously, that the King was strangely distracted about the Course he was to take; knowing, that if he should abruptly put a stop to the Prosecution, the World would then conclude, that Escovedo had been stab'd by his Order; and fearing that if he suffer'd it to go on, it might end in a Detection of the whole Secret.

And into such Straits as these, Princes, tho' never so great, will often be plunged; if the known Laws of the Land, are not the Rule whereby they square all their Actions.

Antonio Perez, finding the Prosecution, being secretly push'd by the Secretary Vazquez and some other great Persons about the Court, was like to be carried very high against him; did upon the King's being strangely irresolute in the matter, desire Leave to lay down his Offices and retire; whereby he said, that Envy which gave Life and Motion to this Prosecution, would be extinguished: And in this he appeared to be so immovable; that the King, who would not hear of parting with him, commanded the Archbishop of Toledo, and the Princess of Eboli, who he knew had both great Power with him, to perswade him to change
change his Mind, and to make him a Promise of a Grant of Four thousand Ducats yearly; and to offer themselves to be Sureties for its being paid, if he would hold his Offices: Which they having done, and told him, that he was much mistaken if he thought he should be able to weather this Storm sooner if he left his Office, and the Court, than if he remain'd in them; he was prevail'd with to stay; hoping that after this he might have more Power to persuade the King to discountenance those Ministers, who did under hand somet the Prosecution of Escovedo's Death, than he had before.

But in this he soon found himself mistaken, for as his quick-fought Enemys, observing that the Princes of Eboli and he were often together, did drive on the Prosecutor more eagerly than they did before; so the King that he might not bring himself under any Suspicion, would not be persuaded to do any thing that might discourage them so as to make them give it over. And as to Vasquez, the King pretended that he could neither remove nor disgrace him presently, without doing a great Injury to several Persons who had their Business in his hands at that Time.

The Princes of Eboli, finding Antonio Perez's Enemys were encouraged by the King's Irresolution to talk openly against her; the writ
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writ the following Letter to the King to complain of them; and to demand Satisfaction.

SIR,

YOUR Majesty having commanded the Cardinal of Toledo to speak to me concerning what had passed betwixt your Majesty and Antonio Perez; and to ingage me to perswade him, if it were possible, to change his Mind; I undertook to do it; tho' it was, I confess, contrary to my Judgement. For an innocent Man, after so many Persecutions, to live without Honour or Rest, is a thing none ought to be content to submit to; neither ought any Person to go about to perswade him to it. But your Majesty's Service can do all things.

In a former Paper I acquainted your Majesty, with Matthew Vasquez and his Complices having said, that whosoever resorted to my House, were sure to lose your Majesty's Favour, for going thither; and since that, they have had the Impudence to say, that Escovedo was stabb'd on my Account; and that Antonio Perez was under so great Obligations to me, that if I desired it of him, he could not refuse to do it.

T 4  ' Now
Now the Impudence of such Fellows being risen to such an Height; your Majesty, both as a King and as a Gentleman, ought so to resent it, as to make them feel the Weight of your Displeasure; which if your Majesty will not be pleased to do, being willing that my House should lose both the Authority and Estate of my Ancestors; and that the Services of the Prince my Husband should be thus rewarded; I have by this discharg'd my self with your Majesty, as to the Satisfaction which I owe to what I am.

I desire your Majesty to send me back this Letter, wherein I have writ to you as to a Gentleman; and with the Confidence that may be repos'd in one that is so; and with the Resentment also, which so great an Affront deserves.

The King being made very uneasy by this Letter, sent Father Diego de Chaves, a Dominican Friar, who was his Confessor, to the Princess of Eboli, to ask her whether she was able to prove what she had charg'd Vazquez with in her Letter; the Princess answer'd, That it was notorious, and that Fame had spread it so that there could be no Want of Witnesses; And being urg'd by the Confessor to name however some particular Persons, she reply'd, She might name the King, who...
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who knew it so well, that he needed not to have put upon her to prove it. But having afterwards writ to the Cardinal of Toledo for his Advice in this matter, the Cardinal bid her not be forced to name Witnesses, and to name him for one; and accordingly, the Princess, the next time the Confessor waited upon her, named that Cardinal, and Friar Hernando de Castillo, who was the King's Chaplain and a famous preacher, for Witnesses; and to whom the Confessor having repair'd, they did satisfy him of the Truth of the Complaint which the Princess had made to the King of Vazquez; and of that Secretary's being that lady's, as well as Antonio Perez's, known mortal Enemy.

The King therefore, in Order to put a stop to this angry Business, which he fear'd would end in a Discovery of Escovedo's having been stab'd by his Order; sent his Confessor agen to the Princess, to require her to be reconciled to Vazquez, and to make him and Antonio Perez Friends. To whom the Princess's Answer was, 'That she had given the King, tho' he did not want it, Satisfaction, as to the Justice of her Complaint; and that naturally, Complaints, whether just or unjust, were punish'd no otherwise, but by the denying of Satisfaction. And to the Reconciliation, she said, that as it was below her to enter in-
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to Treatys of Friendship with such a F
low as Vasquez; so neither would t
Nature of the Affront he had put upon h
allow of any Treaty about it; so that t
could not wonder enough at its being r
quired.

And Antonio Perez, when he was spoke to about the Reconciliation, having answered, 'That as he was ready to release the King from the Promise he had given him of Satisfaction, and to pardon all Offences since his Majesty was contented to suffer those which had been committed against himself; so he was willing to forego the Rewards the King had promised him for his Services, if he might be permitted to retire from Court, in his Majesty's Grace; in Testimony of his Fidelity, and of his having serv'd his Majesty well.

Upon these two resolute Answers, the King without communicating his Intention to any, but to his Confessor, and to the Conde Barzaias, who were not in the Secret of Escovedo's Murder, did resolve to have them both arrested, to force them to be reconciled to Vasquez.

And accordingly, on the 28th of Ju
1579, which was above a Year after Escove
do's Murder, the Princess of Eboli, who had been for some Time the Idol of the Court, was arrested in the Night, and sent a Prisoner t
the Castle of Villa de Pinto; and the King said to have been so uneasy after he had obtained the Warrant for that Princess’s Imprisonment, that he went after it was Dark cognito to St. Mary’s Church, which fronted her Palace; and said there, until he saw her brought out a Prisoner: And being return’d Home, his Spirits are said to have been in so violent an Agitation, that he walked about his Chamber till Five a.m. in the Morning, without speaking a Word. The same Night Antonio Perez was arrested likewise, and was made a Prisoner in Madrid, in the House of an Alcalde de Corte; which was not so severe a Confinement as that of the Princess’s.

The King being sensible that this Princess’s great Relations would be much a-mind with the News of her Imprisonment, did the next Day after write to the Duke de Infantada, and the Duke de Medina Sidonia, who were both her near Kinsmen, to acquaint them with the Cause of her Confinement.

The King’s Letter to the Duke de Infantada.

Duke my Cousin,

You must have heard of some Differences, and of there being no good Understanding betwixt Antonio Perez and Matthew Vasquez, two of my Secretaries; and in which the Princess of Eboli having interposed
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interposed her Authority, I shew'd that Respect that was reasonable, both in the Account of her Relations, and for having been the Wife of Ruy Gomez, who did me much Service; and for whom, you know very well, I had a very great Favour. And being desirous to see the Bottom of those Differences, in order to provide a Remedy for them, and to have the ended with the Secrecy that was convenient; I did order my own Confessor, Diego de Chaves, for whom I have a great Respect, to speak in my Name to the Princess, to learn what her Complaint was. Matthew Vasquez, and on what it was grounded; and who having done that, and spoke likewise with the Persons whom I nam'd as her Witnesses, he discover'd that it had no good Foundation; and so did, pursuance of the Commission which I had given him, do all that he was able to persuade the Princess to put a Stop to it, and not to suffer it to go any farther; and to give way to Antonio Perez and Matthew Vasquez being reconciled and made Friends, as was convenient both for my Service, and for her self, and them: But finding that after he had spoke to her several Times to comply with my most just Desire, that she set herself to hinder that Reconciliation; the Manner of her Proceeding...
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dure, and the Liberty she took therein, to
compel me for her sake, and for her sake, to order her to be Arrested, and sent into
Night a Prisoner to the Castle of Villa de
into: And of this, you being so nearly related to her, I thought fit to advise you, as
was reasonable; and that you may understand that there is nothing I desire so much as her Quiet and good Government; and the Advancement of her Family and Sons.

At Madrid the 29th of July, 1579.

Ruy Gomez, was a Native of Portugal, he had been Page and Gentleman of the Bed-
camber to Philip when he was Prince; and that Means had secured himself so deep in-
his Master's Heart, whilst it was young and tender; that no Man ever had that Power with Philip that he had; and which, tho' he was much envied for it, he held, without any great Strength of Genius, to his dying Day.

This Friar, Diego de Chaves, was first, Con-
fessor to Don Carlos Prince of Spain; and as he had been placed about him by King Philip, so he was suspected of having much promoted the Murder of that young Prince, in the Informations which he had given against him to his Father; and of which, it was possible, one was, that he found him inclined to turn Protestant; in which Religion, it was generally believ'd, his Grandfa-
other Charles V, to whom this Prince was very dear, had died but a few years before.

There were various Conjectures about the true Cause of this Princess's Imprisonment: By some it was attributed to her being grown so insolent, upon having so great a Stroke in all publick Councils, that the King could not endure her any longer. By the being a Lady of the rarest Wit and Beauty in all Spain; it was by most, attributed to her having rejected the King’s ancient Gallantry, with Scorn; and accepted of Antonio Perez’s; who, it is certain, was much in her Company; and was known to be much given to Women: And for the Affront, is is said, that the King did never forgive either of them; and that if he was not instrumental in raising this Suspicio concerning Escovedo's Death, yet that he was not sorry for that Princess’s having fallen under it, since it gave him a Handle to take his Revenge both on her and her Gallant at once; and which that Princess had given the King Cause to believe that Antonio Perez was, by her having once given him an Hint that she knew of Escovedo’s having been kill’d by his Command: For the King was certain that no Body but Antonio Perez could have told her that Secret, so he from thence concluded that there was more than an ordinary Familiarity between them.
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By others it was attributed to nothing else, but to the King’s being willing to confirm People in the Suspicions they had taken up of Escovedo’s having been murdered upon her Account; and not by his Order. What became of this Princess after her Imprisonment, I cannot tell, having met with nothing after that concerning her, in any of the Spanish Historians that I have seen. Only that the King, after she was in Prison, (as are not told how long,) did order Don John de Cuniga, Commendador Major of Ostile, to write to her, that if she would promise upon the Word of a Cavellero or Gentleman, (for so it is worded,) never to correspond any more with Antonio Perez, that he would set her at Liberty, and receive her to his Favour again: And that tho’ she did promise on the Word of a Cavellero, to communicate all Messages she should ever receive from Antonio Perez, to the King; yet because she would not promise to break off a Correspondence with him, this Treaty was of no Benefit to her. So that I am inclined to think, that this Princess, no more than Antonio Perez, was ever able to weather this Storm.

And here, upon the Spaniards reckoning a Promise upon the Word of a Cavellero, or Gentleman, to be the greatest Security that can be given; I cannot but observe, that it is
is a Demonstration of their reckoning Honour to be more powerful, with Persons of Birth, than Religion or Conscience. And that the Principle of Honour is ingrossed so far in the Rank of Gentlemen, that it can neither be found lower than that Rank, nor rais’d higher by any other Titles of Honour, no not by that of King. But to return.

Antonio Perez.

The next Day after he was imprisoned, his Wife was, by the King’s Order, visited by the Cardinal of Toledo; and was by him assured, that neither her Husband’s Life, Honour or Estate, were in any Danger; and that he had been arrested for no other Reason but to oblige him to be reconcil’d to Secretary Vasquez.

And as such Visits from Cardinals, are no unusual; so this of Toledo’s, made every Body conclude, that Antonio Perez was not under any Disgrace at Court; and in this Conception, People were much confirm’d by the Visit he had from the King’s Confessor on the Fifteenth Day after he was confin’d, and when having given him the same Assurance which the Cardinal of Toledo had before given to Donna Joanna his Wife; at parting he bid him be of good Courage, for his Sickness was not unto Death.

The Alcalde in whose House he was, had Orders likewise from the Court, not to let him.
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him lack for any thing, and to suffer his Wife and Children to come to him as often as they would. And having been taken ill at the end of Four Months after his Confinement, he was remov'd to his own House; where he had not been a Week, when Rodrigo Manuel, a Captain of the Guards came to him, to require him in the King's Name to be reconcil'd to Secretary Vasquez; which he having promised with the Solemnity of an Oath, and for the Future to live in an entire Friendship with him, it was believ'd the Storm, which Escovedo's Death had rais'd, was blown over, so, that he should have heard no more of it. And accordingly, upon his having entred into that Engagement, his Guards were remov'd, and he was permitted to go abroad to Church, and to be visited; but was not allow'd to visit any Body. And being still continued Secretary of State, but without being permitted to go to the Office, or to wait upon the King; he dispatched all Affairs in his own House, which was near to the Court.

Under this easy Confinement he continu'd untill the year 1582, when the King went to Portugal to receive the Crown of that Kingdom, upon the Death of his Uncle the Cardinal Don Henry; and which ever since Don Sebastian's Death, the King had been endeavouring by all Ways and Means to secure to himself;
An History of the himself; on which Occasion the old Duke of Alva, having observed the Marquis de los Velez to be overjoy'd, he said to him, My Lord Marquis why all this Joy? for if that should come to pass, where will your Son or mine or your Brother and mine, find a Place to retire to, if they should fall under the King's Displeasure. And the Duke after he had boded out those Words, fearing left the Marquis or Antonio Perez, who was likewise present when they were spoke, might report them to his Disadvantage, he went immediately to the King, and having told him what he had said, added, Sir if you would have the Thought of my Heart concerning Portugal; tho' no Person can wish the Augmentation of your Grandeur more than I do, I do reckon that it is more for the Benefit of any great King to have a Place of Refuge for his Subjects near to his own Territories, and especially if it be at his Devotion, a much as Portugal is at your Majesty's; than for to be Lord of it. But this Opinion of that fierce Duke, did not hinder him afterward from taking upon him the Command of that Army which drove Don Antonio out of Portugal; but with so much Ease, that the House of Austria did at that Time acquire Portugal, as it had done all its other Territories, not by fighting, but by marrying according to that ingenious Verse.

Bella gerant alii, Tu salix Austria nube.
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After the King had stay'd near two years in that Kingdom, Antonio Perez, growing weary of his Confinement, dispatch'd one Father Rengipho a Jesuite to Lisbon, to sollicite the King to restore him to his entire Liberty; the Cause for which he had been at first confin'd, having been now so long remov'd.

But tho' that Jesuite was a faithful and diligent Sollicitor, and had the King's Ear very much; he was not able to obtain anything but fair Promises for his Client: And of which when Antonio Perez saw that nothing came, he resolv'd to send his Wife, who was a Woman of Spirit and of a good Family, to Lisbon, to try if she could engage the Empress, who was there with her Brother, to interceed with the King for him: And having communicated this his Intention to the President of Castile, he did not only approve of it, but did encourage that Lady to undertake the Journey.

But the King, before she was got to Lisbon, having had Notice of her coming, he dispatch'd an Alcalde to stop her by the way; and having examin'd her, to send her back to Castile.

And the Alcalde having met her on the River Tagus, betwixt Aldea Gallega and Lisbon, he handled her so roughly, that being Eight Months gone with Child, she miscarried.
ried in the Boat, and having been carried back by the Alcalde to Aldea Gallega, she was in that weak Condition judicially examin’d by him, concerning her Business in Portugal, and the Persons who had advis’d her to take that Journey: And having carried her Examination to Lisbon, and put it into the King’s own Hand, the King was so far from thanking him, as he hoped he would, that without once looking into it, or saying a Word to him, he threw it into the Fire and burnt it: And having presently sent for Father Rengipho, he commanded him to go immediately to Aldea Gallega, and to speak to Antonio Perez’s Wife, so soon as she was able to travel, to return Home; and to tell her, that upon his Word, both as a King and as a Gentleman, he would dispatch her Husband’s Affair as soon as he return’d to Madrid.

This kind Message was believ’d to have been procured by the Empress; who was sensibly touched with what that poor Lady had suffer’d: But so was not the King’s Confessor, who was an Inquisitor, who said publicly, that had the King known of the President of Castile’s having consented to her coming after him to Lisbon with her Clamours, before he had nam’d him to the Bishoprick of Corduba, that he would never have preferred him to it.
When this kind Message of the King's came to be publickly known, Antonio Perez's Enemys, of which they that are in high Posts at Court never want good Store, dreading the Thoughts of having the Princess of Eboli, and him, whom they had so highly provoked, come into Favour again, they told the King, that all his Secretarys were much complained of, and that it was fit therefore, that according to the Custom of former Reigns, they should be visited: And tho' Antonio Perez was the only Person that was aimed at in this Visitation, yet to conceal their particular Spleen against him, they took in all the other Secretarys.

This Court, which is occasionally erected, is call'd the Visita, and in its Methods of Proceeding does very much resemble that of the Inquisition: The Persons that are visited being neither allow'd to have a Copy of their Process, nor to know who they are that have informed and witnessed against them; and who are commonly their greatest Enemys: And when ever the Visitors have a Mind to ruine a disgraced Minister, they will keep Secret Depositions open, untill they reckon they have found Matter enough to condemn him upon. Only there is one thing wherein the Visita is more just than the Inquisition; which is, that it acquaints the Parties with the particular Mis-

U 3 demeanours,
demeanours, wherewith they stand charg'd.

The King, at the Importunity of Antonio Perez's Enemies, having granted a Commission for a \textit{Visita}; Rodrigo Vasquez, a Judge, was made President of it, notwithstanding Antonio Perez had refus'd him, as his mortal Enemy, and had offer'd to make Proof of it: The King's Confessor was likewise one of the Visitors; and tho' he knew him likewise to be his Enemy, yet, for Fear of displeasing the King, he made no Objection against him.

The \textit{Visita} having met, and given all possible Encouragement to Antonio Perez's Enemies to bring in Informations against him, they charg'd him at last with having been Guilty of many great Misdemeanours in the Execution of his Office; but the Three chief and on which they laid the greatest Stress, were, First, That he had received Ten thousand Ducats from the Grand Duke of Florence; Secondly, That he had publish'd the King's Secrets; Thirdly, That he had both added and left out divers Passages in Letters which had been writ to the King in Cyphers. The First of these Charges was own'd, but was denied to be a Misdemeanour; the Sum of Ten thousand Ducats, as appear'd on the Books of publick Accompts, having been constantly paid to the Crown of Spain, by the Grand Duke, upon his receiving the Investiture of Siena: And
And upon the same Books it likewise appeared, that so much of that Sum as was due to the King had been paid to Sebastian Saint Oyo, who had an Order from the King to receive it; and whose Discharge for it, having been shewed to the King by Antonio Perez’s Wife, the King commanded her to carry it to his Confessor, who was one of the Visitors; which she having done, the Confessor was so confounded when he saw it, and knew it had been brought to him by the King’s Order, that he desired it might be left with him to peruse it at his Leisure; which having been granted, he afterwards deny’d that he had ever seen any such Discharge; however, the King had seen it, and St. Oyo who gave it, was still alive.

