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Political Considerations Upon Refin'd Politicks

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Chap. III. With what Precautions, and upon what Oassasions these Refin'd Politicks may be use of.

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are executed by their Ministers, making use of their Master's Authority to accomplish many things, either for their own private Interest, or that of the Publick, without letting the Prince know the first Springs and Motions, so we see the advancement of *Postell*, under *Francis* the first, was a Trick of State of the *Chancellor Poyet*, that the ill Character of *Bigot* the Philosopher given to the same King was another, done by *Castellan* Bishop of *Mascon*: And in our times, the Death of *Reboul*, the Imprisonment of the Abbot *du Bois*, and the giving of the Cardinal's Hat to Monsieur *d'Ossat*, were attributed to Monsieur *de Villeroy*, as *Perron's* Hat was to Monsieur *de Sully*, and the Execution of *Travail* to Monsieur *de Luynes*. But because more Divisions may be troublesome and superfluous, I shall content my self with these already set down, and proceed to the following Chapter.

C H A P. III.

With what Precantions, and upon what Occasions these Refin'd Politicks may be made use of.

I Come now to what is most essential as to this Discourse, and since discreet and good Physicians, never order violent and dange-

rous Remedies, without directing what Precautions are necessary to make them truly useful, so I think it proper to do upon this Occasion, and shall be the more willing, because these *Master Strokes of State* are like a Sword, that may be manag'd well or ill, as the Launce of *Telephus* that can kill or cure; or like *Diana at Ephesus* that had two Faces, one sad, the other pleasant; in short, like the Medals invented by the Hereticks, which represent the Devil and the Pope under the same Features and Lineaments, or the Pictures that shew Death and Life, according to the different sides that you stand to look upon them: Besides, none but a *Timon* would set up Gibbets to let Men hang themselves upon them; and for my own part, I have too much regard for Nature, and that Humanity which she prescribes us, to relate those Histories, on purpose that People might take ill Examples from them.

*Tam felix utinam quam pectore candidus
essem,*

Extat adhuc nemo saucius ore meo.

*Were I as happy, as my Breast is free
From Scandal, none e'er wounded were by me.*

Therefore being about to lay down the Rules which ought to be observed, that Honour, Justice, Profit and Decency may be preserv'd, I shall have recourse to those which *Charon* has given in his third Book, Chap. 2.
and

and I shall place that first which is upon the defensive, and not the offensive, to preserve, and not to make ones self great, but to fence off Surprize, Deceits and Villanies, rather than to commit them: The World is full of Artifice and Malice, *per fraudem & dolum regna evertuntur*, by Fraud and Treachery Kingdoms are subverted, says *Aristotle*; *Tu servari per eadem nefas esse vis*, and would you think it Wickedness to preserve them by the same Methods? says *Lipsius*. It is permitted to counterplot what is plotted against us, and to play the *Fox* with an Old *Reynard*: The Laws pardon such Faults as Force obliges us to commit, *Institutum est unicuique animali*, says *Salust*, *ut se vitamque tueatur*, Self-preservation is a natural Instinct, and according to *Tully*, (Book 3. of his Offices) *Communis Utilitatis derelictio contra naturam est*, It is against Nature to fly from our own Security: It is therefore sometimes necessary to let the Byass run more than usually to one side, to accommodate our selves to Times and Persons, to mix Honey with the Gall, for by the Application of a Caustick only, nothing is effected, but to leave a Rancour behind it.

The second is, That it be done out of Necessity, for the evident and important Good of the State or Prince for whom it is designed; it is a necessary and indispensable Obligation, it is always a Duty to procure the Publick Good, *semper officio fungitur*, (says *Cicero* in

the same place) *utilitati hominum consulens & Societati*, He is always doing his Duty, consulting for Society, and the Good of Mankind. This Law which is so common, and ought to be the principal Guide of all the Actions of Princes, *Salus Populi suprema Lex esto*, Let the Safety of the People be the Supreme Law, absolves them from abundance of little Circumstances and Formalities to which Justice would oblige them, so they are Masters of the Laws to extend or mitigate, to confirm or abolish them, not as it may seem good to themselves, but as Reason and the Publick Safety requires: The Honour of the Prince, the Love of the Country, and the Welfare of the People, are an equivalent for some little Faults and Injustices; to which, not with a design to prophane any Passage of the Scriptures, may be applied the Counsel of *Caiphas* the High-Priest to the *Jews*, *That it was expedient that one man should die for the People.*

The third is, rather to march slowly, than to drive furiously, seeing

Nulla unquam de morte Hominis cunctatio longa est.

In case of Death there's no Delay is long.
Claudian.

And that it be not made an Art or Trade, least the frequent use should be attended with some Injustice. Experience teaches us, that all such things as are wonderful and extraordinary

nary are not seen every Day, Comets don't appear but at the distance of some Ages, Monsters, Deluges, Eruptions of *Vesuvius*, and Earth-quakes happen rarely, and this uncommonness of the Appearance gives a Lustre and Beauty to abundance of things which suddenly lose it when they become too frequent.

*Vilia sunt nobis quaecunque prioribus annis
Vidimus; & sordet quicquid spectavimus
olim.*

The Thing we often see but vile appears,
And the Contempt increases with its Years.

I may add, that if a Prince keeps himself within these Bounds, he cannot well be blam'd, nor upon that account be reputed as a barbarous or perfidious Tyrant, since these Denominations are to be applyed only to such as have contracted an habit of those ill Qualities and Habits depend upon a great number of Actions often repeated, *Habitus est Actus multiplex repetitus*, as a Line is a Continuation of Points, and a Superficies a Multiplication of Lines.

The fourth Rule is, that choice be always made of such Methods as are most easie and gentle, and care be taken of that Maxim which *Claudian* gave to the Emperor *Honorius*,

— *Metii satiabere pœnis?*

Triste rigor nimius.

The Horror is too tragick for our Eyes,
What *Metius* has endur'd, let that suffice.

It belongs only to Tyrants to say, *Sentiat se mori*, Let him feel that he is dying, and to Devils to be pleas'd with the Torments of Mankind: There shou'd not be any Resemblance with the Horses at the Olympick Race, which can never be curb'd when once upon their Carreer, the proceeding must be by a Judge, and not a Party, by a Physician, and not a Hangman; like a Man reserv'd, prudent, wise and discreet, and not as one that is cholerick, revengeful, and given up to all sorts of violent and extraordinary Passions: This Virtue of Clemency teaches us that

*Quæ docet ut pœnis hominum vel sanguine
pasci
Turpe ferumque putes.*

None but a fierce and brutish Mind,
Feeds on the Blood and Torments of Mankind.

and is always more esteem'd than Rigour or Severity. The Club of *Hercules*, as the Poets say, was given him to vanquish Gyants, punish Tyrants, destroy Monsters, and yet it was made of an Olive Tree, as a Symbol of Peace and Tranquillity; it is possible to ease a great Tree that is dying, by lopping off some of the Branches, and letting Blood at a

season

seasonable time, often prevents extraordinary Diseases : In short, this is to imitate a good Surgeon, who begins with Operations, that may be easily supported ; and even the *Jews* gave certain Liquors to drink to condemn'd Persons, to take away the Sense and Pain of their Sufferings ; the Head of *Sejanus* might have satisfy'd *Tiberius* ; *Hannibal* might have made his Captives unserviceable, without killing them, and the sacking of *Rome* might have been less odious, if there had been more regard shewn to the Churches and their Priests, and the Marquis *d'Ancre* had not been less justly punish'd, though he had not been dragg'd along and torn to pieces. *Illos crudeles vocabo* (says *Seneca* in his third Book of Clemency) *qui puniendi causam habent, modum non habent* ; They may be call'd cruel who have reason to punish, but don't carry a Mien or Temper in the doing of it.

The fifth is, That to justifie these Actions, and diminish the blame that is generally cast upon them, when Princes find themselves reduc'd to the necessity of practising them, they should do it with Concern and Regret, as a Father that suffers the Limb of his Child to be cut off to save its Life, or as Persons draw a Tooth to gain some Rest, it is what the Poet does not forget in his Description of a good Prince ;

Sit

*Sit piger ad pœnas Princeps, ad præmia
velox.*

Quique dolet quoties cogitur esse ferox.

---He's slow to punish, eager to reward,
And grieves when forc'd to do a thing
that's hard.

therefore such sort of Operations ought to be retarded, rather than hasten'd too much, to be often revolv'd in the Mind, and all things are to be thought of to avoid them if possible, and should be done with the same Reluctancy, as a Man in a Tempest at Sea, would sacrifice all his Goods to the Fury of that Element.

It is not my Intention to conclude the number of these Rules, by any one that shou'd be thought to be the last that is worthy of Observation, for I do not judge it fitting to prescribe limits to Clemency and Humanity, let them extend their Bounds as far as they can, they shall always seem to me to be too much straitned. When there is no Fear that the Horse should stumble, we may give him the loose Rein, when the Wind is fair we may hoist all the Sails, Virtues can be endanger'd by nothing but contrary Vices, and whilst they are at a sufficient distance from them, there is no need to restrain them: It is very true that they have not so free a Carreer in the Subject we are treating of, as in several others, but this will be sufficient, that a Prince who cannot
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be altogether good, may be partly so; and he that for a superior Reason cannot be just, may not be altogether cruel, unjust, and wicked; but though we had only these five Rules and Precautions, in my Opinion these are sufficient to let any one that has the least Inclination to do good, see what is Reason, and though I had not set them down so distinctly, yet Discretion and his own Judgment, would not let a prudent Man be ignorant of them. Seeing

*Quid faciat, quid non homini Prudentia
monstrat.* (Palingenius.)

It is likewise my Intention, that all the Histories I have, or shall hereafter relate, may only so far pass for justifiable, as they may be found conformable to right Reason, when they are applied to these five Rules or to those of general Prudence.

But all the forementioned Maxims and Precautions serving only to render us only better instructed and disposed for the Execution of the Master Strokes of State; we now see in what Rencounters and upon what Occasions they are to be practis'd, *Charon* in *Book of Wisdom* (Book 3. c. 2.) without seeming to design it, proposes three or four, but it is briefly *a la Sfugita*, as the *Scythians* let fly their surest Arrows when they seem to be flying fastest. I shall extend them farther by Reasons and Examples and add several others which will serve as Heads or Titles

to which these that are found in Historians and other Authors may be referr'd.

Now upon these Occasions there is no doubt but they should be plac'd first tho' perhaps they may be the most unjust which happen upon the new Erection and Establishment, or the change of Principalities and Kingdoms: And first to speak of new Erections, if we consider the Beginning of all Monarchies we shall find they have had their Rise from such Inventions and by Deceits, by making Religion and Miracles march at the Head of a long Train of Barbarities and Cruelties, *Titus Livius* (Book 4. Decad. 1.) was the first that made this Remark: *Datur hæc Venia Antiquitati, ut miscendo Humana divinis, primordia urbium augustiora faciat*; We must give this Allowance to Antiquity that by mingling Divine things with humane we may render the Foundation of Cities more solemn; which hereafter we shall shew to be very true, but at present, we shall mention nothing but what is general and begin our Proof by the Establishments of the four first and greatest Monarchies of the World. The so much renowned *Semiramis*, who founded the Empire of the *Assyrians* took great Pains to persuade her People, that being expos'd in her Infancy, the Birds were so careful as to nourish her, and bring her Food in their Bills as they do to their young ones, and being desirous to confirm this Fable by the last Action of her Life, order'd that a Report should