But tho’ Antonio Perez had thus expos’d and triumphed over the Malice of his Visitors, as to this Article; and which in all Probability had been started for no other End, but to raise a Clamour of his having receiv’d a Pension from a foreign Prince; yet as to the other Two he would return no Answer to them, before he had writ to the King, to know whether he would have those Secrets of State laid open, which must be published, if the Visitors insisted on his making his Defence.

But the King not being willing to have that done; sent his Confessor to him to hear
his Defence, in Private, as to those Two Articles. And whereas they had both been gathered out of Letters which he had writ to Don John and to Escovedo, whilst they were in Flanders, and which Letters had been found amongst Escovedo's Papers, he first appeal'd to the King whether the Letters whereon those Articles had been grounded had not been all perus'd by him, and approv'd before they were sent; and to satisfy the Confessor presently, he shew'd him the Orders he had, under the King's own Hand, for every thing he had writ in those Letters. The Confessor plainly perceiving by what he had seen, that he could with great Ease vindicate himself at the King's Cost; told him, that if he would make no publick Defence as to those Two Articles, he would undertake that no Sentence should be pass'd upon him by the Visita: But tho' Antonio Perez complain'd of it as a very great Hardship, not to be allow'd to make his Defence after the Visita had Hand over Head charg'd him with Two such great Misdemeanours; nevertheless, to gratify the King, when he was call'd on to make his Defence, he made a Declaration, that rather than discover the King's Secrets he would undergo any Punishments the Visita should inflict on him. And his Wife having the same Day met the Confessor at St. Domingo's Church, he bid her be
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be in no Pain for her Husband, for he did assure her that the Visit would not condemn him in enough to buy a Corporal, or Chest for their Vestry; the Cardinal of Toledo likewise, when he saw the Articles, did declare openly, that the Visit could not condemn him in the Handkerchief he had in his Hand; and another Grandee said, that tho’ he should not defend himself, they could not condemn him in Three hundred Reals.

But the King being ready at that time to go to Arragon, to hold a Cortes of that Kingdom at Monsong; it was apprehended that Antonio Perez, whose Ancestors were Arragonese, finding himself so cruelly persecuted, might fly thither and by his Complaints disturb the King’s Business: The Visit therefore, tho’ it passed no Sentence, because the Confessor had promised that it should not, did make an Act which was Tantamount; having condemn’d him by it, to lose all his Offices, to be kept a close Prisoner for Two years, and to pay Thirty thousand Crowns to the King. And as this Act was sign’d only by a Notary, (for the same Reason I suppose that it was not call’d a Sentence) so when that Notary was ask’d how he dar’d to do such an irregular Thing, his Answer was, what would you have me do? I was commanded by the Visit to sign it. Of this Act Antonio Perez had no Notice, untill

an
an Alcalde came to his House with a Warrant to carry him Prisoner to the Castle of Terrevagana; and having, after he understood the Alcalde's Business, entertain'd him in Discourse until a Servant did intimate to him by a private Sign that the Cardinal of Toledo was for his taking Sanctuary in a Church; on pretence of going into the next Room, he slip out of the Door, and threw himself into the first Church he met with: And when he was there, fearing lest his Enemies might take him from thence by Force, on Pretence that his Crimes being of a publick Nature had not the Benefit of a Sanctuary; he supplicated the Pope's Nuncio not to suffer the Privileges of holy Church to be violated, as they must be openly if he were taken by Force out of its Sanctuary: Upon which Petition the Nuncio having nam'd some learned Ecclesiastics, they did by two Reports which they made of it, declare that nothing was alleged against Antonio Perez, that could debar him the Benefit of the Church's Sanctuary. But the Malice of his Enemies being too Violent to be stopp'd by any Reports, they insisted on his being convicted of Misdemeanours of a publick Nature; and having accordingly dragged him out of the Church, and sent him Prisoner to Terrevagana, he was there committed to the keeping of the Licentiat Tores Deavala, who was
such a Tyger, that he had boasted of having put above a Thousand People to the Question upon the Rack. On the Twentieth day after he had been a Prisoner in this Castle, the Act of the Visit was first shewed to him; and he was then told that it was upon that Act that he had been made a Prisoner: His Wife and Children, of which some were under Ten years old, were made close Prisoners at the same time; and which was done for no other End, but to compel that Lady to deliver all her Husband's Papers; and particularly those which the Confessor had seen in the King's own Hand, when he took the Prisoner's private Defence: And to oblige her to do this, they used her and her Children so cruelly, that she miscarried in the Prison; and having in that dangerous Condition petition'd to have her Confessor, that she might confess herself to him; the Conde de Barrias, who was now President of Castile, sent her Word, that that could not be allow'd, but that he would send another Priest to her that should confess her if she pleas'd: But notwithstanding they did by ill Usage, and by Threats and Promises, labour to bring this Lady to tell them where her Husband's Papers were all lodg'd, she never did it, before they brought a Letter to her from her Husband, beseeching her, as she ow'd him and her Children, to deliver all his
his Papers to the King's Confessor, who was at that time with the King in Arragon: In obedience to which Order she sent two Boxes locked and sealed, full of Papers, to Monfong and with them a Letter to the Confessor, in which she writ, that she trusted him with all the Descargos of her Husband's Life and Honour; and conjured him therefore to keep them in safety, for all Times and Necessities and the Persons by whom they were delivered having call'd them Descargos likewise, the Confessor with some Warmth said, 'Burn all such Descargos as these, and let Favours and more Favours be heaped on Antonio Perez for his Descargos; and when the Keys of the Boxes were offer'd to him, he would not take them, but bid them carry them to the King, by whom they were receiv'd with a Joy that sufficiently demonstrated how well plea'd he was with his having got those Papers into his Hands. But tho' upon Deliver-y of the Papers, Donna Joanna and her Children were presently set at Liberty, her Husband was continued a close Prisoner, untill the King return'd from Arragon; the Confessor having in the mean while, by a Letter assured Donna Joanna, that her Husband's Papers should not be shew'd to any Person living, and that not a Tittle of them should be lost. And so kind did the Confessor appear to be, that when Donna Joanna compla-
sad Catastrophe of Antonio Perez. 301
plain'd to him, when he was return'd to Madrid, of the barbarous Usage her Husband was still under; he told her, that if they did not give over persecuting of him, he would run about the Streets roaring like a Madman, and having proclaim'd all the Secrets and Mysteries of that Business, would restore him all his Papers. But tho' after that, he was used much worse than he had been before, the Confessor's Gravity was not at all discompos'd by it, nor did he ever restore the Papers as he had promised. The King stay'd the longer in Arragon for his having been met at Saragoza by the Duke of Savoy, who married the Infanta Donna Catherine the King's youngest Daughter there, and with whom the King went to Barcelona, where the new married Couple embarked for Italy.

So soon as the King return'd to Castile, Antonio Perez was not only releas'd out of Prison, but was permitted to live in his own House at Madrid; where he was visited publickly by most of the Grandees and Nobles about the Court; and having soon after desir'd Leave of the King to go abroad in the holy Week to the divine Offices, the Confessor sent for a Priest who was Tutor to his eldest Son, and bid him tell his Patron that he might in a good Hour go to his divine Offices at our Lady of Atochada; And the Priest having asked him, what Rodrigo Vásquez
quez and the other Judges and Visitors would say to it, he bid him do what he had commanded him and not concern himself with what others said.

The Empress likewise, who had a great Compassion for Donna Joanna, who was well known to her; commanded the Baron de Kevenlever the Imperial Ambassador, to go in her Name to the Cardinal of Toledo and to ask him, why since he had a great Kindness for Antonio Perez, he did not acquaint him with the King her Brother's favourble Intentions? But all the Answer the Ambassador was able to draw from that Cardinal, was, that her Imperial Majesty, who was the King's own Sister, might speak of many Things which it was not safe for him to mention, who was a Subject: However that Cardinal having a few days after seen Antonio Perez's eldest Daughter in a Church, he called her to him, and bid her speak to her Father to provide himself a rich Suit of Cloaths, for he intended in a few days to give him a Visit, and to go with him all over the Court. And Rodrigo Vásquez having been asked by a Person of Quality how Antonio Perez's matters went, did answer, what would you have me say? the King is sometimes in haste and lets us loose, and of a sudden again he moves slowly and reins us in; for my part I can't comprehend the
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The Mysteries of the Engagements which there must be between the King and that Man.

But now when all things look'd thus serene, his Enemies' Fears of his coming into Favour again did revive; and having no other way to come at him, but by bringing Escovedo's Death upon the Stage, after it had been near Twelve Years buried, they persuaded young Escovedo to resume the Prosecution of it now that the Conde de Barajas, who was known to be no Friend to Antonio Perez, was President of Castile; and who had been heard to say, that when a King has done a Wrong to a Subject, the only Remedy to be thought of was to support it.

So young Escovedo, notwithstanding his former Promise, having been prevail'd with to revive the Prosecution; he pursued it with that Heat, that he had Antonio Perez taken out of his House at Madrid and sent a Prisoner to the Castle of Pinto, from whence after a close Confinement of Nine Weeks he was brought back to Madrid in order to be try'd. But before his Tryal came on, he did by a Letter lay before the King the great Inconveniences which must needs attend his being brought under a rigorous Examination about Escovedo's Death; humbly and most earnestly beseeching him, for his own Sake more than his, not to suffer that matter to be carried any farther.

But
But the King, who from the beginning to the end of this Affair did act like one enchanted, having return'd him no Answer; and the day being set whereon his Examination was to begin, he was strangely distract-ed, whether he had best confess all, or deny all; being certain that his Prosecutor, besides some Presumptions which he and his Confederates had been Twelve years a picking up, could not have any Evidence of his having had any Hand in his Father's Death: And having in great Agonies of Mind turned that whole Matter over and over in his Thoughts, he resolv'd at last to plead not Guilty, and to put the Prosecutor upon his Proofs: The thing that determin'd him to take this Course, was, that the last Time, tho' it was Twelve years before, the King had given him any Directions in that Matter, he had expressly forbid him ever to discover that Escovedo had been kill'd by his Order; and so fearing that that by a Confeffion he might draw the King's heavy Displeasure upon himself, he pleaded not Guilty when he was brought upon his Tryal: And having been allow'd Ten Days to prepare his Defence in, he writ most passio-nately to the King, now that he had thought fit to suffer that Matter to be brought to a Crisis, for Directions how to behave him-self; fearing there might be Presumptions which
which would justify their putting him on the Rack: But tho' there was not a Word to be drawn from the King, the Confessor on this Occasion did write him the Two following Letters; to which the King was undoubtedly privy, tho' the Confessor did pretend to write them as a Friend, that was so officious as to give Counsel before it was asked.

The King's Confessor's Letter to Antonio Perez.

SIR,

Being touched with the great Tribulations you and your Family have been so long under; I consider'd with myself, whether I ought not, according to the Direction of Charity, to give Advice to one that wants it; tho' he has not ask'd it; And did at last resolve to do so; and must therefore tell you, that if in Reality and Truth you have a peremptory Excuse as to this Fact, that being asked about it you ought plainly to confess it; which will in my Opinion help you out of all your Troubles; this Matter having been, and is still the Foundation of them all: And then let every one answer for himself. God guard you many years in Health and Rest, which you and your Family want so much.
much: I do not tell you how much Pain
this Business has given me: God knows it
and fees it; and so does our Lord the
King.

From the Royal St. Lawrence,
the 5th of September, 1589.

To this Letter of the Confessor's, the fol-
lowing Answer was presently return'd by
Antonio Perez.

S I R,

I think you would do well to consider
a second Time what you have advis'd
me to do in your Letter; and whether
Conscience will allow one out of his own
Mouth to condemn himself, and in a
weighty Cause, when there is not Proof
enough against him to justify his having
been apprehended; and especially when
that cannot be done without doing an In-
jury to many innocent Persons: And con-
sider likewise, whether it be safe to di-
vulge that which the King has command-
ed to be conceal'd. But if at last Escovedo
must have Satisfaction given him, whe-
ther it would not be better to have it done
at my Cost, than to the Prejudice of his
Majesty and his Affairs, by the Discovery
of his Secrets; and to the Injury of other in-
nocent
nocent Persons: And especially whether after his Majesty having commanded, if not entreated me, never to make any Discovery of his having had any Hand in that Matter, the best way would not be to come to an Agreement with Escovedo's Son.

To this Answer of Antonio Perez, the Confessor reply'd presently.

SIR,

I have receiv'd yours of the 10th Current in Answer to mine, and tho' I have return'd to consider of what I did then write, as you charg'd me to do; yet after having done it I am still of the same Mind, that there is no way so plain to deliver you out of a close Prison, and out of so many other Troubles as you have suffer'd, to no visible Purpose, as to declare the Truth of all that passed concerning Escovedo's Death; which is what is asked of you; and to declare likewise by whose Order it was procured; but without divulging the Causes why it was ordered: As to which, you are not to allege any Particulars; nor to give any Sign of them. And as to your having objected, that it would be a Load on Conscience, for one who
who has a Wife and so many innocent Children, in so weighty a Cause to condemn himself out of his own Mouth; I Answer, (considering what your Wife has often told me, and the Papers which she has shew'd me,) what I have advis'd seems to be conformable both to Christianity and to right Reason, being so order'd as I directed it: For by that means you will not be Guilty of forswearing your self in Judgment; or, if you have done it already, you will not remain in your Sin. And neither will you, by so doing, condemn your own Innocency, nor that of others: On the contrary, you will manifest it, and save both your self and them. Diego Martinez, who was one of the Executioners, having, for not confessing the Truth, suffer'd a long and close Imprisonment; and divers other Troubles, as you your self are suffering at this Time: For, according to the best of my Knowledge in the Laws, a Secular Prince, who hath such Power over the Lives of his Subjects, as for a just Cause, and according to the Forms of Justice, to put them to Death; may, having Witnesses, punish them with Death without those Forms: The Orders and Forms of Justice being, for the most part, no parts of the Law; or, at most they
they are things that may be dispens'd with. But suppose a King should be unjust in not observing the Forms of Law; yet if one that is his Subject shall at his Command kill one who is his Subject likewise, he is not Guilty; being bound to believe that his Prince had just Cause to command it to be done; all the Actions of Sovereigns having the Presumption of Law for their being Just: And, where there is no Fault, there can be no Punishment. Now this, I think, makes it plain, that by confessing the Truth you will not condemn your self, but on the contrary you will manifest both your own Innocency, and that of your Complices; of which one is now in Prison, and the rest must have fled, and you your self are in the State we see you in.

All which sufferings would be remedy'd, if you would but declare the Truth: And an End being once thus put to this Business, his Majesty would satisfy Escovedo, who does now lie at him continually, and by so many ways, for to have Justice, that he is not able to excuse the letting him loose upon you: Whereas, if you would but confess the Truth, if after that Escovedo should offer to turn himself against his Majesty, he would know how to make
him hold his Peace; and, having banish'd him the Court, would be thankful to any Person, (if he has not declar'd the Causes for which Escovedo was kill'd, which as has been said must not by any means be published,) that would persecute him.

Now all that I have here said at Large, with what I writ in my former, was writ purely in compassion for your great Sufferings; and not to perswade you to any thing contrary to the Dictates of your own Mind: Only this I will say, that tho' my Advice may not be the best, yet it is certainly better than that of suffering this Matter to go on as it does; since he that is to be your Judge knows the Truth of it, your own Lady having often told it to the Conde of Barajas, and who for that Reason will be satisfy'd with the less Proof; and which now the matter is wholly left to the Law, may in time increase, and bring you and your Complices under great Miserys, or at least keep you long in Prison, and under other Hardships. As to the Method which you propose of coming to an Agreement with Escovedo, I do very much approve of it; but the King who is angry with him, both for his own, and his Father's Faults, to which you are no Stranger, must not at all be concern'd in it.
Jad Catastrope of Antonio Perez. 311

it. If you yourself can bring that Agreement about, it will do well in all Respects.

May our Lord direct you, as shall be most Convenient for his holy Service, and for your Advantage.

From the Royal St. Lawrence.

These Letters of the Confessor's, tho' they appear to be very Kind and Tender; yet, as Antonio Perez had never found him his Friend, so it is most probable that he design'd him no Kindness, by the Advice he gave him in them: But did counsel him to confess the Death, and that he caus'd it by the King's express Command, for no other End but to vindicate the King; against whom, if he deny'd it, as he did afterwards, he believ'd the Prisoner, having had all his Papers taken from him, would never be able to prove it: For if the King upon Antonio Perez having confess'd that Death in Judgment, would have taken it upon himself, he might have done that before much more privately; and by having whisper'd it into Escovedo's Ear, might have stop'd both his Mouth and his Prosecution. And that this was the Confessor's Design, in this his officious Charity, as he called it, will appear pretty plain, from the Course that was taken with the Prisoner, after he was come to an Agreement.
But here, for Variety, and to give some Relief to a long melancholy Scene; I shall present the Reader with a Story, and which is told by Antonio Perez of his own Knowledge, on occasion of what the Confessor had said in his second Letter, concerning the Power which Kings have over the Lives of their Subjects; and which Story I shall here set down in the Relator's own Words.

'I was at Madrid, (faith the Relator,) when a certain Proposition came forth condemn'd by the Inquisition, which had been affirm'd by one, (it is of no importance to name him,) in a Sermon preach'd before the King in St. Hierom's Chappel. The Proposition was, That Kings have an absolute Power over the Persons and Estates of their Subjects. For which Doctrine the Preacher having been taken up by the Inquisition, besides some other Censures that he underwent, he was enjoyn'd to recant it, in the same Church, and with all the Solemnitys of a Judicial Act; and which he did, by reading the following Form of Words in the same Pulpit.

Whereas on such a Day I did in this Place affirm, that Sovereign Princes have an absolute Power over the Lives and Estates of their Subjects;
Catastrophe of Antonio Perez.

I do now retract that Doctrine, as erroneous; and on the contrary do affirm, that Sovereign Princes have no more Power over their Subjects, than what is given to them by the Laws of God and Man; and are not to rule their Subjects by their own free and absolute Will.

The Relator goes on, 'I was well acquainted with the Person by whom this Proposition was qualify'd, and by whom the Form of Words, which was read by the Recantor, was drawn up; and which he did with a very good Will, in order to root up that poisonous Weed, which he saw springing up; and of which, to my Knowledge, he had taken great Notice. His Name was Doctor Fryar Hernando de Castilla; he was Consultor of the Holy Office, and the King's Preacher; and for his great Learning and singular Eloquence was much known and esteem'd, not only in Spain, but in foreign Parts also, but particularly in Italy; and of whom Doctor Velasco, a wife Divine, did use to say, that a Viol in the Hand of Fabricio Dentici, was not so melodious as the Tongue of Master Hernando de Castilla.

Antonio Perez was told by this famous Preacher, That he owed his Name, and all the Esteem he was in, to some ingenious Friends who at his Request had used to hear him
him preach; and who did afterwards tell him freely of all that they judged to be Wrong, in the Language, Composition, or Delivery of his Sermons.

But how powerful foever his Eloquence was, the King was not so charm’d with it, as not to be able to banish him the Court; for having, amongst his other conscientious Freedoms, told the Confessor, that he had much to answer for, for having given the King, when he was dangerously Sick at Badajoz, Absolution, before he had given Satisfaction to Antonio Perez, whom he had suffer’d to be so much prosecuted, for a thing, which the Confessor knew he had done by the King’s express Command. Neither was this Fryar the only Person that lay’d that Matter home to the Confessor’s Conscience, he having been told one day by Donna Joanna, upon his having said, That he could do no more for her Husband than he had done: Yes, Sir, your Paternity can and ought to do more; for you ought not to give the King Absolution untiill he has done my Husband Jus
tice. But if here, from the Inquisitors having thus cenfrured the forementioned high Pre
gerative Doctrine, any should imagine the Inquisitors to be so great Friends to the Leg
gal Rights and Libertys of the People; they do very much mistake them: For it is cer
tain
tain that they neither are, nor ever were Friends to those Rights: Only not being certain what Princes they may come to have, they do not care that the Prince's Power should be believ'd to have no Bounds but what his own Will sets to it; left at some time or other, the Church, or their Courts, may come to suffer by it's being believ'd to be so boundless: For tho' they are very willing to have Princes absolute over all their Lay Subjects, they will not endure to hear that they should be so, no not in Temporals, over the Clergy. But to return.

Antonio Perez being extreamly distracted about the Course he was to take, did at last resolve to treat with Escovedo; and the rather because the Confessor had approv'd of that, as in all Respects the best Method that could be taken to put an End to this long Tragedy: And having offered Escovedo Twenty thousand Ducats if he would let fall the Prosecution of his Father's Death, and ingage never to revive it any more, the Bargain was struck up betwixt them: And upon that great Sum's having been paid according to the Agreement, Antonio Perez did reckon that he should never hear any more of it; and that the King at one time or other would re-imburse him that Money.

But, to the Amazement of the whole Court, within a day or two after that Mo-
ney was paid, this Affair had a new turn given it: For Rodrigo Vasquez, dreading nothing so much as Antonio Perez's coming into Favor agen, told the King, now that Antonio Perez had, by giving Satisfaction to Escovedo, put a full Stop to the Prosecution, he was of Opinion, that since it was in every Body’s Mouth that Secretary Escovedo had been kill'd by his Majesty's Command, that his Majesty, for the Vindication of his own Royal Honour, ought to command Antonio Perez to declare in Judgment the Causes for which he had order’d him to have Escovedo made away, if he ever did command it; and to require this of him by a Writing under his own Royal Hand, as a thing that was convenient for his Service: To which the King, being resolv’d to deny that he had ever given any such Order, did consent; and did accordingly put such a Paper into Rodrigo Vasquez’s Hand, to shew in Judgment to the Prisoner.

But whatsoever it was that mov’d the King to make this strange Step, both Rodrigo Vasquez and the Confessor did reckon, that whether he declar’d the Causes or not, that they should gain their Points, which were the Ruine of the Prisoner and the Vindication of the King’s Honour: Reckoning, that if he did declare the Causes, he would not be able to prove them, having no Papers to
The sad Catastrophe of Antonio Perez. to do it with; and that if he did not declare them, now that the King had thus requir'd him to do it, the World would from thence conclude the King to be Innocent: The Confessor having been heard to say, That the Honour of a King was so Sacred a thing, that it ought to be preferr'd to the Reputation or Satisfaction of any Subject whatsoever. And as it was universally believe'd, that it was upon this Principle that the King grant-ed the foresaid Order to Rodrigo Vasquez, so on that Occasion, a certain Person of Quality said to a Friend, That he had often heard of Subjects being in Conspiracies against their Kings, but this was the first Time that he had ever heard of a King's being in a Conspiracy against a Subject.

And when the Cardinal of Toledo heard of this Order, it put him into such a Rage, that he went presently to the Confessor and said to him, 'Sir, either I am a Fool, or this you are upon now is a foolish Business: For if the King commanded Antonio Perez to have Escovedo made away, and will own that he did it, to what Purpose does he now command him to declare the Causes why it was order'd? since Antonio Perez was no Judge, but only a Secretary, or rather the Executioner of the King's Will in that Matter. Besides, at the End of
Twelve Years, and after you have taken all his Papers from him, and the Persons who could have been his Witnesses, may be all dead; to require him to declare the Causes, I must tell you, is an astonishing thing. Raise Five hundred Persons to Life agen, and restore him all his Papers without having look’d them over and read them, and then require him to declare those Causes.

With this home Charge, from so great a Prelate, the Confessor was so confounded, that he did not know what to say; but having recover’d his Spirits a little, he answered, 'Your illustrious Lordship may be satisfy’d that all will end well, and that this Order was granted by the King only to comply a little with Rodrigo Vasquez’s Importance. This Cardinal, whose Name was Gaspar de Quiroga, was a Man of great Prudence and Dexterity in publick Busineses, and was likewise so good a Manager of his own private Revenues, that, dying very old, he left an immense Treasure in Money behind him; all which, he having dy’d without a Will, was divided by the Pope into Three equal Parts; one was apply’d to pious Uses, the Second was given to the King, and the Third the Pope took to himself, as that Cardinal’s Heir; which, I think, he pretends
tends to be to all Clergymen, unless they have purchased a Dispensation from the See of Rome, to dispose of the Goods, or of a certain Portion of them, which they shall be possessed of at their Death. The Pope's Nuncio did likewise, and in his Master's Name, urge the Confessor to remove the great Scandal which Antonio Perez's Affair had so long given to all Christendom, and to the Injury of so many innocent Persons; requiring that Justice might be no longer offended, by having its Name made use of for private Ends, and to gratify some People's Malice. With which and many more Solicitations the Confessor was so offended, that he began to change his Note; and did send a Friar both to Antonio Perez and to his Lady, to tell them, That they must not any longer have Justice in their Mouths, but must beg for Mercy: And Doanna Joanna having upon this Message waited on the Confessor, and told him, that they desired nothing but to have Justice done them; he answered her in a Passion, let but the holy Week be over, and you shall have Justice done you.

The Order which had made all this Noise, having been shew'd to the Prisoner in Judgment, he was requir'd by the Judges to yield Obedience to it: And upon having deny'd to declare the Causes, was condemned by
by them to the Rack, to oblige him to confess them: Antonio Perez, now the Marquis de los Velez was dead, having no living Witnesses, did resolve to endure the Rack, rather than make a Confession; which before such Judges he knew it would not be easy for him to prove: Or if he should prove it, he knew the King would never pardon him for it. But tho' he mounted that great Engine of Inhumanity, with this Resolution, they tortured him so severely when they had him upon it, that not being able to endure the Tortures any longer, he cry'd out, that if they would take him off the Rack he would confess all that he knew; and which having been granted, he made a Summary Confession; and as full, as he thought, with Respect to the King, it was safe for him to make: Insomuch that when his Confession was read over by Rodrigo Vasquez and John Gomez, the latter was heard to say, the King himself has given the same Account of this Matter to some Persons: And in Confirmation of the Truth of all that he had confessed concerning the Causes of Escovedo's Death, he appeal'd to Hernando de Escobar Archdeacon of Alarcon, who was the Person that ciphered and deciphered all the King's Letters at that Time. But the whole Town and Country being persuaded that Escovedo had
sad Cata

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had been kill'd by the King's Order, did most outrageously upon Antonio Perez having been racked upon that Account; and which having happen'd in the time of Lent, when Peoples Tempers are much chagrined by their Mortifications, the Pulpits of Madrid did all ring of it; that in the King's own Chappel not excepted. In which on the Fourth Day after, Father Salinas, a famous Franciscan Preacher, address'd himself pathetically to the Courtiers in the Words following. 'Mortals, what is it that you are all Mad and gaping after with open Mouths? what, don't you see the Danger you live in? don't you see it? do not you see those who were the other day on the Pinnacle of Favour, to day on the Rack, and persecuted cruelly for many Years; and no Body knows why nor wherefore? Gentlemen I speak to you very freely, that I may both comply with the Obligations of my Office, and may reap a particular Advantage to my self by it, and which will be a very great one; It is that I shall be turn'd from Court, as some have been before me, for speaking Truth; which, since the Court takes no Pleasure to hear, I do assure you I take no Pleasure in being about the Court.

Y

But
But Antonio Perez after he had made a Confession, finding his Judges so extremely partial, as to make it a new Article against him, that all his Papers had not been deliver'd to the King's Confessor as he had said they were; he having now offered by some Papers he had by him still, to prove the Truth of all that he had confess'd, if the King should give occasion for it; he determin'd, if it were possible, to make his Escape with those Papers into Aragon, where the Constitution of the Government was such, that the meanest Subject, let his Complaints be what they will, is heard; and if his Complaints be prov'd Just, are effectually remedy'd: And accordingly on the Night of the Wednesday in Passion Week, having got out of Gaol, he did with great Difficulty, by reason of the Pains which the Rack had left in his Bones, reach Calatyud the first Town in Aragon, ten Hours before the Hue and Cry, which, as soon as he was mist, had been sent after him: And having thrown himself into the Dominican Monastery, he had not been long there, before an officious Gentleman, hoping to make his Court by it, tho' he was no Officer of Justice, entered the Monastery, and in the King's Name pretended to arrest him in it, appointing him a certain Cell for his Prison, until Orders came from Madrid how he was to be disposed of.
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As soon as he was mist, his Lady and his Children, of which some were carried in Arms, were thrown into the common Gaol at Madrid, where they were used very cruelly, his Wife being accused of having helped him to make his Escape.

But tho' the Court was much troubled at his being got into Arragon, where they knew his Cause would be sifted both narrowly and publickly; the whole Town rejoiced so much at it, that the King's Fool having observ'd it asked the King, Who this Antonio Perez was, that every Body rejoiced at his having made his Escape? he must certainly, said the Fool, be innocent; and are not you glad of it too?

The first thing Antonio Perez did, after he came to Calatyud, was, to write a Letter to the King, and another to the Confessor, to acquaint them with the Reasons of his having retir'd into that Kingdom; and to ingage them, if it were possible, not to suffer the Business of Escovedo's Death to be pushed on any farther against him.

Antonio Perez's Letter to the King.

Sir,

Perceiving how long my Imprisonment, after so many Years Persecution,
tion, was likely to continue, by the Rigour of some Ministers; or, if I may say it, without valuing my self as if I could merit so much as I have suffer'd, their Envy; and that my Cause and Miserys were not like to end, but with my Life; and being by the managery of some Ministers reduced to such a State, as not to be suffer'd to answer for my self, nor to vindicate my own Honour, or that of my Ancestors and Children; and which, to endeavour, is both a Natural and a Christian Obligation; I resolv'd to do what I have done, and to retire to this your Majesty's Kingdom, of which my Father and Ancestors were Natives; and in which your Majesty is, and will be Master of me, as much as if I were in Chains or under the strongest Fetter's; being resolv'd to be as Obedient to your Majesty, as the Clay is to the Potter: And of which I have already given good Testimony by my long sufferering, upon the Confidence I always had in your Majesty, and in your great Piety and Clemency; and in that Depositum which I have in your Majesty's Royal Breast of my Innocency: And in this State I have been content to leave all my small Services and Fidelitys, which in another might perhaps have had Merits different from what they have
have had with me. I do therefore most humbly supplicate your Majesty, since you have such strong Proofs of the Truth of this, to believe the Resignation which I do here make to your Majesty of my Person and Mind; and the Tender I do make to your Majesty of my Obedience to your Royal Will in all things, to be sincere; notwithstanding the Passion of one or more Ministers, who have plotted together to destroy me: And that you will not suffer their Malice to proceed to the Offence of your own great Christianity and Service, and to the Terroir of your Subjects.

I do also humbly supplicate your Majesty, out of your great Piety, to command my Wife and Children, who are descended from a Father and from a Grandfather that have been so faithful and so much approved of, to be released out of Prison; and that you would be pleased to permit us to live together in any Corner which you shall appoint. In which, not being thought worthy of doing your Majesty any other Service, we may pray to God to grant you a long Life, and whatsoever else Christianity stands in need of. From St. Peter Martyr of Calatjuyd, the 14th of April, 1590.
An History of the

Antonio Perez's Letter to the Confessor.

By the Letter I have written to his Majesty, your Paternity may see what I can say here; and the many Causes which mov'd me to do what I have done; but which may be easier read in the Truths that are deposited in your own Christian Heart, of which I do not pretend to make any Use, nor of any thing else besides your Paternity's Conscience and Assistance. I do therefore supplicate your Paternity to cause a Stop to be put to these Rigours; and, which being done, I shall make no farther Defence, nor desire any thing more, but to be permitted to live with my Wife and Children in a Corner, with some Mark of his Majesty's Favour, if it were no more than a Certificate of my having serv'd his Majesty faithfully; which is desir'd by me for the Sake of my own Honour and that of my Ancestors and Posterity. For, as to my great and long Sufferings, I shall find a Satisfaction in them all the Days of my Life, for having undergone them all for my Fidelity to my King and Lord, and for his Service.

Antonio
In this your most Illustrious Lordship
has a Copy of the Letter I have written
to the King from this Place, by which you
may see what I can say here of the Causes
which mov'd me to do what I have done:
And since what I have suffer'd cannot but
touch so Christian and Honest an Heart
as yours is, I do supplicate your Illustrious
Lordship to turn to me, and to my Wife
and Children; and in the Post and Au-
thority that you are in, to protect us: That
the Passion of some Ministers, and that
Envy, which might well be tired now it
has nothing to feed on but Bones, may not
be suffer'd to proceed any farther; to the
Offence of his Majesty's Christianity and
of his Royal Service, and to the Terrour of
all Loyal Subjects; seeing, if I may but be
permitted to live in a Corner with my
Wife and Children, I shall be contented;
offering all that I have suffered to God,
and praising him for it, and praying to
God for his Majesty. May our Lord, &c.

But before these Letters were got to Ma-
drid, an Order was come from thence to car-
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ry Antonio Perez a Prisoner to Saragosa, for having affirm’d that he had caus’d Escovedo to be kill’d at the King’s Command, whereas the King had never commanded him to do any such thing; and for having broken Gaol; and for discovering the King’s Secrets, and added to and taken from the Letters which had been written in Cyphers; which were the Two Articles he had made no open Defence to, when he was charged with them by the Visita. But when it came to be known at Calatyud that there was such an Order come from Court, not only the Friars in whose Monastery the Prisoner was, but the whole Town being perswaded of his Innocency, did resolve to hinder its Execution; and, on the Day when he was brought out of the Convent, he had been rescu’d by the Priests and Students, had he not spoke to them not to offer any Violence to his Guards, since they were carrying him to Saragosa, where he would be sure to have a fair publick Tryal, which was all he desir’d: And so, having thanked them for their good Will, they suffer’d him to be carried off, wishing him a good Deliverance with loud Acclamations; and from Meula, in the way to Saragosa, he wrote a Second Letter to the King.

Antonio
Antonio Perez's second Letter to the King.

The Obligations I am under to your Majesty’s Service, and my own natural Fidelity and Love for it, do compel me still to advertize your Majesty of every thing that I do judge to be convenient for it. I have already given you an Account of my being in this Kingdom, and of my having come hither for no other Reason but to be out of the Reach of the Passion of some Ministers that do persecute me; but with that Obedience and entire Resignation of my self to your Majesty’s Will, which I have always shew’d. I came hither with a Resolution to have retir’d into a Monastery, and to have remain’d there openly, untill I had given your Majesty an Account of my self and of my Intentions, with the Respect and Obedience which is due to your Majesty, and to your Royal Service: And the Justice of this Kingdom, having been order’d to take me from thence, I did not withdraw my self; and so am at this time going a Prisoner to Saragofa, in much more Pain for your Royal Service, than for my self: And the Reason why I was willing to have had the Sanctuary of the Church preserv’d, was not for my own
own natural Defence, so much as to have found a Remedy for the Indictment which is preferr'd against me, and which is the Cause of my giving your Majesty this Advertisement. It is said in my Indictment, That I caus'd Escovedo to be murther'd, and made use of Garcia de Arze to kill him, and that I broke Gaol. Now, by the Language and Form of this Indictment, I know certainly that your Majesty did neither order it, nor was acquainted with it. Your Majesty may therefore be pleas'd to consider, whether it will be convenient for your Royal Service to have such Matters as these brought into Judgment; and whether, to prevent it, by my flying to a Church for Sanctuary, would not be a good Expedient: And tho' by doing so I shall appear as a Delinquent, I will submit to that, as I have done hitherto for your Majesty's Service: And shall wait your Majesty's Pleasure, comforting my self with the Thoughts of its being for your Service, and with Hopes that your Majesty will consider me, and protect me with your Clemency; and that you will be pleas'd to remember my Fidelity and Services, as may be expected from your Majesty's Grandeur and Christianity. I return to supplicate your Majesty for my Wife.
Wife and Children, that I may be allow'd to have their Company. May our Lord, &c.

The Particular in this Indictment, from which he concluded that the King had not seen it, was Garcia de Arze being nam'd in it, as the principal Person that had been employ'd in the Death of Escovedo; whereas he had no Hand at all in that Death, and the King knew very well he had not: Martinez, who is said in the Confessor's last Letter to have been long in Prison on that Account, was indeed one of that Number; but tho' he had been cruelly used, he had never confess'd it: So that had not the Rack extorted a Confession from Antonio Perez himself, it could not have been prov'd against him.

Antonio Perez's second Letter to the Confessor.

I omit the first Part of this Letter, for being Word for Word the same with that to the King.