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be spread, after her Decease, that she was turn'd into a Dove, and that she flew away with a great many other Birds, that came into her Chamber to attend her: She had likewise Resolution enough to counterfeit the changing of her Sex, and to represent the Person of her Son *Ninus*, and to imitate him in all his Actions, and the better to succeed in this Enterprize, she introduced a new sort of Habit amongst the People, which might most easily hide every thing that should discover her to be a Woman, *Brachia enim ac crura velamentis, caput Tiara tegit, & ne novo habitu aliquid occultare videretur eodem ornatu populum vestiri jubet, quem morem vestis exinde gens universa tenet*, For her Garments cover'd her Arms and Legs, and she had a Tiara upon her Head, and lest there might seem as if something was conceal'd under this new Habit, she commanded all her Subjects to wear the same, which Fashion has ever since continued in the Nation; and by this means, *primis initiis sexum mentita, puer credita est*, Having from the beginning disguised her Sex, she was thought to be a Boy, (*Justin Book 1.*) *Cyrus* who established the Monarchy of the *Persians*, would add to his Authority, by that Vine which his Grandfather *Astyages* saw springing, *Ex naturalibus filia cujus palmite omnis Asia obumbrabatur*, from his Daughter and overshadowing all *Asia*. And by the Dream he had that he should take Arms and chuse a Slave for

1731



for his Companion in all his Enterprises; besides this, he raised an opinion, that a Bitch had given him suck, in a Wood, where he had been exposed by *Harpagus*, till such time as a Shepherd finding him by chance carried him home to his Wife and bred him up carefully in his Cottage. As for *Alexander* and *Romulus* as their Designs had a farther Reach, so it was necessary to practise more prevailing Stratagems; for which reason, though they as well as the former, began by that of their Birth, yet they carried it as high as it was possible, from which *Sidonius* took occasion to say:

Magnus Alexander nec non Romanus habentur

Concepti serpente Deo.

The *Alexanders* both of Greece and Rome Were got by Gods in Serpents Shapes conceal'd.

As for *Alexander*, he made People believe that *Jupiter* was us'd to converse with his Mother *Olympias*, and that when he came into the World, the Goddess *Diana* was so diligent in her Assistance at his Mother's Labour, that she never thought of preserving her own Temple at *Ephesus*, which, in the mean time, was entirely consum'd, by an accidental Fire. That he might farther establish this Opinion of his Divinity amongst his Subjects, he so disposed the Priests of *Jupiter Ammon* in
Egypt

Egypt, ut ingredientem Templum statim, ut Ammonis filium salutarent, that they should instantly salute him as the Son of Ammon, (*Justin l. 11.*) And that he might the better act his part, *Rogat num omnes patris interfectores sit ultus, respondent patrem ejus nec posse interfici nec mori*, He asks whether he had reveng'd himself upon all his Father's Murthe-
 rers, they answered him that his Father could neither be murder'd or die: He soon after shew'd the Effects of this Contrivance; for he commanded *Parmenio* to destroy all the Temples and abolish all the Honours which the Eastern People render'd to *Jason*, *Ne cujusquam Nomen in Oriente Venerabilius quam Alexandri esset*, That there might be no name in the East, more venerable than that of *Alexander*. To this may be added, that when some Captives had discovered to him a Remedy against the poison'd Arrows of the *Indians*, before he made it publick, he told the People that it was reveal'd to him in a Dream. But this insatiable Ambition having carried him so far as to make himself ador'd, he found himself at last, by the Remonstrances of *Callisthenes*, the Obstinacy of the *Lacedemonians*, and the Wounds he received in the Wars, that all his management was not sufficient to confirm this new Apotheosis; and that there was need of more good Fortune to gain an inferior Place in Heaven than to conquer here below and Domineer over the whole World. If to these Histories we add that
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of the Death of his Father *Philip*, to which he and his Mother *Olympias* consented, as likewise that of *Clytus*, whom he slew, with his own Hand, because he had got too much Authority amongst the Soldiers, we shall find that *Alexander* practis'd that in Secret, which *Cesar* afterwards did more openly, *Si violandum est jus, regnandi causa*, If Law is to be violated, it is for the sake of Empire. As to *Romulus* he rais'd a Reputation by the Story of the God *Mars*, his having Conversation with his Mother *Rhea*, by that of the Wolf which nourished him, the Death of his Brother, the Asylum which he established at *Rome*, the Rape of the *Sabines*, the Murther of *Tatius* which he suffered to go unpunish'd, and lastly his Death, by drowning himself in the Marshes to make his People believe that his Body was taken up into Heaven, because it could not be found upon Earth. Now if to the Master Strokes of *Romulus*, we add those which *Numa Pompilius* practis'd by the Intervention of the Nymph *Egeria*, and the superstitious Rites that he instituted during his Reign, it will afterwards be easie to judge, by what means *Rome* came to its Grandeur.

— *Quibus auspiciis illa incluta Roma
Imperium terris, animos aquavit Olympo.*
Virgil.

Rome

Rome whose Ascending Tow'rs shall Heaven invade.

Involving Earth and Ocean in her Shade,
High as the Mother of the Gods in Place,

And proud, like her, of an Immortal Race.

Mr. Dryden.