I was brought a Prisoner to the Gaol of the Manifestation, and in which I am at this Time: I am charg'd with having been the Author of Escovedo's Death; and with having made use of Garcia de Arze to kill
kill him, under a false Pretence of his Majesty's Name; and with having been unfaithful in the Execution of the Office of Secretary; and with having decipher'd Leters falsely. Now, both by the Frame and Language of this Indictment, I know that it cannot have been made by his Majesty's Direction, nor with your Knowledge; but is, to the great Load of some Peoples Consciences, and to the Injury of many dead and living innocent Persons, only made Use of as a Colour for my Imprisonment. The State this Affair is in at this Time, being the 7th of May, is, that I have been already examin'd, and have deny'd that I was the Author of Escovedo's Death; and that, as to my Fidelity, I could not but lament to see it attack'd thus, having never been Guilty of any of the Misdemeanours I was charg'd withal; but had always serv'd my Lord the King with great Faithfulness; as his Majesty knows very well, and is able to give good Testimonys of it. This is a Matter that your Paternity ought to consider well, and whether it can be for his Majesty's Service, and, (for other Considerations,) convenient, to have Affairs of this Nature brought in Judgement.

Your
Your Paternity would therefore do well to remember the Cause that was given for my first Imprisonment eleven Years ago, and the Variety of Troubles and Miseries which I, my Wife, Children, and Estate, have (and without any form’d Process,) been ever since subject to; as also what was done to me by the Visita, and the Order I had from your Paternity not to defend my self by producing Letters under the King’s own Hand: And to remember likewise, how my Papers and Discharges were put into your Hands; and of which, in Obedience to your Paternity, and for Fear of Displeasing the King, I have made no Use; and how you writ from Moncon to my Wife, and did promise, (to use your own Words,) that not a Tittle of them should be lost, nor be seen by any Body; and how, notwithstanding that Promise, those my Defences and Discharges, have, without my being present, been all shew’d to a Minister that is my Enemy: And that your Paternity did, at several times, and before divers Persons, say, that whenever there was Occasion they should all be restor’d to me; and that if they did not give over persecuting me, that you would run about the Streets, and rore against their Injustice. And your Paternity can-
not but remember, that the Two last Articles of the Visita, were in Substance and in Words the very same with those which I am now charg'd withall agen; for to make a Noise and to load me the more. Your Paternity must likewise remember, how, upon my not having, at your Paternity's Request, defended myself; and which you know I could have done with Ease; I was condemn'd with great Rigor: And your Paternity may farther remember, that at that time, Evidences and good Discharges were not wanting as to Escovedo's Death and the Causes of it.

Your Paternity would do well to remember likewise what has pass'd since upon my Examination, and upon the Indictment which was in September last pre-serr'd against me by Rodrigo Vasquez, and in what Form he shew'd the Process to my Lawyers; and also the Letters which your Paternity writ to me from St. Lawrence when things were in that State; and my Answer to you, upon your having advis'd me to confess that Death; which you said would put an End to all my Troubles, which had no other Foundation: And how, when I propos'd a Method, which I thought would be most convenient for his Majesty's Service, you were
were satisfy'd with it, and did approve of it; and how, upon that, a Bargain was made which cost me dear: And how, in your second Letter, after you had advis'd me to confess that Death, you order'd me not by any Means to publish the Cause of it: And how, upon that, Rodrigo Vasquez did by his Managery bring things about so, that I was to be examin'd concerning the Causes of that Death, because it was convenient for his Majesty's Service that they should be known; which was a desperate Council, being much to the Offence of the Royal Authority, and to the Terror of all Loyal Subjects: And how, upon the Day I was rack'd, I did send your Paternity a Copy of that your second Letter, by Gil de Masa, to let you see how unreasonably I was prest as to that Matter, notwithstanding your Paternity, who is the King's Confessor, did order the contrary; and that you might consider, whether, after that, I ought to have declar'd those Causes upon an Order having been shew'd to me under the King's own Hand to do it; considering, that the strict Order, which I had in your second Letter to the contrary, had not been revok'd; and which not having been done, whether I was not in Conscience, and in Fidelity, and
and in Reason, bound not to divulge those Secrets, and thereby to give Proof of a Loyal Subject and Servant. For, faith St. Raphael; It is a good thing to conceal the Secret of a King. All this your Paternity ought, with your great Prudence and Christianity to consider; and whether it can be convenient to have such Matters brought upon the publick Stage: As also all the Obligations you are under, and by so many ways, both in Conscience, and for the fake of the Post you are in, to take care of my Defence; and, being now under so strict an Examination, to let me have Directions how to answer, as shall be most convenient for his Majesty's Service; which, by the Love and Fidelity that I have for his Majesty, is rooted in me so deeply, that I am prepar'd to take any Course whereby that will be most advanced: And whether it would not be a good Expedient, (not to force me, having such strong Evidences, to defend my self,) to have my Cause clos'd, and my Person acquitted, upon the things I had been charg-ed with not being prov'd: By which Sentence my Honour having receiv'd Satisfaction, tho' I might expect something more, I shall postpone all things else to his Majesty's Service, with the Comfort of my
my having left my further Satisfaction in his Majesty's Royal Hand and Chriftiанity: But if this Course should not be approv'd of, whether it would not be convenient that I should be permitted to take Sanctuary in a Church. And tho' I am fensible, that, for so doing, I fhall be looked on as a Delinquent; yet, for the fame Reason that I have born that Imputation fo long, I will be content to submit to it for the future.

Your Paternity must not delay your Answer to this: For since in these Tribunals, as I am told, all Processes must be made Publick, if a Remedy is not apply'd presently, it will come too late; and your Paternity may be fensible, that my not having been believ'd hitherto, has been a great Differvice to his Majesty: God forgive him who is to blame for fo great a Scandal and Inconveniency not having been remov'd; for, if upon the Agreements being made, the ordinary way in fuch Causes had been taken, all that I have here spoken of needed not to have been reviv'd. And I do further supplicate your Paternity, not to give way to a certain Minifter being concern'd in any Judgment relating to my unhapy Pledges, my Wife and innocent Children; nor in any
any thing that belongs to me, since you know him to be my Enemy. And I do also supplicate your Paternity, now that I am ready to pay such an entire Obedience to his Majesty’s Will, and with so plain an Intention, (that so I may get out of the reach of the Passion of that Minister, and to find some Rest after so many Storms and Tempests,) that you will not suffer such Rigors to proceed any farther; but that you will do me so Christian and Pious an Office, as to obtain leave for me to live with my Wife and Children any where in a Corner, until his Majesty may think me worthy of being employ’d agen; whose Service I do preferr to all things of this World. Now this being the Truth, whatsoever is contrary to it are the Devices of Malice or Envy; and by which Inconveniencys have been heaped upon Inconveniencys, to the Offence of God, and of his Majesty’s Service, and to the Scandal of all Nations.

From Saragoza, May the 8th, 1590.

But the Prisoner finding no Answer was to be drawn from the King, or from his Confessor, by any thing that he could write to them; he determin’d to send a Person of Authority to Court, to lay the whole Mat-
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ter before the King in its true Colours; and
to hear what he would say to it: And ha-
vying pitch'd on the Prior of Gotor, who was
a Man of great Learning and Dexterity in
Busines, he first shew'd him, but under the
Confidence that is to be repos'd in a Priest,
all the Papers which he had by him concern-
ing the Business of Escovedo's Death; (and
which Papers, when he was first Arrested,
had been lodg'd by a Servant, in a Place,
which neither his Wife, nor any Body else
besides himself, knew any thing of;) and con-
cerning all the other Matters he was charg-
ed withall. And having satisfy'd the Prior,
that he had the King's Order, and under
his own Hand, for every thing that he had
done, he gave him particular Instructions
how to manage the whole Business he did
intrust him with: With which Instructions,
being very Large, I shall not trouble
the English Reader; the Substance of them
being to be met with in the foregoing Part
of this Story; for, tho' the Readers of some
Nations can bear with long Repetitions,
English Readers cannot, let their Matter be
never so considerable.

By this Prior the Prisoner sent a Letter
to the King, and another to the Confessor,
and a Third to the Cardinal of Toledo.
Sir,

By two Letters I have acquainted your Majesty with the Cause of my having left Castile, and retir'd into this Kingdom; and have also advertiz'd your Majesty's Confessor of several Matters, with which I doubt not, but, according to his Office, he has acquainted your Majesty; and particularly, with the Tryal being driven on so fast, that in a short time I shall be under a necessity of producing all my Discharges: My own Honour, and that of my Ancestors and Posterity being embark'd in this Cause. But being still willing to give your Majesty some convenient Advertisements, to prevent, if it were possible, my being brought to that; and which being of such a Nature, that I did not care to trust them in Writing; I have order'd them, for your Majesty's better Information, to be deliver'd to your Majesty by Word of Mouth. And having to that end desir'd the Conde of Morata, not only on the Account of his Quality, and the high Esteem he is in in this Kingdom, but also on Account of that great Friendship which has continued
continued to long betwixt his Ancestors and mine, to help me to a Person of known Conscience and Prudence for to employ in this Affair; he recommended to me the Father Prior of Gotor, and who under the Secrecy of a Priest goes particularly instructed, having with his own Eyes seen many of the Pledges which I have for my Discharge, and which were found among the Papers and other things that were by Chance convey'd out of my House by my Servants, and lodg'd in a safe Place when my Goods were seiz'd on by an Order of Justice; and how full those Papers are of great Confidences, and Secrets relating not only to this Affair, but to several others of Importance; and to several of your Majesty's most eminent Subjects. I do therefore supplicate your Majesty, to be pleas'd to hear him, as to all those Matters which are of so great Importance to your Majesty's Service; and the Affairs, which have, in great Confidence, pass'd through my Hands: Whereby your Majesty will be satisfy'd, that my having so often, and for so long a time advis'd, that another Course should have been taken in this Case, proceeded not from want of Evidence of my Innocency; for, if I had no other, I have your Majesty for
a Judge and Witness of that; but from my unwillingness to have the Secrets and Mysteries, which are involv'd in this Case, made Publick. And tho' they who advis'd your Majesty, to have all that pass'd concerning Escovedo's Death declar'd, and which your Majesty's Confessor did by two Letters urge me to confess, might do it with a good Intention, or on some private Account; I know not, whether he that advis'd the having the Causes which mov'd your Majesty to order that Death declared, and averred in Judgment, had the same good Intention: However, this I am sure of, that when I propos'd the putting of a Stop to the Prosecution by coming to an Agreement with Escovedo, that your Majesty's Confessor did approve of it, as the best Expedient; and I cannot but think that so sudden a Change of so great a Resolution, must have flow'd from a particular Passion in him who advis'd the having the Causes of that Death declared in Judgment; hoping, by that means, it is like, to give new Delays to my Justice, and to the putting of an End to my Troubles. And, that having got all my Papers from me, and fished out of my Wife the Confidence which had pass'd betwixt your Majesty and myself, he did hope
hope my Justice would be choak'd for want of Discargos; a certain Minister having both said and writ to your Majesty, that my Business should be done for me by Managery. I do therefore a second time supplicate your Majesty, by that Love and Fidelity wherewith I have always serv'd you, to order all these things to be consider'd by People that are impartial; and to consider whether it can be convenient to have such Papers of your Majesty's, and such Letters of your Conser's, and that Variety of Judgments and Ways which has been used in this Cause, and about my Person, brought into Judgment; that so a Remedy may no longer be delay'd, the Day of my Tryal being so near at Hand; and at which, since the Honour of so many innocent Persons will be concern'd, I cannot without violating the Laws both of God and Nature, forbear to make my Defence. I do therefore again supplicate your Majesty, by whom you are, and by what concerns your Royal Authority, to be pleas'd, with your great Prudence, to take Care not to be impos'd on by evill Council, under a Pretence of my Person; such chargeable Methods, and of so great Scandal and Dishonour, not being necessary to the effecting,
Having had no Answer from your Paternity to the two Letters I have writ to you, now that the Day of my Trial draws near; I did resolve to perform this last Office with his Majesty and your Paternity; that no Proof may be wanting of my Fidelity. And that your Paternity may
may be sure to know what I have writ to his Majesty, I do here send you a Copy of it; by which, and by what the Father Prior de Gotor will lay before you, your Paternity will see many Truths which have not hitherto been believ'd: Which, as I shall not repeat here, so neither will I tyre your Paternity by suppling you to consider them well, since the thing it self will let you know how convenient it is for God's Service, and for his Majesty's, and for your Paternity's own particular Authority, that they should be well considered by you. Your most Reverend Person's &c.

From Saragoza the 10th of June, 1590.

Antonio Perez's Letter to the Cardinal of Toledo.

Most Illustrious Lord,

My Fidelity and Affection for his Majesty's Service is so great, that there is no Proof of it, let it be never so Difficult, which I am not willing to give. But tho' I have, since I came into this Kingdom, writ twice to his Majesty, and to his Confessor, to advertize them of what I judg'd to be most convenient; yet, since they seem not to take any Care about a Matter
Matter of so high Importance; and it will not be long before my Cause will be finally determin'd, when I shall be bound both by the Laws of God and Man to defend my self, in a Cause wherein my own Honour, and that of my Ancestors and Posterity is so deeply engag'd; I was willing therefore to perform this last Office with his Majesty and his Confessor, on sending the Father Prior of Gotor to them as your most Illustrious Lordship will understand by him, and by the inclos'd Copy of the Letter which I have writ to the King. I do therefore supplicate you, most Illustrious Lordship to hear him with that Favour, and good Will, which you have always shew'd towards me, and all my Concerns; and th'o' that alone would be Reason enough for my troubling you with this Account, yet the high Post your most Illustrious Lordship is in, gives me a stronger Reason for the doing of it; considering the great Importance of the Matter, and how deeply God's Service, and that of his Majesty, and the Authority of many eminent Subjects, are involv'd in it. May our Lord, &c.

From Saragossa the 10th of June, 1599.

Besides
The Prior being come to Court thus instructed, did, in three long Audiences which he had of the King, first by Word of Mouth inform him of the whole Business; and did afterwards shew him the Copy of all the Discharges which Antonio Perez had ready to produce; and did, on the Word of a Priest affirm that he had seen the Originals of them all, written with his Majesty's own Hand: All which Originals, he said, the Prisoner would be oblig'd to produce, and which would all be read in open Court, in the Manifestation, before Multitudes of People, if it were brought to a Tryal; unless it were in order to be acquitted, without making any Defence, upon sufficient Proof not having been brought in against him:
An History of the

him: All which, tho’ the King did hear with great Attention, and did peruse all the Papers very diligently; and did also much commend the Prior for his prudent Conduct; which was more than the Confessor did, by whom the Prior was at first receiv’d very coldly, and was afterwards roughly treated and dismissed by him; yet all that the King had heard and seen was so far from being of any Advantage to the Prisoner, that, on the contrary, the King apprehending from what he had seen, that the Prisoner, if he were try’d in the Manifestation would be acquitted; he writ to Micer Baptista, one of the Judges in that Court, to know how he thought it would go with him; and having had Word sent him by that Judge, who had seen the Prisoner’s Charges before the King’s Letter came to his Hand, that if he were try’d in their Court, he would certainly be absolved: The King, upon that Information, determin’d not to have him try’d in it; but to let fall, or, as the Arragonese Phrase is, to separate himself from his Cause in that Court; and to carry it into the Enquesta, where he had more Power, and where Matters are transacted with great Secrecy.

And accordingly, a few Days before the Prisoner’s Tryal was to have come on, the Attorney-
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Attorney-General did, in the King's Name, in Form of Law, declare, That his Majesty did desist from his Prosecution of Antonio Perez; and did let his Cause, which was depending in that Court against him, fall: But so as to reserve to himself a Right of reviving it when he pleas'd, in any other Court: Declaring at the same Time, That no Prince had ever been so much offended, and disserv'd by a Subject, as he had been by Antonio Perez; and as to the Discharges which Antonio Perez pretended to have, that he could invalidate them all with Ease, were he not restrain'd from doing it, by his Regard for some Persons of eminent Quality that were concern'd in them.

But the King and his Cause were not long separated, for on the Fifth Day after the Separation, they were together again in the Court of Enquesta, with an Addition of Two new Articles; and which had been added to the former Indictment, for no other Reason, but that it should not appear to be exactly the same with that the King had let fall in the Manifestation.

And that the Reader may the better understand what it was that induc'd the King to remove this Cause, from the Manifestation to the Enquesta, it may not be improper here to give some Account, of the different Constitutions of those Two Courts.

The
The Court of Manifestation, is the supreme, and the oldest standing Court in Aragon; having been erected in the beginning of that Government, for to guard those Rights and Liberties which the Arragonese had reserved to themselves, when they did at first put themselves under a Monarchy. Its chief Judge is the Justicia of Arragon, who is the standing Guardian of the People. Rights and Liberties, and to whom Seventeen are join'd, who are call'd the Lugar-tenents or Vice-Guards, and from whose Sentence there lies no Appeal to any other Court, except the Cortez or Parliament. Neither can a Subject that is in the Prison of the Manifestation, tho' he has thrown himself into it, as they often do when they are aggrieved by the Crown, be taken from thence, by the King or by any other Court; until the Cause for which he was a Prisoner in it, is ended.

The Court of Enquesta, only that it is a standing Court, is the same with the Visita in Castile; and has no Jurisdiction over any Person but the King's own immediate Ministers and Servants; it was erected long after the Manifestation, upon the King's having complain'd in a Cortez, of his Authority being so limited by the Constitution of the Government, that he had not Power to punish
punish any of his own immediate Servants, tho' they offended him never so much: And it is said, that the Cortez was willing to grant the King an absolute Power over his immediate Ministers and Servants, on purpose to prevent the Grandees growing fond of Court-Offices; since they could not enjoy them, without being in a worse Condition, as to the Security of their Lives, Libertys, and Estates, than the meanest private Subject in the Kingdom.

And as the King's Power in the Court of Enquesta is Absolute, so its Method of proceeding is summary and secret; and for that Reason the People are seldom ever satisfied with the Justice of any of its Sentences, when they come to be executed: And they had very lately been much scandaliz'd at this Court's having hang'd Micer Garcez, who was an Advocate and a Privy Councillor, in his Gown before his own Door, in half an Hour after he had been called by the Viceroy to the Privy Council, as he used to be.

The People were therefore extremely ingrèd when they heard of Antonio Perez's Cause, which they expected to have been ended in a few Days by the Manifestation, being thus remov'd by the King into the close and arbitrary Court of the Enquesta:

And
And if before, they did not much doubt of Escovedo's having been kill'd by the King's Command; upon the King's having made this Step, they concluded it was certainly so; and that the King, knowing the Prisoner would have been able to have proved it in the Manifestation, had, for that, and for no other Reason, dropt his Cause in that Court; and reviv'd it again in the Enquesta; where his Power was Absolute, and the Method of proceeding was Secret: It having never been known before that a Prisoner had been remov'd from the Manifestation to the Enquesta, or to any other Court, tho' the Inquisition had several Times attempted to have done it.

The Enquesta having however resolv'd to try the Prisoner, an Indictment was prepar'd in it against him; and to which, that it might not appear to be the same that was in the Manifestation, they added Two new odd Articles.

The one was, That the Prisoner was observ'd to rejoice when any bad News for Spain came from France, and to be sorry when the News was otherwise: And the other was, That he design'd to make his Escape into Holland, Zealand, or England.

The Prisoner having been brought before the Enquesta, told them, that he should make
make no Answer, nor offer any Discharges, as to any of the Misdemeanours he had been charged with in the Manifestation; having done that already in the supream Court, which only could judge of them: And as to the two new Articles, he said he believ'd it was the first Time that any Civil Court had ever brought People's inward Thoughts and Intentions, which are known to God only, into Judgment against them. He conjur'd them therefore to consider how great a Wound they had given to the King's Honour, by having brought his Cause into their Court, out of that of the Manifestation; and since they did not pretend to have any Jurisdiction over him, but as he had been the King's Secretary and Servant, (since he had already been judg'd and condemn'd by the Visita in Castile, as to all the Misdemeanours they now charg'd him with in that Capacity,) to consider whether the Laws of any Nation did allow the same Cause to be brought twice into Judgment: In fine, he told them, that if, in Contradiction to the known Laws of the Land, they should force him to make a new Defence, that he would produce Papers which would lay open greater Secrets and Confidences, than any he had yet shew'd: And to satisfy them that he was able to do it, he offer'd to shew A a those
those Papers in Private to any Person that
the King should name; and which he said
his great Zeal for his Majesty's Honour
made him wish might be done.

And upon the Enquesta's not having taken
any Notice of this Proposition, he did, by a
Person of Quality, offer to shew all those
Papers to the Archbishop of Saragosa, who
was Brother to the Marquis of Almanera,
his fiercest Persecutor; if he would promise,
after he had seen them, with the Confidence
that may be repos'd in a Priest, to commu-
nicate his Thoughts of them to the King:
But that Archbishop knowing that the
King would not thank him for it, desir'd to
be excus'd, for not medling in a Business
which had made so great a Noise in the
World.

But tho' the Prisoner's Pleas were all
overruled by the Enquesta, and which was
likewise strongly inclin'd to have used its
secret and summary Methods with him;
yet it durst not do it, for fear of the People;
who being possess'd, that what had been
done to the Manifestation in this Case, was
the greatest Blow that had ever been given
to their Libertys, they would certainly have
torn the Enquesta all to Pieces, had they
offer'd the least Violence to the Prisoner, or
had they gone on with a Cause, which had
been
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been brought before them after so illegal a
Manner.

Wherefore, since there was no Hopes of
having the Prisoner condemn’d in the Mani-
festation, and the Enquesta was so terrify’d
with the Threats of the Populace, that they
durft not meddle with him any more; some
other Court was to be found, that shou’d
undertake to destroy the Prisoner, or to
keep him so confin’d, that it shou’d not be
possible for him to make his Escape, to tell
Tales in foreign Countries, which was the
thing the Court dreaded.

And to what Court, besides the holy In-
quisition, could they have Recourse in this
desperate Case? in which, if they once had
the Prisoner, they knew they shou’d both
have him safe, and shou’d hear no more of
those Papers and Discharges he had so late-
ly threatn’d the King withal.

And that the Inquisition, if it were once
brought into Arragon, would certainly over-
turn all the Rights and Privileges of the
People, was a thing the Arragoneses were so
sensible of; that, after that Court was set
in all the other Spanish Kingdoms, they
would not suffer it to be erected in Arra-
gon, tho’ they were urged to it by Ferdinand
the Catholick, whom they loved so well
that they scarce knew how to deny him any
thing;
An History of the thing; and who, had he not been the unhappy Founder of the new modelled Court of the Inquisition, would have been Spain's greatest Benefactor.

For, in the Year 1484, the Four Estates of the Realm, for there are so many in Aragon, having on this Occasion assembled themselves together, in the House of the Deputation in Saragosa, they dispatch'd the Prior of the Austin Monks of that City, and one Doctor a Luna to the King, to satisfy him, that the Inquisition could not be introduced into Aragon without subverting the People's ancient and undoubted Rights and Privileges; one of which was, that in all Cases, all Witnesses were to deliver their Evidences in open Court; and another was, that no Subject could be depriv'd of his Estate, nor of any Part of it, but by the Sentence of the Justiza, or of the Cortez of the whole Kingdom; whereas, in the Court of the Inquisition, neither the Names nor the Testimonys of Witnesses were ever told to the Prisoners, and whose Estates were confiscated upon the single Sentence of that Court. But the King, not being satisfy'd with this Answer, did send some Inquisitors to a small City in Aragon called Tervil; where he did hope they might have been permitted to have erected their Tribunal;
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nal; but as small as that City was, the People rose and drove the Inquisitors with all their Officers out of their Gates; and the Inquisitors, upon that Expulsion, having been order'd by the King to repair to an obscure Village called Celdas, they did set up their Court there, but without exercising any Jurisdiction.

But the Inquisitors being impatient in this Obscurity, Three of them adventured to go to Saragosa, and to try if they could dispose the People of that City to allow them a greater Theatre; which at that Time those Inquisitors were so far from being able to effect, that Father Epila who was the chief of them, was slabb'd in a Church saying his Prayers; and who having died two Days after of his Wounds, immediately after his Death, if his Brethren the Inquisitors may be believ'd, he began to work Miracles in Favour of the Inquisition.

And as the People do many times lose their Rights, as well as King's their Prerogatives, by seeking to maintain them by violent and illegal Methods; so the murthering of that single Inquisitor, was the great means of introducing the Inquisition into Saragosa, where the People were dispos'd to receive it by the Miracles which that slain Inquisitor was confidently report-
ed to have wrought, in conjunction with our Lady of Guadalupe; who, tho' she is called by the Roman Church the Mother of Mercy, is said by the Inquisitors to have wrought three score miracles, for no other end, but to dispose the Spaniards to receive and reverence their merciless Court.

The King also to give the Inquisitors the more Authority, bestow'd his own Pallace in Saragosa upon them, for their Court, and Prison; it is called the Aljaferia, and was the Pallace of the Moorish Kings. And tho' the Inquisition was admitted into Arragon with several Limitations to the Power which it exercised in other Places; the Inquisitors doubted not but that in a short Time they should be able, by confident Reports of Miracles, and some other such Methods, to shake off those Fetters. But to return.

In order to lodge Antonio Perez in the close and secure Prisons of the Inquisition, one of his own Servants and Three or Four of the Prisoners in the Manifestation, were bribed by the Marquis of Almanera to inform the Inquisitors, that they had heard Antonio Perez say, That were he but once at Liberty, he would stay no longer in Spain, but would go either into Holland, England, or Zealand, which were all three Heretical Coun-

ries.
And it having been given out, on purpose to make him odious to the People, that he was a most sad Witch, being in a solemn Compact with the Devil, in their Information they were order'd to be sure to charge him home with that Crime; which alone would be sufficient to justify the fetching him out of a Secular Prison, where the Devil hath so much Power, (and by whom the Prisoner had been actually helped out of the Secular Prison at Madrid,) to lodge him in the safe Prison of the Holy Office; where, if the Devil had any Power, it was so small, that it had never been known, that with all his Force he had ever been able to take the Person of one single Witch out of those Prisons.

As to his Servant that was corrupted, he indeed had been by when his Master was told by some of his Friends, that tho' he should be acquitted by the Manifestation, he could not, now the King was so angry with him, think of living within any of the Spanish Territories; neither could he be safe in France, where the King had so great a Party; nor in Italy, where he had so much Power: But at the same time, that Servant had never heard his Master say a Word of any such Design. And as to the rest of the Informers, as they were all utter Strangers
to him, so, if he had design'd any such thing, it is not Probable that he would have told them of it. And as to his Whitchcraft, that was a Crime, which is proved in no other Court so easily as it is in the Inquisition; where the Rack, upon a Fame, commonly prevails with a Witch to turn his own Accuser.

However, upon their Informations, the Inquisitors, tho' they were not Ignorant of the great Ferment the whole City was put into by the Enquesta's having pretended to meddle with one that was a Prisoner in the Manifestation; did boldly, on the 24th of May, 1590, send their Familiars to fetch Antonio Perez before them, out of the Manifestation; and which the Familiars having done, the whole City as soon as they heard of it, was all in an Uproar, and several Thousands of the Populace being got together in a Body, did run towards the Aljaferia, which had been the Pallace of the Moorish Kings, but is now the Inquisition, shouting all the Way they went, Let Liberty live, Let Antonio Perez live; and having, when they came to the Gates of the Inquisition, threatn'd to set fire to them, if Antonio Perez were not presently brought out; the Viceroy, having got some of the Nobles that were most popular about him, went to them
them in his Coach, to perswade them to disperse, assuring them, That the Prisoner should have no Wrong done him, having been brought to the Holy-Office only to be examin'd concerning some things relating to the Faith.

But when the Viceroy perceiv'd that the People were not to be charm'd by the Words Holy-Office and Faith; and that nothing but the bringing forth the Prisoner would satisfy them; and seeing Straw and other combustible Matter coming from all Parts, to have set fire to the Inquisition, he leap'd out of his Coach, and having run into the Thickest of the Croud, cry'd out, Friends, I am not here among you as a Viceroy, but as Bishop of Tervel, and one of your selves; and if you will but be Quiet, I will go presently into the Inquisition my self, and fetch out the Prisoner to you; neither will I leave him until I have, according to your Desire, lodg'd him in safety in the Manifextation. And accordingly the Viceroy and the Condes D'Aranda and Morata, who were both very Popular, having gone into the Inquisition, they desir'd the Inquisitors, for their own and the common safety, to deliver the Prisoner to them presently; and which the Inquisitors having done with trembling Hearts, the Viceroy took him by the Hand, and led him down to his Coach, but the People ha-
ving cry'd out that they would have him ride on Horse-Back, that they might all see him, he was mounted presently, and was huzza'd all the Way to the Manifestation, with Live Liberty, live Antonio Perez.

And whereas the Marquis of Almanera, who had been seen to go and come from the Inquisition that Morning, was known to be the Prisoner's fiercest Persecutor, and who, it was said, had undertaken with a Troop of Horse to have carried him back to Castile; the Populace before they dispers'd, were resolv'd to have their Revenge on that Lord; and having in a great Rage invested his House, they had burnt it down to the Ground, and him in it, had not the Justiza of Arragon come, and prevented it, by arresting that Marquis, and carrying him a Prisoner to the Manifestation: But tho' that Marquis and his House were both saved from being burnt by this Diligence of the Justiza, his Life was not saved by it: The Populace as soon as they saw the Marquis, having cry'd out, Let the Traytor to his Country, and to its Laws and Liberty die; they did thump and pelt him so unmercifully all the Way he went, that he died a few Days after in the Prison of the Manifestation, of the Bruises and Wounds which they had given him.
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The Governour of Saragosa likewise, for having appear'd very zealous against the Prisoner, had all the Goods and Furniture of his House broke and torn to Pieces; and that they might not be thought to have been led to his House by their Covetousness, they that were within threw all his Money and Plate out of the Windows into the Street, lamenting that they had not met with the Governour to have made a publick Example of him. And to have satisfy'd the Inquisitors if it had been possible, that they were in the Wrong, it was declar'd by thirteen of the most eminent Lawyers in the Kingdom, who had been called together to give their Opinion, that by the fundamental Law of Arragon, no Prisoner, whilst he had a Cause depending in the Manifestation, could be taken from thence, by the King, or by any Court.

Antonio Perez, after the Uproar was over, having been told that some of the Marquis de Almanera's Servants had been lately several Times with one Navarro de Cellas, and one John de Luna, and a certain Leather-Currier; who were all three Prisoners in the Manifestation; he concluded that they must have been the Persons that had inform'd against him in the Inquisition; and, being resolv'd to find it out, he order'd his Procurators to give a Memorial in his behalf, to

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Galician Cerdan, who was Calmedina, or Lord Major of the City, supplicating him to take an Information ad futuram rei memoriam, concerning a Plot and Subornation of Witnesses against him, and that the three forenam'd Persons might be all examin'd about that Subornation: And who having been all brought under Examination by the Lord Major, Navarro de las Cellas deposed upon Oath, 'That the Gaoler and some of the Marquis de Almanera's Servants, had, by a Bribe, and with Promises and Threats, sollicited him to inform against Antonio Perez in the Inquisition; and that they had withall brought a Note to him from one Molina an Inquisitor, to animate him to it: And in that Note an Information to which they urged him to set his Hand; and which was, that he had heard Antonio Perez say, that if he were once at Liberty, he would flee into Holland, Zealand, or England: And that whereas he had been perswaded to set his Hand to the said Information, he did now for the Discharge of his Conscience, retract and un-say the said Information; and did declare upon Oath, that he had never heard Antonio speak any such Words, nor was he ever once in his Company, neither did he know any thing of his being a Witch.
And he did farther depose upon Oath, That before that Subornation, he was offer'd by the same Persons, both his Pardon and his Liberty, upon the Gaol's having been broken one Night, if he would swear that Antonio Perez had set them to break it; and would kill John Francisco Majorini. The first he refus'd to do, but undertook the second; and when Majorini was assaulted by him, it was with an Intention to have killed him.

This Majorini was a Genouese, who had been thrown into Prison for having helped Antonio Perez to make his Escape from Madrid, and who had come into Arragon with him.

The other Two Informers did likewise declare upon Oath, that they had been suborn'd by the same Persons to send the same Information into the Inquisition, and that they had neither of them exchang'd one Word with Antonio Perez.

But for this Examination, the Lord Major, after the Castilian Army was in Saragossa, was taken up by the Inquisition, and condemn'd to be a Prisoner six Years in Oran, and was with his Posterity made incapable of ever bearing any Office.

Cellas and Luna were taken up by the Inquisition at the same Time, and having been brought out in an Act of the Faith, they
they were condemn'd to be whipped through the Streets untill they had receiv'd Two hundred Stripes, and to the Gallies for six Years; so unpardonable a thing it is to irritate that Mercylefs and Implacable Court, by Truth, if it reflects on its proceedings. But this, tho' it was the most Tragical, was not the first Clash the Manifestation had with the Inquisition, which where ever it is, is incroaching daily on the Rights of the People, and on those of the Bishops.

The Conde d' Aranda, Father to the fore-mention'd Conde, having had Notice that some Informations had been given into the Inquisition against him; did, to prevent his being taken up by that Court, put himself into the Manifestation; and by which, whilst his Cause was depending in it, and which depended as long as he lived, he was protected against the Inquisition, which was very zealous to have had him in its Prison.

And after that, when Don Bernardo de Castro was brought out of the Inquisition and delivered to the Secular Arm to be burnt, for being an Heretick; his Relations, to save his Life, went and manifested him, as the Phrase is: But it having been judged by the Manifestation, that since he had been judged and condemned by the Inquisition, that he could not manifest afterwards,
wards, he was left to the Secular Arm, as a Prisoner delivered to them by the Inquisition; and so was burnt as an Heretick.

One Antonio Gomir having likewise, to prevent his being taken up by the Inquisition, thrown himself into the Prison of the Manifestation; upon the Inquisition's having demanded him, it was declar'd, that until his Cause was ended in the Manifestation he could not be molested by that or by any other Court; and the Inquisitors, having upon that declar'd the Judge excommunicated that had deliver'd that Sentence, the Cause was carried to Rome, where the Manifestation did spend above Five thousand Ducats in the Assertion of this Right; and the Judge that was excommunicated, happening to die before the Controversy was ended, upon the Inquisitors not suffering him to have Christian Burial, the Manifestation order'd his Body to be embalm'd, and having at last had the Better of the Inquisition, the Excommunication was taken off, and the Body was buried in great State and Triumph.

But the Inquisition, to their great Mortification, having been thus baffl'd by the Manifestation at Rome, waited for an Opportunity to revive this Dispute again: And reckoning that this Case of Antonio Perez did afford them as good a one as they could have
have wished for, the King being so zealous to have him taken out of the Manifestation, that they were sure of the Royal Assistance, they resolv'd to venture the imbroiling of the whole Kingdom; as they did with a Witness before they had done with this Business, rather than lose so favourable an Opportunity. Neither was the Inquisition at this Time angry only with the Manifestation, but with the Cortez of the whole Kingdom likewise, for having in the Year 1585 remonstrated to the King against the Incroachments made by the Inquisition on the Rights of the Subject: Which Storm was diverted by the King, who was by Inclination, as well as Interest a great Friend to that Court; by proposing as an Expedient, that both Party's should name a certain Number of Deputies, who should meet together and settle the Bounds of their several Jurisdictions: And in Case those Deputies did not come to an Agreement in six Months, after that it should be lawful for the Kingdom to have Recourse to the Pope for Relief.

But after six Months were expired without any thing having been done, the Envoys were nam'd by the Deputies of the Kingdom to go to Rome, but never went; for as there was no Cortez then sitting, to the Court having underhand discouraged it,
The Kingdom and the Inquisition being at this Time on these Terms; the latter, now that Antonio Perez's Affair had united the King to them closer than he ever was before, resolv'd with the Royal Assistance, to have Antonio Perez brought back to their Prisons agen, and to make that a standing President against the Manifestation: And in Order to the effecting of that Design, they got it under the Hands of Thirteen obscure mercenary Lawyers, that their Court had Power to take any Prisoner out of the Manifestation that was accused of Herefie; and having had Two thousand disciplined Soldiers quartered in Saragosa, they published an Edict of Excommunication against all that had been anywise concern'd in the Infult which was made on the Holy Office, on the 24th of May. But the same Day that this Edict of Excommunication was publish'd; a Declaration was set forth by the Deputies of the Kingdom, commanding the Subjects not to regard that Excommunication, which, for being contrary to the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, and the Papal Censures by which those Laws were guarded, was of no Force; one of which Papal Censures, was an Excommunication denounced against all that should violate or consent...
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consent to the violating of any of the established Rights of the People of Arragon.

But the Inquisitors, tho' they saw the People were not at all intimidated by their Excommunication, having got all on their Side who were anywise under Influences of the Court, determined to pursue their Point; and the 20th Day of August was fix'd by them for the Execution of their Design: But when that Day was come, it was for some secret Reason adjourned to the 24th of September; by which Time things were so disposed by the Court, and by the Inquisitors, that they did not expect to have met with Opposition; most of the Magistrates, since their last Declaration, having been so managed by the Court, as to agree to Antonio Perez's being sent back to the Prisons of the Inquisition agen, to please the King. But when the People, to alienate them from Antonio Perez, were told that it was by Witchcraft that Antonio Perez had drawn them to take his Part so violently; they answered, that what they had done was not for Antonio Perez's Sake, tho' they believed he was much wronged; but to preserve the Authority of the Court of the Manifestation, which was the Bulwark of all their Rights and Libertys; and that they had not therefore when they fetch'd him from the Inquisition, set him at Liberty, but had carried
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carried him back to the Manifestation, to have his Tryal there according to the Laws of the Land. To be the more secure, the Governour, the Night before, placed Guards in every Street, and planted himself with 800 Foot and a Troop of Horse, in the Market Place, which is close to the Manifestation; and to strike a Terreur into the People, the Soldiers did nothing all Night but fire their Muskets.