It is likewise not improper to remark, that as the Monarchical Government could not be founded without so many Tricks and so much Cunning, yet there were as many necessary to cause its Ruin, when the *Tarquins* being driven from *Rome* for the Rape of *Lucrece*, the Monarchy was changed into a Republick. For we may first observe the dissembled Madness of *Junius Brutus*, his pretended Fall, the Execution of his two Sons, as well because they were Friends to the *Tarquins* and accus'd of having a Design of Bringing them back to the City, as because the Education they had received, during the Monarchy, was directly contrary to that he was going about to settle; and to finish all these Actions by a *Master Stroke* of State, and by a true *Arcanum Imperii*; He banish'd *Tarquinius Collatinus* from *Rome*, though he had been the Husband of *Lucretia*, his Colleague in the Consulship, and had contributed as much as he had done to the Expulsion of the *Tarquins*: for tho' he made it his Pretext that the name of the *Tarquins* was become so odious to the *Romans* that they could not bear it even in

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the Person of their Friends: Yet his principal Aim was not to let any one of those remain who had push'd Matters to the last Extremity, and that he might not divide the Glory of that Action with one whose Merit he had publickly confess'd, *Meminimus, fate-mur, ejecisti Reges, absolve beneficium tuum, aufer hinc regium nomen*, (Livy Book 2.) It must be confess'd we remember that you expell'd the Kings, complete your Benefit, and carry hence the very name of them.

And if we would examine all the other Monarchies and Estates, that are inferior to these four, we may find History enough of this kind to fill a large Volume, therefore it shall suffice for the last Proof of this Maxim to consider what *Mahomet* practis'd to establish his Religion, together with that Empire which is the greatest in the World at present. Indeed as all Persons of great Spirits have been careful to take advantage of the most signal Disgraces that have happen'd to them, so he likewise did the same, for perceiving himself very subject to the falling Sickness, he made his Friends believe that the most violent *Fits* of his *Epilepsy* were so many Extasies and Signs of the Spirit of God, that descended upon him, he perswaded them likewise that a white Pigeon, that he had taught to eat Corn out of his Ear, was the Angel *Gabriel*, who came from God to tell him what he was to do; after this he made use of one *Sergius* a Monk, to compose
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an *Alcoran*, which they feigned to be dictated by God himself, and at last he got a famous Astrologer to dispose the People by his Predictions, that a change should happen in the State, and a new Law should be given them by a great Prophet, to receive that more easily which he was about to publish: But one time perceiving that his Secretary *Abdala Bensalon*, against whom he had taken a Disgust, without any Reason, began to discover and talk of his Impostures, he cut his Throat in the night time, in his own house, and set Fire to the four corners of it, and the next day persuaded the People that this Fire was sent from Heaven as a Punishment to him for corrupting some Passages of the *Alcoran*. But this was not the last of his Contrivances, he had one *Master Piece* to finish withal; He persuaded one of his most faithful Domesticks to go down to the bottom of a Well, that was near the highway, and as he was passing by with a great Multitude following him, as there was usually, to cry out, *Mahomet is the beloved of God, Mahomet is the beloved of God*: This being done in the manner that was proposed, he immediately return'd Thanks to the divine Goodness for so signal a Testimony, and desir'd all the People that attended him immediately to fill up this Well and build a little Mosque upon it for the Memorial of such a Miracle. And by this Invention the poor Servant was soon knocked on the Head, and buried under



a Heap of Stones, that hinder'd him from
ever discovering this Miracle, But,

*Exceptit sed Terra sonum, calamique lo-
quaces,*

The Earth and whistling Reeds receiv'd
the Sound. *Petronius Epig.*

The second Occasion that there may be of
practising these subtle Contrivances, is the
Preservation or Reestablishment of States and
Principalities, when by some Misfortune, or
length of time, which diminishes and con-
sumes every thing, they begin to tend to
ruin and threaten a sudden Downfal unless
Care be taken to preserve them. And indeed
feeling all things desire their own Preserva-
tion, and are oblig'd, as much as 'tis possible,
to maintain the Principles of their Being and
their Safety; I am perswaded, that it is al-
lowed nay even necessary that that should
serve for their Support, which serv'd at first
for their Establishment: I may add that if the
Opinion of Ovid be true,

*Non minor est virtus quam quærere, parta
tueri,*

Casus inest illic, hic erit Artis opus.

'Tis no less Virtue to preserve than gain,
This is the Work of Chance but that of
Art.

it is reasonable to conclude that these refin'd Politicks may be more justly made use of for the Defence than the raising of a Monarchy; for before a State or Government was fram'd, there was no Necessity for the establishment of it, seeing such things have often proceeded from Chance, or been the effect of the Power or Ambition of some particular Person: But on the contrary, when it is once settled it ought afterwards to be maintain'd.

Now not to be like these Vagabonds or Gipsies

Quos aliena juvant propriis habitare molestum est,

Who have no Home but dwell at others
Costs.

It will not be improper, after having recounted these Examples, to turn over our own History, since it contains those which are as remarkable as the *Greek* or *Roman*. And indeed when I consider what was done by *Clovis* our first Christian King, I must confess that I never saw any thing that came up to it in all Antiquity; for the Country of the *Gauls* was then divided into four different Nations, of which the *Visigoth* possessed *Gascony*, the *Burgundian* was Master of the *Lionnois*, the *Roman* commanded in *Soissons* and the neighbouring Provinces, and the *Franks* who were then almost all Pagans,