In the Morning, tho' it was one of the most tempestuous that had been in the Memory of Man, the Viceroy, a Lugartenente, and a Deputy, all in their Formalities, did attend the Familiars, the Secretary, and the Gaoler of the Inquisition to the Market Place; and who were likewise attended by the Duke de Villa Hermosa and several Condes and other Nobles: And the Lugartenente and the Deputy, having with a strong Guard gone with the Officers of the Inquisition into the Hall of the Manifestation, the Lugartenente commanded the Gaoler to bring Antonio Perez and Don Francisco Majorini to him; which the Gaoler having done, the Lugartenente took Antonio Perez by the Hand, and delivered him to the Officers of the Inquisition, saying, The Lords Inquisitors have by their Letter demanded this Prisoner, whom, suspending the Manifestation, I do here deliver up to you. And having done
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the same to Majorini, Antonio Perez asked him, What was become of the Rights of the Manifestation? The Lugartenente answered, That has been consider'd, and all that could be has been offer'd in your Name, and in your Defence: The Prisoners were both then put in Fetters, but as they were carrying them out of the Hall to have put them into Two Coaches which waited at the Gate for them, the People, who notwithstanding all the Guards and the bad Weather, were in vast Multitudes about the Manifestation, cry'd out Liberty Liberty; and having not only cut the Harness of the two Coaches, but kill'd all the Mules that were in them; without having any Head, they fell upon the Guards which attended the Coaches, and kill'd some of them, and dispers'd the rest. And Gil de Mela having, whilst they were about that, come up to them with twelve Lackeys and some Men arm'd with Muskets, he lead them to the Market Place; where the Soldiers having fir'd, and kill'd and wounded several of them, they did not give them Time to charge agen, but fell upon them on all Sides with that Fury, that they were glad to throw down their Arms; and having mixed themselves among the People, did to save their Lives, cry out Liberty Liberty louder than any of them; and the Governour, and the Nobles and Officers that
that were with him, having fled into the Stable of an Inn that was near the Market Place, the People pursued them, and finding the Door of the Inn shut, they commanded those that were within to open it to them presently, but they instead of doing that, having fir'd at them, and shot three of them dead upon the Place, they set fire to the House; but the Governour and his Companions having fled out at a back Door, they did either flee to the Houses of some Men whom they knew to be Popular, or did mingle themselves with the Croud, and cry out Liberty, and by that means most of them did save their Lives. So that about Noon Liberty was cry'd much Louder than it was in the Morning; and so Loud by none, as by those who had then been employ'd to destroy it.

From the Inn out of which they had smok'd the Governour, the People went to the Manifestation and commanded the Goaler to bring Antoneo Perez out to them, threatening to kill the Officers of the Inquisition and their Attendants that were there: The Lugartenente upon that, went with his Hat in his Hand to Antonio Perez, and beseeched him to shew himself to the People, and to intercede with them for their Lives; and Antonio Perez having looked Sullen and made no Answer, they did all supplicate
cate him for God's sake to do it; and he having told them that it was Time enough after they had taken off his Fetters, his Fetters were presently knock'd off by the Lugartenente's Order: Antonio Perez walked then to the Window, and having looked out, and bow'd low to the People, such a Shout of Joy was rais'd as had never been heard in Saragosa before. The People then called to him to come down to them, for they could not satisfy'd to see him a Prisioner any longer: The Lugartenente and Officers of the Inquisition, dreading that the People would have broke in upon them, desir'd him to make haste and go down to them; which he having refus'd to do, unless they would discharge him by a judicial Act, they all flunk away and hid themselves: However, at last he was prevail'd with to go down, where the Turn-key stand'd ready and open'd the Door to him: The People, when they had him among them, repeated their former joyful Acclamations; and having carried him upon their Shoulders through the Market-place and some of the Streets, to receive the Blessings of the People, and which he met everywhere, they lodg'd him at last in the House of Don Diego Eredia; who by his Popularity had that Day sav'd the Lives of some of the Nobles, who had fled to his House as to a Sanctuary.
And the People then remembring that Majorini was likewise to have been carried from the Manifestation to the Inquisition, went back to the Manifestation, and having demanded Majorini, he was presently brought out to them, and set at Liberty.

There were near an Hundred Persons kill'd on both sides in this Commotion, and a great many more wounded; and among the Slain there was found a Lugartenente, and a Deputy of the Kingdom.

In the Evening Antonio Perez took Horse, and with Gill de Mesa, and another Friend, and two Footmen, went publickly out of Saragosa; being attended a Quarter of a League by a vast Multitude of People; who, having been heartily thanked by him, did all at parting with a loud Shout wish him a good Voyage: He rode nine Leagues that Night, and having then dismiss'd his Friend and his Servants, he retir'd with Gill de Mesa to some high Mountains, with an Intention to have absconded among them un'till he saw how this Commotion would end: But after he had been there Three Days, and in great Distrefs for want of Water, which his Servants had forgot to bring; he had Word brought him that the Governor was abroad with some Soldiers, and as was suppos'd, in quest of him.
But whilst he was considering how he might escape falling into the Governour's Hands, a Letter came to him from his great Friend Don Martin de la Nuca, to invite him to return to Saragosa; where he promised he should be in safety in his House, until he had try'd whether he could make his Peace first with the Inquisitors, and afterwards with the King; who, he suppos'd, would grant him any thing that he would desire, rather than have him fly into Bearn.

And Antonio Perez having an entire Confidence in the Friendship and Honour of that Gentleman, and apprehending that at present he could be no where so safe as in Saragosa, he did resolve to go back; and, having sent Don Martin Word that he was coming, he was met by him in the Night without the Gates, and was conducted by him to his House, where he remain'd till within two Days before the Castilian Army enter'd into Saragosa. But in the mean while Don Martin did enter into a Treaty with the Inquisitors, and who, tho' they appear'd to be well dispos'd to come to an Accommodation with Antonio Perez, yet, after some Conferences, Don Martin did plainly discover, that nothing was farther from their Thoughts than any thing of an Accommodation; and that they had treated with him, and had appear'd so well dispos'd, for no other End but
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to fish out of him where Antonio Perez was, and by giving him Hopes that Matters might be yet accommodated, to keep him from flying into Bearn: And the thing that made this Managery manifest beyond Contra

diction, was a Letter of Moreion, who was the Inquisitor that had treated with Don Martin, to one of the Ministers at Court, which was intercepted; wherein that Inquisitor, after having given Notice of the Arragoneses being ready every where to take up Arms, and nam’d some Nobles and others who promoted it, and others who were to have Commands in the Army when it was brought together; he advis’d the sending of a Castilian Army forthwith into Arragon, before the Arragoneses had arm’d themselves; and who he said were much like the Portuguese, but had less Strength, fewer Arms, and less Artillery, and so might be easier subdued: And added, that since Antonio Perez, as he was inform’d by one that was very intimate with him, had such a tender Love for his Wife and Children, that he had often said, I do very ill, not to deliver myself up to any Court, rather than let such a Wife and such Children as mine are, suffer so much; he did therefore advise, to have them streightned as much as it was possible: And having mention’d the Charge he was at to procure Intelligence, he
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he subjoyn'd, The Archbishroprick of Toledo
would be but a small Reward for the Service he
had done the King.

The People of Arragon having had Intel-
ligence that a considerable Castilian Army
was drawing together upon their Frontiers,
and which was to be commanded by Don
Alonso de Vargas; they called upon the De-
puties of the Kingdom and the Nobles, to
require the Justiza to put the Kingdom in a
Posture of Defence, and to advise with the
Learned in the Law what they might and
ought to do, in Case they were invaded by a
Foreign Army coming to destroy all their
Rights and Liberties: And which the De-
puties and Nobles having done, the Justiza
called all the Judges together to have their
Opinion in the Case; and who having met,
did declare, that by the second Feuro, or
Law de generalibus Privilegiis Regni Arra-
gonum, it was lawful for the Subjects, by
Force of Arms, to oppose any Foreign Army
that should come into Arragon, tho' the King
himself, or the Prince his eldest Son, were at
the Head of it: And that this Law had the
Pope's Approbation and Confirmation, and
Papal Censures annexed to it, to secure it
from being broken. And it having been
thereupon decreed, that in Case a Castilian
Army did offer to enter into Arragon, that
the Justiza should, with all the Force he
could
could draw together, go out in Person against it; and that a Messenger should be lent by him to Don Alonso de Vargas, who was an Arragonese, to forbid him upon pain of Death to come into his Native Country with any Foreign Army; the Justiza promised to cause that Decree to be put in Execution, and did accordingly issue forth Commissions for the raising of an Army; one of which Commissions, and which was given by the Justiza to Antonio Perez's great Friend, who was a near Kinsman of his own, and of his own Name, I shall here insert at Length, since it concerns the Ground whereon the Arragoneses proceeded in this Insurrection.

We Don John de Nuca, the Perellos of his Majesty's Council, and Justiza of Arragon; Don Friar Austin Navarro, Abbot of our Lady de la Piedra; Don John de Luna Lord of Purroy; Hierom de Oro, Luys Navarro, and John de Marcuello, Deputies of the Kingdom of Arragon; to you Senor Martin de la Nuca, Health and good Will.

WHereas there has been an Application made to us with a grievous Complaint, saying, that Don Alonso de Vargas is entred, or is ready to enter this Kingdom
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Kingdom with an Army of Foreigners, and with an Intention to damnify this City of Saragossa, and the People of it and of this whole Kingdom, contrary to the Laws and Libertys of the same; and that therefore in Obedience to the second Law De Generalibus Privilegiis Regni Arragonum, we ought to convocate and assemble; so many of the People of the said Kingdom, as shall be thought Necessary for to resist and repel out of the Kingdom the said arm'd Force of Don Alonfo de Vargas, and that Army of Foreigners which he brings with him; And we having taken Advice about what the Law requires; after Mature Deliberation and Council on the second Law De generalibus Privilegiis, did offer our selves ready and prepared to make the said Convocation: And accordingly, upon the Army of Don Alonfo de Vargas being so great, we have called together a great Number of the People of this Kingdom.

And whereas there will want Officers and Persons to govern and command the said People, and to teach them what they are to do; confiding much in the Industry and Fidelity of you the said Senor Don Martin de la Nuca; we do by the Tenour of these Presents, name and create you a Maestre de Campo of all those Men of Arms
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Arms which shall come down from the City Huesca, and the Mountains of Jacca; and of their Vassals, and of those of the said City and of the five Towns; and of Barbastro, and Monzon and, Foya de Huesca; to train them, and to command and appoint them what they are to do; giving to you, as we do give, the whole Power compleatly which the Maestres de Campo have, and are accustom’d to have in other Kingdoms: and commanding the said people, to hold, name, obey, and repute you, their Maestre de Campo. Dated in the City of Saragosa the 4th of November, 1591.

El Albad de Piedra
Luys Navarro
Luys de Marcuello

The Seal of the Justiza.

By the Command of the Lords.

The Justiza of Aragon and of the Deputies.
Juan Mendile, Notary and Secretary.

But tho’ the Inquisitors, who will sacrifice the Rights of their Country and every thing else
else to the Authority of their Courts, had solicited the Ministry at Madrid to send a Castilian Army forthwith into Arragon: There was no Order of Men so zealous to have the Kingdom put in a Posture of Defence against that Army, as the Clergy: All the People being called upon both by the Preachers, and by their Confessors, to take up Arms to defend their Country and its Laws and Rights, against that foreign Army which was coming to destroy them all.

And whereas it had been order'd that Don Alonso de Vargas, who was a Native of Arragon, should be declar'd a Traytor to his Country if he came with that foreign Army to invade it; A Messenger with a publick Notary and two Witnesses, were sent by the Justiza to that General, to acquaint him with that Sentence, and to command him upon Pain of Death not to presume to invade his native Country: And who being come to the Castilian Army at Beruela on the Frontiers; at first that General would not be seen by them, but having been told that they said it was all one whether he heard them or not, for if he did not, they would nail the Notification which they had brought upon the Gates; he permitted them to come to him, and to execute their Commission in his Presence in Form of Law; but on that Occasion he did make the
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the same Declaration, which he had formerly writ to Saragosa, which was, 'That he was too much an Arragonesé ever to do any thing to the prejudice of the Rights and Libertys of his Country; and that he was not to invade Arragon with the Army which he commanded, but was only to march through that Kingdom with it, into France, to the Assistance of the League; and in Execution of a Treaty the King had enter'd into with it; and to chastife two or three, and no more, to give Satisfaction to the Justice of the Government which had been offended. This Don Alonfo was I believe Son to the famous Doctor Vargas, whose wise and honest Letters, shewing the perfect Bondage the Trent Council was under to the Pope, were lately published from their Originals both in English and French.

But a Proclamation having been soon after publish'd by that General, forbidding his Soldiers upon Pain of Death to rifle any Church or Monastery; the Arragoneses did reckon, that by that he did as good as give them leave to plunder all other Places: But whether that was that General's Intention or not, his Soldiers believing that it was, did plunder and make great Devastations in the Country through which they march'd; and by which Violences the People of Arragon
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gon having been much incensed against that Castilian Army; the Justiza attended by most of the Nobles, put himself at the Head of the Arragoneses which had been brought together at Saragosa, and having set up the Standard of St. George, which is the Ensign the Kingdom had always made use of on such Occasions, he marched out of Saragosa with a Resolution to have faced the Castilian Army, which was much inferior to him in Numbers, and to have given it Battel.

But on the second Day after they had taken the Field, the Arragoneses Army having been deserted by the Justiza himself, and by the Duke de villa Hermosa, and the Conde Aranda, and Don John de Luna, and Don Diego de Eredia, and all the rest of the Nobles; who apprehended that with their new raised Troops, they should be not able to stand before the Castilian Disciplined and well Armed and Officer'd Army; without having seen the Enemy, it dispersed itself: And Don Martin de la Nuca, at whose House Antonio Perez still remain'd, being returned Home; they consulted together about the Course they were to take how to secure their Persons, now that the Castilian Army was within two Days March of Saragosa; and it having been resolv'd, that Antonio Perez should withdraw immediately, for Fear of falling into their Hands, Don Martin on
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On the 10th of November, did in the Night conduct him safe out of the City-Gates, and told him, in case he were not able to persuade his Country-Men to make Head against the Castilians, which he said he would once more try to persuade them to do; he would follow him next Day thorow the Mountains by the Way they had agreed to go. In which Attempt, tho' he did not succeed, it was well for Antonio Perez that he made a Day's stay at Saragosa behind him; for had he not done that, it would hardly have been possible for him to have made his Escape, that City having by his stay in it, been kept near a Day in suspense what to do, and which would otherwise have sent the Keys of their Gates that Day to the Castilian General, as they did the Day after he left them.

Don Martin having gone to the Consistory as soon as it met, told the Justiza, and the rest, That now that the Castilian Army commanded by Don Alonso de Vargas, was at the Door, he desir'd, before he came to any Resolution as to his own Person, to know what they determin'd to do, and if they intended to defend themselves, and by Force of Arms to oppose the Castilian Army's entering their City; that he would assist them with his Person in Defence of his Country and its Laws, and of the Justiza, in Obedience.
ence to what had been decreed: But that if they would not be persuaded to that, that he would retire to his House in the Country and remain there; if the Violences and Rigours the present Storm discharge’d it self in, would suffer him to do it.

And having found their Hearts all down, so that it was to no purpose to speak to them of defending themselves, he then desire’d that the City-Gates might be thrown open for all that would to retire; which having been granted, and order’d to be done, he took Horse presently, and rode publickly out of the City attended by a great Number of his Friends and a vast Multitude of People, who did all lament his leaving of them; and with whose Lamentsions Don Martin being sensibly touched, he told them, ‘That if his staying would be of any Advantage to any of them, that he would not have left them, but would have stay’d and died with them; whereas since their Affairs were brought to the last Point of Weakness and Misery, for him to stay would be but to dye vilely; and that as it was not just for any to advise him to that, so neither did he advise any to it, but rather to retire to a Place where they might be safe; and not to deliver up themselves to the Judgement of Wrath, the Persons to whom their common Mother their Coun-

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ry had entrusted her Sons and their Rights; having given so ill an Account, of what they had been trusted with, that no good was to be expected, besides the Judgement of Truth, and the Prince's Mind quieted, and better informed, and which is above all the Approbation of Heaven; and to live, to hear, and see. And having thus dismissed his Friends, and the People, Don Martin made the best of his Way to the Mountains, thorow which by reason of the bad Season of the Year, he pass- ed with great difficulty, as Antonio Perez and Gil de Mesa, who had never parted since the 24th of September, had done before him; and having found them at Sallen the last Town in Arragon, he carried Antonio Perez to a Castle of his own that was near; and who before he left Sallen, sent the following Letter by Gil de Mesa, to the Lady Catherine Sister to the French King, who was at that Time in Bearn, to desire leave of her to come into that Kingdom.

Antonio Perez's Letter to the Princess Catherine.

Antonio Perez presents himself before your Highness and the Person you bear, by means of this Letter. Madam,

If there be no Hole nor Corner in the Earth
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Earth the Noise of my Persecutions has not reached; how loud must it have rung on the high Ground your Highness stands upon? By the Severity and long Duration of which Persecutions being reduced to the last Point of Necessity, I am by the Law of Self-Defence and natural Preservation oblig'd to look out for a Port where I may save my self, and escape that tempestuous Sea whose Billows have been rais'd, and kept up so high, and so long, by the Passions of some Ministers, as is notorious to the World; and which, Madam, has had sufficient Cause to look on me, as a Metal which has undergone the Hammer and all other Proofs.

I do therefore supplicate your Highness to afford me your Protection and Security, for the attaining of that End; or your Grace and Favour to guide me in safety to another Princess from whom I may receive that Benefit; and in which your Highness will do a Work worthy of your Grandeur, in regard that Princes have, and on Earth ought to exercise, the Nature of the Elements; some of which for the Conservation of the World, do always receive and defend those things which are persecuted and expelled by the others.