govern'd the remainder : He was desirous to unite and bring together these four divided parts under his own Dominion, as *Æsculapius* did to the Limbs of *Hippolytus*. To accomplish this Design, perceiving that Paganism began insensibly to lose ground and become antiquated, after having gain'd the Battle of *Tolbiac* over a *German* Prince, he took the Resolution to become a Christian, and by that means please *Clotilda* the Queen, a great number of Prelates and all the common People of *France*. Upon which I may make this Remark, that although it would be more decent to attribute these first Motives of so considerable a Change to some holy Inspiration obtain'd by the Prayers of the good Queen *Clotilda*, and that I should interpret every thing that is doubtful in the best sense; yet in this place I may rank myself amongst the Politicians, who are the only People that have the Privilege of interpreting things otherwise, or at least of finding out some Craft or Stratagem in them, that there may always appear to be something in them that is refin'd, to quicken the Spirits of such Persons as they instruct, by the recital of such remarkable Actions, and passing a Judgment upon them as if they were true, though they are often founded upon Conjectures and Suspicions, which can in no wise be prejudicial to the Truth of History. Let us proceed therefore to speak of this Conversion of *Clovis*, according to the Sentiments

ments of *Pasquier* and some other Politicians: We shall say, that the sacred Oil and the Auriflamb or Banner, of which *Paulus Æmilius* makes no mention, were so many Contrivances of State to give Authority to the change of his Religion, which he would make use of as a powerful Machine to ruine all his little neighbouring Princes. And in truth he began with the *Romans* who had incurr'd the common Hatred of all foreign Nations, then he encounters the *Visigoths*, upon Pretence that they were *Arians*, and at last he fell upon the Princes *Regnacaire*, *Cacarie*, *Sigebert*, and his Son descendants of *Clodion*, who had taken Possession of some small scantlings of *France*, and caus'd them all to be treacherously assassinated, without any other pretext, than to avoid the Resentment they might one Day have of the Wrong *Meroveus* his Grandfather had done them. After this any one may judge (as I have hinted before) what reason Monsieur *Savaron* could have to endeavour to prove, that *Clovis* was a Saint. In my Opinion, the best proof which can be given us is to make him say, as a certain Poet did *Scipio*,

Si fas cadendo cœlestia scandere regna

Mi soli cœli maxima porta patent.

If we by Slaughter to the Heav'ns may fly
To me the largest Gate does open lie.



But as the Wisdom of Men is Foolishness with God, it happen'd that his Successors suffering themselves to be led by the Nose by the *Masters* of the *Palace*, the Kingdom at last, after the change of divers Hands, came to *Pepin* an off-set of the Family of *Clodion*, as *Pasquier* has shown it, and so contributed to the good of the true Line, and united the Kingdom of *France*, but could not long preserve it in his own Family or its Descendants.

France being so reunited by *Clovis*, and afterwards much augmented by *Charlemagne*, continu'd a long time in a flourishing Condition till the *English* made a War upon it, which they pursued so obstinately, that being almost become Masters of it, it was necessary under *Charles* the *Seventh*, to have recourse to some refin'd Stroke to drive them thence; which was to that of *Joan* the Maid of *Orleans*, which is confess'd to be such a piece of Policy by *Justus Lipsius* in his Politics, and some other Historians; but particularly by two of our own, that is, *Bellay Langey* in his Art of War, and *Haillot* in his History, not to mention several other less considerable Authors. Now this having succeeded so happily, and she being only burnt in Effigie, our Affairs began a little while after to grow worse, as well by means of the preceding Wars, as of those that follow'd. *France* was like unsound Bodies, full of ill Humours and Pthifick, that cannot breathe
but

but by Art, and are sustain'd only by the help of Remedies. For after that time she was not supported but by the Stratagems of *Lewis* the *Eleventh*, *Francis* the *First*, and *Charles* the *Ninth*, and others of our Princes, some of which shall be mention'd hereafter, as I find occasion.

The third Reason which may authorize these refin'd Politicks is, when the business is to lessen or abolish some Rights, Privileges, Franchises, and Exemptions which the Subjects enjoy to the Prejudice and Diminution of the Power of the Prince. So when *Charles* the *Fifth* would ruine the Right of Election, and secure the Empire in his own Family, he to that end made use of the Preaching of *Luther*, and gave him time enough to establish his Tenets, that so his Doctrine taking foot in *Germany*, a Division might spring up amongst the Electors, and that he might more easily ruine them, when it was a proper time to undertake it. It is what has been so judiciously remark'd by Monsieur *de Nevers*, in his Discourse printed in the Year 1590. upon the Posture of Affairs of State, dedicated to Pope *Sixtus* the *Fifth*, the Passage is this: "The pretence of Religion
 " (says he) is no new thing, and many great
 " Princes have made use of it to attain their
 " Ends. I shall only mention the War
 " which *Charles* the *Fifth* made against the
 " Protestant Princes, for he would never
 " have undertaken it if it had not been with
 " an

“ an intention to make the Imperial Crown
 “ become Hereditary to the House of *Austria*,
 “ therefore he attack’d the Electoral Princes
 “ to ruine and abolish this Election: For if
 “ Zeal for the Honour of God and the de-
 “ sire of maintaining the holy Catholick
 “ Religion, had been predominant in his
 “ Mind, he would never have staid from the
 “ Year 1519, when he was elected Emperor,
 “ till the Year 1549, before he took Arms,
 “ since the Herefy of *Luther*, which began
 “ to kindle in *Germany* about the Year 1526,
 “ might have then been easily extinguish’d
 “ without setting on Fire so great a part of
 “ *Europe*. But because he thought this No-
 “ velty might bring him greater Benefit than
 “ Damage, both in regard to the Pope and
 “ the Princes of *Germany*, because of the
 “ Division that would be occasion’d amongst
 “ them; not only between the secular Princes
 “ and the others, but even amongst the mean-
 “ est Laicks: he suffer’d it to increase till it
 “ produc’d the Effect that he had projected,
 “ and then he stirr’d up *Paul* the *Third* to
 “ make War against the Protestants, under
 “ the pretence of Religion; whereas it was
 “ in truth to extirpate them and make the
 “ Monarchy become Hereditary to his House.
 This was likewise taken notice of by *Fran-*
cis the *First*, in his *Apology* made in the Year
 1537. *The Emperor, under colour of Religi-*
on, strengthened by a Catholick League made
amongst the Catholicks, would oppose the o-
thers

thers and make way for his Monarchy. It was in truth a very great design, with a long reach, and contriv'd with much Judgment and Prudence. But *Philip the Second* made use of another that had a more quicker and more certain Effect, though it were in an Affair of less Consequence, which was only the abolishing the Privileges that had been enjoy'd by the Kingdom of *Arragon*, which were so advantageous, and so vigorously maintain'd by that People, that the Kings of *Spain* could not boast of an absolute Command over them. A fair occasion presented it self for that purpose, *Antonio Perez* his Secretary, and their Countryman, after having broke Prison in *Castile*, was retir'd into *Arragon* to secure his Life by the Privileges of that Country: *Philip* thought he had now a fair Pretence to get such a Thorn out of his Foot; wherefore having underhand concerted it with the *Jesuits*, that they should excite the People to take Arms and defend the Privileges and Liberties of their Country, he therefore assembles a great Army and seems as if he would encounter the *Arragonians*: In the mean time the *Jesuits* begin to play their part, and sing another Song, remonstrating to the People, that the King had Reason on his side, that his Forces were too weak to stand the hazard of any Engagement, after which there would be no hopes of Pardon. In short, they manag'd the matter so well, that Fear and Consternation fell upon

upon the *Arragonians*, their Army was dispers'd, every one was amaz'd, fled and hid himself. In the mean time the King's Army passes through the Country, enters the City of *Saragossa*, builds a Cittadel, demolishes the principal Houses; some were executed, others banish'd, and nothing omitted that might entirely ruine and subdue that Province, which is now more subject to the absolute Will of the King of *Spain* than any other. On the contrary, when some extraordinary Law is to be establish'd, some Regulation of Consequence to be made, or some severe Judgment to be pass'd, it is necessary to use the same Means, and to have recourse to these Maxims: And of this we have some Examples amongst the *Romans* and other wise Nations, that we have no longer any room to doubt of it. Could any thing be more cruel than to decimate a whole Legion for the Cowardice of some particular Soldiers? And yet this Custom was strictly observ'd amongst the *Romans*, to keep the Soldiers in their Duty by the Terror of such Punishments. And the same *Romans* to hinder the Attempts which Slaves might make upon their Masters, order'd that when such a Crime had been committed in a Family, all the Slaves that belong'd to it should be slain at their Master's Funeral: And this Law was so religiously observ'd, that *Pedanius* the chief Officer of the City being murder'd by one of his Slaves, there were four hundred

Execu-

Executed notwithstanding the Intercession that all the People of *Rome* made for them, and even against the Opinion of several of the Senators, who were so vigorously oppos'd by *Cassius*, and with such forceable Reasons, that he carried the Point, though it was thought to be against the Laws of Humanity, as it is related by *Tacitus* in the fourth Book of his Annals. This is likewise the Precept of *Cicero* (in his first Book of Offices) That *ita probanda est mansuetudo atque Clementia ut Reipublicæ causa abbibeatur severitas, sine quâ administrari Civitas non potest*, Good Nature and Clemency are to be approv'd of in such a degree, as that Severity may be made use of in the Necessities of the Commonwealth, for without that no City can be govern'd. The *Persians* had anciently this Law to secure the Life of their Prince, that whoever attempted it was not only punish'd in his own Person, but in those of his whole Kindred, who were put to Death in the same manner, as is particularly remarkable in the Story of *Bessus*. And *Ferdinando Pinto* says, he had been in a Kingdom where the same Custom was put in practise upon fifty or sixty Persons, that were akin to a young Page, who at the Age of ten or twelve Years had been so bold as to stab his Prince. The great *Tamerlane* understanding that a Soldier in his Army had drank a Quart of Milk and refus'd to pay for it, order'd his Belly to be rip'd up in the Presence

of



of all his Companions, that by so extraordinary an Example he might keep them in Obedience to his Commands. The Crimes of Coining false Money, and Heresy, were not more heinous a hundred Years ago than at present, and yet Coiners are now boil'd in Oil, and Hereticks burnt alive, for no other end but to strike Terror into the Minds of those People, who by the single Prohibition of their Prince, could not be kept within the Bounds of their Duty; *Et sic multorum salutem potius quam libidini consulendum*, And so the Safety of the Multitude is to be consulted rather than their Appetite, says *Salust.*

Another Occasion of remaining rigid in the execution of these Maxims, is, when it is necessary to ruine some Power, which being too great, numerous, or extensive, cannot easily be humbled by any other Methods.

———*Cum illam*

Defendant numerus, junctaque umbone Phalanges.

And though it was extremely to be wish'd that it might always be accomplish'd as easily as the Kings of *Spain* did that of banishing the *Moriscos* and *Marons* out of their Kingdoms, to the number of above two hundred and forty thousand Families, and that by virtue of a single Edict: Nevertheless, because all Affairs are not alike in their Circumstances, nor Diseases attended by the same Symptoms, so it is necessary to change the Medicines often,

to use some that are more violent than others.

*Ulcera possessis alte suffusa medullis,
Non levior manu, ferro curantur & igne;
Ad vivum penetrant flammæ, quo funditus
humor*

*Defluat, & vacuis corrupto sanguine venis
Arescat fons ille mali.* Claudian. 3. in
Eutrop.