And if Princes when any strange Animals or Monsters in Nature are brought before
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before them, are glad to see them, and do
look on them with Curiosity, I shall pre-
ent before your Highness a Monster of
Fortune, and which is more to be admis-
red than any other Monsters, for being the
Work of more violent Causes; Fortune
having on me exercis'd her Power so
much, as to triumph over Nature and
People.

From Sallen the 18th of November 1591.

The other Princess he mentions in this Letter, was Queen Elizabeth, under whose Protection, from the beginning, he intended to put himself.

In answer to which Letter, that most religious Princess Catherine told Gil de Mesa, That Antonio Perez might come into Bearn when he pleas'd, and that he should be sure to find Protection there; and should be permitted to enjoy his Religion.

However, Don Martin being amidst his own Vassals, and near to Bearn, he resolv'd to stay where he was, and keep Antonio Perez with him, untill they heard how things went at Saragosa; into which City the Castilian General had entered with a good Part of his Army the Day after Don Martin left it. And the first thing that General after he was in Saragosa did, he order'd a Captain to go with a strong Guard, to fetch the
An History of the

Justiza of Arragon before him; and that Captain having met the Justiza as he was coming out from his Tribunal, arrested him in the King's Name, and having had him to the General's Quarters, he met with an Order there to carry him forthwith to the House of Don John de Portellas; and to which Place as the Justiza was going, he was met by two Jesuites, who told him they were sent by the Governor to prepare him for Death; the Justiza asked them how that could be, and whether Sentence of Death had been passed upon him by any Judge? The Captain answer'd yes, by the King himself; and when they were come to the House, the Justiza having ask'd to see the Sentence, he was shew'd a Paper in which the King, with his own Hand, had writ to the General as followeth.

Upon the Receipt of this, you shall cause Don John de la Nuca Justiza of Arragon to be arrested; and you shall let me hear of his Death, as soon as of his Imprisonment; and shall cause his Head to be cut off, and order the publick Cryer to make the following Proclamation before him. This is the Justice which our Lord the King has commanded to be done to this Gentleman; for being a Traytor, and for having convocated the People, and set up
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up a Standard against his King; who com-
mands his Head to be cut off, and all his
Goods to be confiscated, and his Castles
and Houses to be demolished; and he that
does so, let him be thus paid.

The Justiza when he had read the Paper,
said, 'That could not be, since by the Con-
fstitution of the Government, the Justiza
of Arragon could not be condemn'd for
any thing that he did, by any Person, or
by any other Court, than a Cortez of the
whole Kingdom.

But this and whatsoever else was alledg'd
by the Justiza against the validity of that
Sentence, having been overruled by the Ge-
general; his Head was cut off within Ten
Hours after he was arrested, in the publick
Market-place of the City; to the great Mor-
tification of the People, who look'd on all
their Rights and Liberties as destroy'd, by
that Blow which cut off the Head of the
Justiza, who was the standing Guardian of
them, and whose Person was therefore
guarded so by the Law that he could be
questioned for nothing that he did, but by
the King and the whole Kingdom in Cortez
assembled: But Laws are but feeble and si-
lent things among Arms.

Don John de Luna, and Don Diego de Ere-
dia, two of the Deputies of the Kingdom
were
were beheaded likewise; and great Numbers were hang'd; and all that had fled or that absconded, had their Estates confiscated; and the Duke de Villa Hermosa, and the Conde de Aranda were both, contrary to the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, arrested, and sent Prisoners into Castile; and where they both died in Prison.

And tho' a Cortez was called soon after to meet at Taracona, the Arragoneses were so intimidated and aw'd by the strong Castilian Garrisons which were put into Saragosa, and all the other Towns and Places of Strength; that we do not read of any remonstrance having been made by that Cortez against the foremention'd, and many more publick Violations of their fundamental Laws: And which the King at his coming to that Crown having taken an Oath never to violate himself, nor to suffer them to be violated, and that under heavy Papal Censures, on this Occasion a new and extravagant Notion was started in the Court of Madrid; and which, if it could be defended, would justify all that the King had done to the Arragoneses and their Rights; which new Notion was, That Don Pelayo, by having been the first King that was set up by the Spaniards, after the Moorish Conquest, was not only King of so much of that Country as they who had chosen him were at that time
in Possession of, or did afterwards conquer; but of all Spain, and consequently of Aragon and Catalonia, tho' those Countries had been taken from the Moors by other Princes and People, and had quietly been enjoy'd by them above Five hundred Years, without any dependance on Don Pelayo and his Heirs; none of which before had ever pretended to or dreamt of any such Right. Now Philip, said the Coyners of this new Title, being Heir and Successor to Don Pelayo, as he his King of Leon and Castile; he and all his Predecessors in those Two Kingdoms, must, by Right, have always been Kings of Arragon, tho' in Fact they had been so but for a few Years: All the Compacts therefore, whereon the Arragonese Rights and Priviledges were ground-ed, tho' of Five hundred Years standing, are, and were from their Beginning, void and of no Effect, for having been made betwixt the Subjects of the King of Leon, and Princes who had no Title to be their Kings. And thus, to justify Philip's having destroy'd all the Arragonese Rights, and to cover him from the Papal Censures denounc'd against all that should violate any of them, his Ancestors, the Kings of Arragon, must all be declar'd Usurpers; as it is said all our English Kings were to have been, to have helped the grand Tyrant Cromwell to a Title to the...
An History of the
the Crown of England, upon a far fetch'd and never before heard of Brittish Genealogy: And had Massanello succeeded at Naples, his Pedegree had undoubtedly before this Time been deriv'd by some Herald or other, from the ancient Kings of that Country.

But, as wild as this Notion was, and all that know any thing of the Spanifh Succession must know that nothing can be more groundless, a Champion was found that undertook to maintain it. And who should it be, but the very same Doctor Madera, who in Folio had demonstrated the Relicks and Manuscripts which were lately found under Ground at Granada, to be all True and Genuine; and who by that single Act of his Prowefs, had given such a Proof of the Strength of his Forehead, that a Cause, which could be defended by no other Weapon but that, could in no Age have possibly found an abler Champion. But it was always so, that let Force of Arms do what it will; Force of Forehead will always be found and employ'd to maintain it to be Just: But mercenary Pens being always ready to palliate, if not to justify their worst Actions, ought to be no Encouragement to Princes to do any thing that is not able to justify it self; the Natures of things being fixt so, and being so obvious too, that all such Justifications
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ons or Palliations, tho' fram'd with never so much Art, are too thin, to cover the natural Deformity of illegal and oppreflive Methods. But how lame for ever the Vindications of this great Change were; from this Time the Arragoneses do date the Loss of all those great Rights and Libertys, which were so long injoy'd by their Ancestors; and with them the Loss of their Trade and Wealth; which are always so fond of secur'd Property, that they will leave the most fertile Lands, and the best Climates, and the most commodious Ports, to follow it into Countries which have none of those Conveniencies. But to return to Antonio Perez. We may imagine he did not stay long in Arragon, after he heard of the Tragedies at Saragofa; and so, on the 26th of November, having put himself into a Footman's Livery, he left Spain, and went to Pao, the first Town in Bearn, where he was kindly receiv'd by the Princess Catherine; and the next Day after he was there, his Friend Don Martin came to him, and told him, That the Lords of Concás and Pinilla with Three hundred Men had been at Sallen in quest of him; and tho' he had Force enough to have fought them, yet, rather than increase the Confusions of the Kingdom, he had chosen to retire to the Frontiers of Bearn; and that when he was there he had sent
sent to those two Gentlemen, to let them know, that if they had any Offer to make to him, he would meet them, attended only by a Friend and six Footmen, on a Mountain which parted the two Kingdoms; and that, if they pleas'd, they might bring twelve Servants along with them; and to which Proposition those two Gentlemen having agreed, they had met accordingly; the first thing they asked him was, Whether he knew what was become of Antonio Perez? He answer'd them, That he did not know certainly, but did believe that the Rigours which had been used with him had drove him into France; they both seem'd to be much troubled at that, and said, That they had come after him with a Commission to have treated with him, in Order to have accommodated his Matters; and that he having asked them, From whom they had that Commission? they said, From the Inquisitor, and Don Alon-so de Vargas; and that upon that he and they had parted, and that he had come after him to know whether, if his Peace could be made with the King and the Inquisitors, he would be willing to go back to Spain.

Antonio Perez's Answer to this was, That there was nothing that he desir'd so much as to return to his own Country, if he could do it with safety; and that if those Gentlemen would but...
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but let him know what Terms they had to offer to him, they should have his Answer.

I am inclin'd to think, that Don Martin, tho' he was a Man of too much Honour to betray his Friend, by delivering him up to his enraged powerful Enemies; yet, knowing how unwilling the King was, that one who had been so long his Secretary, and whom he had trusted with all the Secrets of his Government, should flee either into France or England, to tell Tales; that he did hope to make his own Peace, by being an Instrument of keeping him, but by an Accommodation, from flying into those Kingdoms; and that it was for that End that he carried him back to Saragosa, and kept him at his House after the Commotion on the 24th of September; and that he had kept him after he had left the City a second Time so many Days from going into Bearn; and that after he was in that Kingdom he had gone after him so soon, to try if he could perswade him to have gone back.

But whatever End Don Martin propos'd to himself in this, Antonio Perez who knew both the King and the Inquisitors too well to trust his Person with them, was not by the greatest Promises they could have made him, to be perswaded to put himself any more in their Power; apprehending, and not without Reason, that after they had him once
once in their hands, they would quickly on
some Pretence or other have illuded all
their Promises.

But whatsoever they might have done to
him, had they brought him back to Spain
by fair Promises; it is certain that up-
on his not having return'd thither, they did
pursue him from Kingdom to Kingdom by
Ruffians which they employ'd to murder
him. For he had not been many Weeks in
France before a Spaniard was apprehended at
Bourdeaux for having come thither upon that
Design, and who having been convicted of
it, had been hang'd for it, had not Antonio
Perez beg'd his Life of the Princess Catherine
and the Marshal Mantignon; and not long
after, two Spaniards were hang'd at Paris, up-
on their having been convicted of having
come into that Kingdom upon that Errand:
And in London when he was there, in the
Papers which were taken upon two Irish-
men, who were convicted of having been
sent into England to murder the Queen, his
Name was found; and by which, one of
the Irishmen said the Queen was meant;
though the other deny'd it, and said Antonio
Perez himself was meant by it, and that he
had no other Business in England but to have
killed him.

And when the Court of Madrid, found
that to have him kill'd was not so easy a Mat-
ter,
ter, they were for making the Princess under whose Protection he was, jealous of him; by writing kind Letters to him, and promising him great Rewards for the Services he did his King in those Parts; and by forging Answers from him to those Letters.

But when that Court could neither procure his Death, nor cause the Princess who protected him to be jealous of him; they made some use of him, by charging him with having forg'd all the Letters, which they were ashamed to own, when they were publish'd.

So when that Letter which had been writ by King Philip to Henry the 4th, whilst he was only King of Navarre, to ingage him to begin a War upon Henry the 3d, and in which he offer'd him a great Sum of Money, was shew'd to the Pope by the Duke of Nevers, upon the Spaniards opposing that King's Submission of himself to the Church of Rome; the Court of Madrid gave out, that that Letter had been forg'd by Antonio Perez; who knew how to counterfeit the King's Hand; and who had carried the King's Signet out of Spain with him: And the same was given out by that Court as to the Letter which had been writ to the Duke de Parma, and which was intercepted in France; in which that Duke was command-
ed, by some means or other, to ease the King of the Duke of Humena.

I have not been able to learn, how long the unfortunate Antonio Perez lived, or how long he staid in England; but by the Date of one of his Letters, I find he was alive, and I suppose in France, at the latter End of the Year 1602. By one of his Letters I find he was much called on by some of his Friends to publish some Memoires he had by him; and in another of his Letters, he speaks of twelve Councils of State, which he intended to make Publick; of which one was, that which was assembled by Philip the 2d, upon his having imprison'd his Son the Prince Don Carlos, and who was afterwards believ'd to have been put to Death by his Father's Order, and in his Presence. And another was that which was assembled on Occasion of the Inquisitions having confin'd Don Bartholomew de Caranza Archbishop of Toledo, on Suspicion of his being a Protestant, and under which Confinement that great Prelate continued in Spain and at Rome from the Year 1559 to the Year 1576, when he died. But I am apt to think that neither of those two Books were ever printed; for as, had they been publish'd, they would have helped the World to the most considerable secret History that it had ever seen; so they would, for that Reason, have been
in every Body's Hands; whereas upon the best Inquiry that I have been able to make, I do not hear that there are any such Books extant.

Upon the Death of Philip the 2d, it was generally reported, that on his Death-Bed he had strictly charg'd his Son, to make Satisfaction to Antonio Perez, and to his Family, for the great Wrong he had done them: Which Charge if it was ever given, was never observ'd; no more than that of restoring the Kingdom of Navar to the French, from whom it had been unjustly taken; and so could not be detain'd with a good Conscience. Which Restitution, tho' both Charles the 5th, and his Son Philip, had to deceive their own Consciences, and God if it were possible, strictly commanded their Heirs for to make; yet at the same Time they took care to clog that Command, with a Condition, which they knew very well must hinder it from ever being obey'd; and which did plainly discover that it was not really their Intention or Desire that it should ever be done. For he died in France in Exile, some Years after Philip the 2d's Death; and miserably Poor, tho' it was said that he had receiv'd great Sums of Money from the Princess Eboli, having nothing that was visible left, besides a vanity, which his troubles had not been able to mortify in D d him,
him, and which had rendered him unacceptable, both to Queen Elizabeth, and to Henry the 4th, by both which wife Princes he had been at first kindly entertain'd. For at the Peace of Vervin, Henry the 4th insisted so on having him pardon'd; that he had been in all probability, had not the Spaniards alleged, that having fled from the Inquisition the King could not pardon him; nor if he return'd to Spain again, hinder that Court from taking him up. And thus the Inquisition, which at first had been made use of merely upon a feign'd Pretext, to have kept him from going out of Spain, (for he lived and died a Papist,) was now made use of to hinder him from having a Pardon, and from having his Wife, Children and Estate restor'd to him, which was all that he desir'd: For if all the Princes in Europe would have been his Guarantees, he would not, upon any Articles, have ventur'd himself into Spain any more. In several of his Letters, he speaks of Henry the 4th's having promis'd him not to restore the Duke D'Aumale at the Instance of Spain, untill his Wife, Children and Estate were restor'd to him; and of that King's having persist'd in that Resolution, untill this difficulty concerning the Inquisition was started by the Spaniards. For tho' that Prince, nor no true Frenchman, ever had any Kindness for that Court, yet he
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he being a new and suspected Convert, might not think it convenient to insist on a thing, which he knew would very much irritate that implacable Office, and all its Familiars; who would certainly have proclaimed it, as a Testimony of his being still a Protestant in his Heart: And of that, without his having given them this Evidence of it, they were so fully persuaded; that they were never at Ease, before the Jesuits, by Ravillac, their villainous Disciple’s means, had got that great Prince’s Heart in their keeping, at La Fleche.

Besides Antonio Perez, Don Martin de la Nuca, and Gil de Mefa, and some more Aragonese Gentlemen, who had been driven by the Castilian Army into France, died in that Kingdom; being afraid, tho’ they were restor’d by the Peace of Vervin, to return to their own Country, now that it had lost all its Rights, and where they knew it would be easy for the Inquisition, after their having liv’d in a Country where there were Hereticks, on some Pretence or other, to defeat their indemnity to all Intents and Purposes.
An Excerpt from the Spanish Historys, relating to Antonio Perez and his Troubles.

The Spaniard by whom Mariana's History is continued, on the Year 1591 writes as followeth.

Antonio Perez, who had been the King's Secretary and who had much Power in the Court, after having been twelve years a Prisoner, made his Escape in April in the foregoing Year, out of the Prison of Madrid, and fled into Arragon, to present himself before the Justiza of Arragon; to give an Account how he had caus'd Escovedo to be kill'd as he went from the Palace, and of some other Matters which had been laid to his Charge.

The Joy with which some unquiet Spirits received the News of his being come among them, was quickly turn'd into Lamentations and Tears; such is the Condition of human Affairs, and which was thus. On the 24th of May in this Year 1591, Antonio Perez having been taken out of the Prison of the
the Justiza and carried to the Prisons of the Inquisitors, the People took up Arms, and proclaim'd Liberty, and who having fallen upon the House of Don Inigo de Mendoza Marquis de Almanera, who was the King's Minister, they kill'd him before they left him; and having after that gone with the same Fury to the Inquisition, with an Intention to have broke open its Prisons, they did not desist, untill they had Antonio Perez brought out, and carried back again to his former Prison.

The Issue of which was, the People rose again on the 24th of September, upon the Inquisitors having come to the Manifestation to carry Antonio Perez a second Time to their Prisons; and having broken into the Prison of the Manifestation, they set Antonio Perez at Liberty, and in this Revolt several were killed and wounded. Antonio Perez fled soon after into France, where some Years after he died.

Alphonso Sanchez in his History of Spain, on the same Year writes as followeth.

"The Commotions in Arragon do follow: The Origin of which was Antonio Perez, the King's Secretary, having fled to the Rights of Arragon: The Populace, whose Strength useth to be formi-

dable,
dable, having taken up Arms to defend their Rights and Liberty, did raise great Commotions, and in defending Antonio they broke open Prisons, and killed Inigo de Mendoza Marquis of Almanera; and having by that provoked the King's Wrath and Severity against them, Alonfo de Vargas an experienced Commander was sent into Arragon with an Army, by whom the Guilty having been punished, the Commotions were quieted; and for the future they were chastiz'd, by having their Tribune of the People, or, as they called him, their justiza, publickly put to Death.

In these Accounts, the Reader may observe; that tho' they were both printed in Spain, there is not the least Intimation of the King's having been unjustly charg'd by Antonio Perez with Escovedo's Death.

FINIS.
AN APPENDIX TO THE DISSERTATION ON THE Papal Supremacy, &c.

Having said in that Dissertation, that Pope Gregory the Great's double Dealing in the Affair of the Ecclesiastical Supremacy; and his Letters, first to the Emperor Mauritius, and afterwards to the Parricide Phocas, by whom that Emperor and his Sons were barbarously murdered; were enough to lessen the high Opinion which many have of that Pope's Saintship; that I may not be thought by any, who have not those Letters at Hand, to have bolted this out rashly against him, I have here set those Letters down, that the Reader may judge from them as he shall find Cause.