When Ulcers through th' invenom'd Mar-
row flow,

'Tis no soft Hand, but unrelenting Blow,
With Steel and Fire that must the Cure
begin,

Then to the quick the subtle Flame breaks
in ;

Dries up the Spring of this corrupted
Blood,

And sends the Humours forth with an im-
petuous Flood.

The Slaughter which *Mithridates* made in one Day of forty thousand Roman Citizens, dispers'd in several Provinces of *Asia*, was one of those Strokes of Policy of which I am speaking ; so were likewise the *Sicilian Vespers*, authoriz'd by *Peter King of Aragon*, and subtly contriv'd by *Prochytus*, a great Lord of the Country, who under the Disguise of a *Cordelier*, form'd his Party so well, that upon *Easter-Day*, (or as some say *Pentecost*) in the Year 1282, when the Bell went
for

for *Vespers*, the *Sicilians* should massacre all the *French* that were in their Islands, without sparing so much as Women or Children; such a Story happen'd about twenty Years ago in the *Isle of Magna*, where the Inhabitants of the City of *Corma* deliver'd themselves after the same manner, and in one Night, from an Army of thirty thousand Men, that had been sent thither by *Arcomat*, General of the King of *Persia*. But since we have in our *French* History the Example of *St. Bartholomew*, which is more signal than any that is to be found in any other: Let us consider it in all its principal Circumstances, It was undertaken by Queen *Katherine de Medicis* provok'd by the Death of Captain Monsieur *Charry*, by Monsieur *de Guise*, who would revenge the Assassination of his Father committed by *Poltrou* at the Instigation of the Admiral and the Protestants, and by King *Charles*, and the Duke of *Anjou*, the first desiring a Satisfaction for the Retreat which the Protestants forc'd him to make sooner than he would have done, from *Meaux* to *Paris*, and both thinking to ruin the *Hugonots*, who had been the cause of all those Troubles and Massacres which had happen'd for the space of thirty or forty Years in that Kingdom. The Affair had been concerted for many Years, and with such a resolution to keep it secret, that *Lignerolles*, Gentleman to the Duke of *Anjou*, having signified to the King, though with the utmost Privacy that

he

he knew something of it, he was dispatch'd immediately in a Duel, that the King under-hand occasion'd him to be engag'd in. *Paris* was the place chose out to assemble, the People of the best Rank and Quality among the *Huguenots*; the reason for it was the Solemnity of the Marriage between *Henry* of *Navarre*, who was of that Religion, and Queen *Margaret*; the Wound given by the Duke of *Guise* to his old Enemy the Admiral, was the beginning of the Tragedy; the manner of executing it was by causing twelve hundred Carbineers, and the Companies of *Swiss* to march to *Paris*, was approv'd of by the Admiral, as believing it was to defend him against the House of *Lorraine*; in short, all was so well dispos'd, that nothing fail'd but in the Execution, in which, if they had proceeded with Rigour, it must have been confess'd that it had been the most daring Stroke, and carry'd on with the most refin'd Policy that had ever appear'd, either in *France* or any other places. As for my self, although *St. Bartholomew* be at present equally condemn'd by Protestants and Catholics, and though *Thuanus* has deliver'd his Father's Opinion and his own, by these Verses of *Statius*.

*Occidat illa dies ævo, neu postera credant
Sæcula, nos certe taceamus & obruta multa
Nocte, tegi propria patiamur crimina gentis.*

H

Let

Let that Day in Times Annals ever die,
Let us at least defend it from the Light,
And hide our Nation's Crimes in dead of
Night.

I shall not nevertheless fear to say, that it was a very just and very remarkable Action, and that the Cause was more than lawful, although the Effects were very dangerous and extraordinary: To me it seems base in the French Historians, to give up the Cause of *Charles* the Ninth, and not to shew the just Reason he had to rid himself of the Admiral and his Accomplices; his Accusation and Sentence were drawn up many Years ago, and afterwards translated into eight Languages; but then came out a second Censure of that Action, which explain'd the former, and shew'd that the Protestants had so often been declared guilty of High Treason, that there was great Cause to applaud these Proceedings, as the only Remedy for the Wars that have happen'd since that time, and perhaps will follow to the end of our Monarchy, if that Maxim of *Cardan* had been pursued, *Nunquam tentabis ut non perficias*, Never attempt, unless you go through with it. You should imitate expert Chirurgeons, who when the Vein is open, let the Blood run even till the Patient faints, to cleanse the Body of all its Humours: It is not sufficient to set out well, but the Course is to be continued, the Reward is at the Goal, and the
End

End regulates the Beginning ; however, it may be objected, that there are three Circumstances in this Action, which render it extremely odious to Posterity ; the first is, that the Proceeding was not according to the Form of Law ; the second, that there was too great an Effusion of Human Blood, and the last, that there were a great many innocent Persons involv'd in the same Fate with the guilty. I shall answer as to the first, that here it is necessary to understand what our Divines say, *De Fide Hæreticis servanda*, how Faith is to be kept with Hereticks ; and besides, I shall speak according to my own Opinion, that the *Hugonots* having often broke their Word with us, and having endeavour'd to seize King *Charles* at *Méaux* and other Places, we might render the same to them ; and besides, don't we read in *Plato's* fifth Book of his Republick, That they who command, that is to say, Sovereigns, may sometimes cheat and lie, when some extraordinary Benefits may arise from thence to their Subjects. Now could there happen any thing better to *France* than the total Ruin of the Protestants ; assuredly, had this Action been omitted, they would have ridicul'd us for the want of Judgment, and we should have been almost as much in Fault, as the Admiral was in coming with the Flower of his Party to be enclos'd in a populous City, that always bore him the utmost hatred, without distrusting the Queen Mother, whose Favourite *Charry* he had