D d 4 Gregory
HE is guilty before Almighty God, who is not pure in all he doth and faith to the most Serene Lords: I, the unworthy Servant of your Piety, in this Suggestion do speak, neither as a Bishop, nor as a Servant, by right of the Republick, but as a private Person; because, most Serene Lord, you were my Lord before you were Lord of all. The most illustrious Person Longinus being come, I receiv’d the Lords Law; and to which, being at that Time Sick and Weak, I was not able to return an Answer: In which Law the Piety of the Lords does Establish, That none engag’d in the publick Administrations, shall take upon them an Ecclesiastical Office: This I did highly commend, knowing evidently, that whoever leaves the Secular Habit, and makes haste to get into Ecclesiastical Offices, does change, but does not forfake the World: But it being said in the same Law, That it shall not be lawful for him to retire to a Monastery, at this, I did wonder very much; seeing his Accounts may be made up there; and it may be so order’d, that his Debts shall be paid by the Place which hath receiv’d him: For if any do retire to a Monastery, with
a devout Mind, he must first restore the things which he hath taken unjustly; and which he will do with the more Expeditious, the more seriously he thinks of his Soul. Its being also subjoyn'd to that Law, That none that are sign'd in the Hand may retire to Monasteries, is, I do own to my Lords, a Constitution that terrifies me vehemently; the Way to Heaven, to many, being shut by it; and that which hath been hitherto lawful, is now forbidden: For as there are many who can lead a religious Life in a secular Habit, so there be many likewise, who, if they do not leave all, cannot be saved: And tho' I, who do speak these things to my Lords, Am but Dust, and a Worm; yet, believing this Constitution to be contrary to God, the Author of all things, I cannot be silent before the Lords: For to this End, a Power over all Men was given from Heaven, to the Piety of my Lords; that they who desire that which is good should be assisted, and that the Way to Heaven should be wider, and that the Earthly Kingdom should serve the Heavenly: And yet, behold, it is said with a loud Voice, That it shall not be lawful for any that are lifted in the Earthly Militia, until they have serv'd their time out in it, or are disabled by Bodily Infirmities, to fight under Christ
An Appendix to the Dissertation

Christ: To these things, behold, Christ will answer by me his, and your lowest Servant, saying, From a Notarius, I made you Comes Excubitorum; and from Comes Excubitorum, I made you Caesar; and from Caesar, I made you Emperor; and not so only, but the Father of Emperors: I have committed my Priests into your Hands, and do you withdraw your Soldiers from my Service? Most Pious Lord, I beseech you, let your Servant know what Answer you will return to your Lord in Judgment, when he shall come and say these things. But perhaps it is believ'd, that none that do retire thus to Monasteries, do it with a good Intention; but I, your unworthy Servant, in my own Days have known many Soldiers work Signs and Miracles in Monasteries; and yet by this Law all such are forbid to go into them. I beseech my Lord to enquire whether any former Emperor did ever make such a Law, and after that, to consider this more strictly; and in truth it ought to be well consider'd, since People, at the time when the End of the World is near, are forbid by it to leave the World: For behold, it will not be long before the Heavens and the Earth being on Fire, and Elements all in Flames, the Tremendous Judge will appear with Angels and Archangels, with Thrones and Dominions,
on the Papal Supremacy.

with Principalities and Powers; and, if he should forgive all Sins, and should only insist on this Law's having been made against him, what, I beseech you, can be offer'd in excuse? I do therefore by the tremendous Judge, deprecate; that so many Tears, so many Prayers, so many Alms-Deeds, and so many Fasts, may not on any Occasion be fulfilled before the Eyes of Almighty God: But that your Piety will, by either tempering or changing the said Law, abate its Rigour: For the Armies of Lords do encrease against their Enemies, as God's Army in Prayer encreaseth: However, being subject to Command, I have sent that Law over many Parts of the Earth; and since the said Law is not agreeable to Almighty God, behold, I have by this Paper communicated my Suggestion to the most Serene Lords; and so have on both sides perform'd what was incumbent on me, by having yielded Obedience to the Emperor, and by not having been silent in what I thought concern'd God.

How strangely is the Bishop of Rome's Stile alter'd from what it was when this Letter was written? which shews plainly that about the Year Six hundred the Bishop of Rome was not less subject to the Emperor, than the Archbishop of Canterbury is at this
this time to the Queen of England: And tho' in this Letter Pope Gregory was much dissatisfy'd with the Law the Emperor Mauritius had made; yet all thro' it, he expresseth a very great Veneration and Love for Mauritius, whose Servant he faith he had been, before he was rais'd to be Emperor: He does also extol Mauritius for his Piety and many good Deeds, praying that they may not be fullied in the Sight of God by this Law, with which tho' he was much dissatisfy'd, yet in Obedience to the Emperor's Command it was sent by him to all Parts: And which, believing that Law to be sinful, as Gregory did, who faith expressly that it was contrary to Christ, and did stop the Way to Heaven to many; he, nor no other Bishop, being so perswaded, ought to have publish'd: Neither is Gregory's having afterwards sent a private Suggestion against that Law to the Emperor, sufficient to excuse his having publish'd it in contradiction to his Conscience. And as this action shews Gregory to have been one of a very complaisant Conscience; so this whole Letter does plainly shew how much subject to the Emperor Gregory did reckon the Bishop of Rome to be: For, should the present Roman Emperor but make such a Law, and send it to the Pope, commanding him to publish it in Italy; what a Hurricane would it raise there?
and the Emperor instead of being told by that Bishop, that he was his Majesty's unworthy Servant, and but as Dust and a Worm before him; and that tho' he judged that to be an ill Law, he had nevertheless, in Obedience to his Command publish'd it, would infallibly hear from him, of the Bishop of Rome's being Christ's Vicar upon Earth, highly exalted above all Emperors and Kings; and, if he did not immediately revoke that Law, that Prelate would tell him, that he would deprive him of his Imperial Dignity: So little is Gregory's Example, tho' he was the last Pope that was reckoned a Saint, regarded by his Successors; by whom, or their Agents, on purpose to teach Gregory to speak in a Dialect more agreeable to their own, several Writings have been forg'd under that Pope's Name, and particularly that Charter which Gregory is said to have granted to the Monastery of St. Menard; in which Charter, he does by his own Authority deprive all Kings of their Crowns, that shall any ways disturb the Monks of that Convent: Not that Gregory had not two Faces, a humble, and a proud; and which he did change as he saw Occasion.

Gregorius Mauritio Augusto.

TH E Piety of Emperors, which does use to extend itself mercifully to their Servants, did shine so in this benign Relief,
An Appendix to the Dissertation

Relief, that the Poverty of all the Infirm is reliev’d by the consolation of its greatness; and for which Cause we do all with Tears and Prayers beg, that Almighty God, who touched your Clemency’s Heart to do this thing, would preserve your’s, and your Son’s Empire, safe in the constancy of his Love; and would, with the Assistance of his Majesty, extend your Victories over all Nations. The thirty Pound of Gold which was brought hither by my fellow Servant Busa, was faithfully distributed by Scribo amongst the Priests, the Poor, and others, and some Nuns, after they had been Captives, having fled from divers Provinces into this City; as many of them as this Place could receive, were dispos’d of in Monasteries; and among those for whom there was no Room, and did live alone poorly, the overplus of that which was given to the Blind and to the Lame and to other infirm People, was distributed: So that not only the poor Natives, but Strangers also who have come hither, have partaked of the Bounty of the Emperors: And who do all therefore pray unanimously together for the Lives of the Emperors; and that Almighty God would grant you long and quiet Times, and that your Piety’s most happy Offspring may long flourish in the Roman Common-Wealth: The Sol-
diers Gowns were likewise made so by
the forenam'd my fellow Servant Scribo,
in the Presence of the glorious Rafeo, that
all that are under a due Discipline, did
with Thanks receive the Gifts of the Em-
derors, to the averting of that murmuring
which did formerly use to reign.

By this Letter in which Gregory extols
the Emperor Mauritius so much for his Pie-
ty and great Charity, and does with Tears
pray to God for his, and his Son's long Life,
and Posterity in the Empire; one might
well have expected, that the villainous Mur-
derer of those Princes by their Servant Phocas,
must have been a terrible Blow to Gregory,
their old Servant, as he calls himself, and
their well-wisher, and who had shed so
many Tears in Prayers for their Prosperity;
and so it would certainly, had those Pro-
feffions of Gregory's been sincere: But so
far was this Saint of a Pope, from being
afflicted with the News of the barbarous
and unnatural Murders of those Princes, for
whom he had pretended to have so tender
an Affection, that, on the contrary, he tri-
umph'd in them, and immediately made his
Court to their villainous Murderer Phocas,
in a Strain much fitter for a Hugh Peters,
than for a Saint: For, when the Picture of
Phocas and of his Wife Leontia came to
Rome,
Rome, Gregory order'd it with great solemnity to be set up in the Oratory of St. Caesarius, in the Imperial Palace; as appears from the following inscription.

In the Name of our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ, by the sixth Indiction, on the Twenty third Day of the Month of November, in the Times of the Lord and most blessed Pope Gregory; Phocas with Leontia Augusta, was crowned, in the seventh Palace, which is called Secundianas: And Mauritius the Emperor, was slain with all his Sons, who were Theodofius, who was crowned, Tiberius, Petrus, Paulus, and Justinianus, together with Petrus the Brother of the above-written Mauritius Augustus; as were also several of the Nobles who adhered to him, to wit Constantinus a Patrician, and Curator de Placidiis; as also Georgius the Prince Notarius: The Picture of the above-written Phocas, and Leontia, Augustus's, came to Rome on the seventh of the Calends of May; and who were proclaimed in the Latern, and in the Basilica of Julius, by all the Clergy and Senate, saying, Hear, O Christ! Life to Phocas Augustus, and to Leontia Augusta. The most blessed Lord and Apostolical Pope Gregory, did command that Picture to
on the Papal Supremacy.

to be set up in the Oratory of St. Cæsarius the Martyr, within the Palace.

Now, to what End did Gregory, in the Honours he was here doing to Phocas, mention the Emperor Mauritius, and his five Sons, and others being slain; unless he reckoned those Villanies to be Phocas's Trophies; and which if he did, he does not only not deserve the Title of Saint, but no Title is bad enough to give him in the room of it. But let that be as it will, Gregory's congratulating of Phocas as he does in the following Letter, upon his coming to the Empire; is enough to turn the Hearts of all against that Pope, that have any thing of Conscience or Honour unsuppressed in them by Superstition.

Gregorius Phocæ Augusto.

Glory be to God in the highest, who, according as it is written, changeth the Times and transfers Kingdoms; that also is manifest to all, which he has condescended to speak by his Prophet, saying, The highest ruleth in the Kingdom of Men, and he giveth it to whom he pleaseth: the Regiments of mortal Life are in the incomprehensible Dispensation of Almighty God; and so when the Sins of many that are Righteous, are to be smitten, one is exalted by whose hardness the Necks of the Subjects are depressed with the Yoke of Tribulation; and which we, in our Affliction have long experienced: At another time again, when the merciful God has decreed to comfort the Hearts of many Mourners with his Consolation, he raiseth one to the Top
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Top of the Empire, thro' the Bowels of whose Mercy, he pours the Grace of his Rejoycings into the Minds of all; With the abundance of which Joys we the sooner believed we should be strengthened, because we rejoyc'd so upon the Benignity of your Piety being rais'd to the Empire. Let the Heavans rejoice, and let the Earth be glad upon your gracious Deeds, and let all the People of the Commonwealth, who hitherto have been so grievously afflicted, triumph: May the proud Minds of Enemies be depressed, by the Yoke of your Domination; and the contrite and distressed Minds of Subjects be raised by your Mercy: May the Virtue of the Heavenly Grace make you terrible to the Enemies, and Piety make you benign to the Subjects: May the whole Commonwealth be in Peace in your most happy Times, and may the Prey of Peace under the Pretence of Actions be removed. Let the Snares of Testaments, and the Free Gifts violently exacted, cease; and let the secure Possession of their Goods return to all; that so they may rejoice in the Enjoyment of those Goods without Fear, which they have acquird without Fraud: And let every one's Liberty be restored under the Yoke of your Pious Empire: For the difference which is betwixt the Kings of the Nations, and the Emperors of the Commonwealth, is, that the Kings of the Nations are Lords of Slaves, but the Emperors of the Republick are Lords of Free Men: But we can express this by Praising better than by Suggesting. May Almighty God therefore by his Grace bold your Piety's Heart in his Hand, in every Thought and Deed; and may the holy Spirit, by dwelling in your Heart, dispose it to do every thing that is just and Merciful; that so your Clemency after a long Reign on Earth, may attain the Heavenly Kingdoms.
It was by Gregory's, and his Successor Boniface's saying nothing of Repentance to Phocas, and making their Court in this vile and impious Manner, that they got that Patricide and Usurper to establish the Supremacy of the Bishop of Rome; Phocas hoping thereby to have engag'd that Bishop in his own and in his Family's Interests in the Roman Empire. Now after all this, I can see no Grounds for this Gregory's being commonly said, to be, The last good Pope, and the first bad Pope, unless it be from his doublings having given him a double Character: Pride and Humility having, thro' his whole Conduct, taken their Turns in him, as he judged to be most convenient for the advancing of his See: And as to his Disloyalty, Diffimulation, Ingratitude, &c. the foregoing Letters do shew how great they were: And it had been happy for our Island if the Saxons had been converted to Christianity by the British Clergy, and not by this Pope and his Disciples; since, if they had, it is likely Britain might never have come under the Papal Supremacy; under whose Bondage she having groan'd for many Ages, was, thro' God's great Mercy to her, at last happily deliver'd out of it.

Baronius having been compelled, by their being so palpably Spurious, to acknowledge the Decretal Epistles to be late and counterfeit Writings; that the Church of Rome, whose
Interests were continually in that Cardinal’s Eye, might not suffer by its being known, that she had for several Ages, and for great Purposes, made use of those forged Deeds; he roundly deny’d their Authority ever to have been made use of by the Popes, to prove or advance their own: Which is so far from being true, that the Popes knowing those Epistles to be the only Evidences they had of their Supremacy’s having been from the beginning, they contended vehemently to impose them on the World, as the Genuine Writings of the ancient Bishops of Rome, under whose Names they were published. And so successful were the Popes in that matter, that thro’ many unlearned Ages, none doubted of those Epistles being Genuine: Neither indeed did any thing contribute so much to the belief of the Papal Supremacy having been always in the Church, and to the introducing of that Supremacy into the Countreys which were not Subject to the Roman Empire, at the time when that Supremacy was established in it by the Emperor Phocas, as those Epistles having been universally believed to be the Genuine Writings of the ancient Bishops of Rome whose Names are before them. And to let the World see how little regard Baronius’s Word deserves, in any matter where the Authority of the Bishop of Rome is concerned, I shall here give an early Instance of the Popes hav-
ving made use of those forged Deeds, to prove and establish a great branch of their Supremacy.

Hincmarus, Archbishop of Rheims, and other French Bishops, having, in the Ninth Century, by their own Authority, without taking any notice of the Pope, deposed Rothaldus Bishop of Soifon, and that Bishop having appealed to Rome; the Pope, who at that time was Nicholas the Eighth, to encourage such Appeals, declar'd that Sentence to be void, for having been pass'd without his consent or knowledge: Hincmarus and the other French Bishops deny'd the Bishop of Rome to have any such Authority over the French Church, and rejected the Decretal Epistles, which had not then been long in France, as Writings lately counterfeited, upon the Pope and his Agents having made use of those Epistles to prove that such an Authority over all Churches was from the beginning lodged in the See of Rome: Pope Nicholas finding his best, if not only Evidences, flighted thus as counterfeit Writings, he did with all his might set himself to prove those Epistles to be Genuine: I shall here set down that Pope's own Words to that purpose, as they lye in a Letter which he writ on this occasion to the Archbishops and Bishops of France in the Year 865.

'God forbid, faith Pope Nicholas in that Letter, that any who do persevere in the
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Catholick Faith to the last day of their Lives, should not, with great discretion, and a due veneration, embrace the *Decretal Constitutions*, and all the Writings which do set forth the Ecclesiastical Discipline; and which Writings having been antiently conserved, and as they are still in the Roman Church, in her Archives and old Monuments, they were sent by her to you to conserve: God forbid that we should any way slight the Writings of those, who with their Rosy Blood, or dewy Sweats, or Discourses, have, we see, thro' God's Grace, adorned the Church: For, if by their Decrees the Works of all other Writings are approved or rejected; so that whatever the Apostolical See approved of, is at this Day receiv'd, and what that See has rejected is ineffectual; how much more then ought the Works which that See it self has written, at divers Times for the Catholick Faith, and for the repelling of profane Doctrines, in various and manifold Necessities, to be preferr'd with all Honour; and to be, on all Occasions and Dispensations, reverently receiv'd by all with Discretion?

For even some of you, who have writ, that those Decretals of the ancient Popes are not in all the Body of the Code of the Canons; have, notwithstanding, made use of those Writings when they made
for their purpose; but do now reject them, only for to diminish the Power of the Apostolical See, and for to augment their own Priviledges: For we have some of their Writings by us, in which, in their own Causes, they do reverence not only the Decrees of all the Roman Pontiffs, but also those of their own Predecessors; but it is otherwise with them, when we do not cease to oppose their Minds, and do support the Priviledges which are proved to have been, and still to be profitable, and which will always be so to the universal Church: For it is fit that where the building of the whole Fabrick stands, there should be in all things a firm and strong Foundation: And if the Decretal Epiftles of the ancient Roman Pontiffs are not to be receiv'd because they are not found in the Code of the Canons; for the same Reason, no Institute nor Writing of St. Gregory, or of any other before or after him, ought to be received, seeing they are not in that Code: Let such therefore tear those Doctrines and Sanctions out of their Books, for to what purpose should they find a Place in their Parchments, if they do not receive them: But why do we dwell on this, since, by the same Rule, we must not receive the divine Scriptures, which are not neither in the Code of the Ecclesiastical Canons.

Unless
Unless false Logick, or Canting, is able to legitimate Spurious Writings, the Decretal Epistles gain'd but little Credit by what is offered here in their Defence by Pope Nicholas: And if there be not an undeniable Proof, of what is universally believ'd, of the Decretal Epistles having been all forged in Spain; what is said here by Pope Nicholas, of their having been sent into France from Rome, in whose Archives they had been long sacredly conserved, may raise a Suspicion, of Rome's; for whose Sake those Epistles were counterfeited, having been the Place of their Nativity; and from whence, they might have first been sent into Spain, and might have crept out of Spain into France, before they were sent thither immediately by the Pope: But this I do offer only as a Conjecture. And as to the Canons of the Council of Sardica, of which the Bishop of Rome, and particularly this Pope Nicholas, did likewise make great use, to introduce and establish the Supremacy of their See; if those Canons were ranked with the Decretal Epistles, they would not perhaps have much Wrong done them: And would any Ecclesiastical Antiquary write a full and accurate History of those Canons, he would very much oblige the Protestant World by it; for tho' much has been written upon them, I do not take that Subject to be exhausted.
ERRATA.