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slain,

slain, or the Family of *Lorraine*, whose Father he had assassinated, nor the King himself, whom he had caused to gallop from *Meaux* to *Paris*. Did not he know that his Religion which was hated even by Persons of the most easie and condescending Temper, could not but be abominated and detested by those Fellows with which he was usually accompany'd; besides, what should hinder, but that the Report that was spread at the same time that they design'd to treat us after the same manner as they were us'd afterwards when their Intrigues were discover'd, might be true; most People think it was true, and for my own part I believe it may be depended upon; as to what concerns the Effusion of Blood, which is said to have been so prodigious, it did not equal that which was shed at *Coutras*, *St. Denys*, *Moncontour*, or in several other Slaughters that were made by the *Huguenots*. And whoever shall read in History, that the Inhabitants of *Cæsarea* slew fourscore thousand *Jews* in one Day, that a Million two hundred and forty thousand Persons perish'd in *Judea* in seven Years time; that *Cæsar* boasts in *Pliny*, that in his foreign Wars he had destroyed a Million a hundred and ninety two thousand Men, and *Pompey* many more in number; that *Quintus Fabius* sent a hundred thousand *Gauls* into the other World, *Caius Marius* two hundred thousand *Cimbers*, *Charles Martel* three hundred thousand *Theutons*, that two thousand Roman Knights,

Knights, and three hundred Senators, were sacrific'd to the Passion of the *Triumvirat*, four Legions entire to that of *Sylla*, forty thousand Romans to that of *Mithridates*; that *Sempronius Gracchus* ruin'd three hundred Cities in *Spain*, and the *Spaniards* all those in the New World, with more than seven or eight Millions of Inhabitants. I say, whoever will consider all these bloody Tragedies, most of which are to be read in *Justus Lipsius's* Book of *Constancy*, will find enough to astonish him amidst so many Barbarities, and likewise to make him think that this of *St. Bartholomew* was not one of the greatest, although it was one of the most just and necessary. The third difficulty seems very considerable, seeing a great number of Catholics were involv'd in the same Tempest, and seem'd to atone for the Death of their Enemies. But the Maxim of *Crassus* in the fourteenth Book of the *Annals of Tacitus*, may serve for an answer in few Words, *Habet aliquid ex iniquo omne magnum exemplum quod contra singulos utilitate publica rependitur*, Every great Example has something in it that is unjust, which as it relates to Particulars, is recompenc'd by the publick Benefit. Whence comes it then that so great an Action, seeing it was both lawful and reasonable, should nevertheless be so much blam'd and cry'd down; as for my self, I attribute the first Cause to have been because it was done by halves, for the *Hoguenots* who remain'd could not but

disapprove it, and the Catholicks who saw that it seem'd to no purpose, could not forbear saying, that the Enterprize might have been let alone, since they did not go through with it; whereas on the contrary, if all the Hereticks had been massacred, there would none remain at present, at least in *France*, to find fault with it, and the Catholicks likewise would have had no Cause to do it, considering the great Repose and Quiet it would have brought them. The second Reason is, that according to that of the Poet,

*Segnius irritant animos demissa per aures,
Quam quæ sunt oculis subiecta fidelibus.*

That the Mind is less affected by the Ear, than by that which the Eye is witness of. So we find that they do not speak of this Action in such ill Terms in *Italy*, and other Foreign Parts, as they do in *France*, where it was committed in the midst of *Paris*, and in the Presence of a Million of Persons; and therefore the *Polanders* who receiv'd a particular Narrative of the Fact, from Persons that were the most spiteful and malicious; when the Bishop of *Valence* solicited their Votes for *Henry* the Third, did not make any great difficulty in giving them; because they knew very well that no true Judgment could be made of the natural Temper of a Prince, from one extraordinary and violent Action, to which he had been forc'd by very just and powerful Reasons of State. I may add, that
this

this Fact is not very far beyond our own Memory, that the greatest part of our Histories have been made since that time by the *Huguenots*, and in short, that we have so large and particular a Description of it in the Memoirs of *Charles* the Ninth; the History of *Beza*, the *Martyrologies*, and several other Books compos'd by Protestants to condemn this Matter, that nothing is forgot to render it blameable and odious; so that it cannot happen otherwise, but that they who hear the Depositions of such corrupt Witnesses should be of their Opinion, although all Persons, who setting aside the little Circumstances can judge without Passion, will be of a contrary Opinion. Besides, no Person can deny but that there were so many factious Persons, and such as bore a Command in their Country, who were put to death upon that Day of *St. Bartholomew*, that from that time the *Huguenots* have not been able to raise Forces from amongst People of their own Persuasion, and that this Blow broke all their Correspondents, all their Cabals and Intrigues that they had both within and without the Kingdom, and indeed, that all their Efforts were inconsiderable, unless sustain'd by the Broils and Seditions of the Catholics. It is likewise true which some Politicians have remark'd, that the same Day was the cause of a Mischief that could not be expected; for all the Cities, who upon *St. Bartholomew's* Day perform'd the King's Orders and slew the



Huguenots, in hopes to procure Peace to the Kingdom, were the first that began the League upon the Account that they were afraid, and not without Reason, that the King of *Navarre*, who was a *Huguenot*, should upon his coming to the Crown, shew some Resentment of the Fact, and for this Cause it may be said, that the Design of *St. Bartholomew* not having been executed so fully as it should, did not only not appease the War, for which end it was undertaken, but rais'd another which was still more dangerous.

But to proceed, when there is occasion to give Authority to a Person, and to the Affair that he is concern'd, to raise the Reputation of a Prince, to gain, bring over or encourage an Undertaker in some important Design; I think for the more easie attaining of such Ends, the Stratagems and refin'd Policies of State may be made use of.

So we see that all the ancient Lawgivers, when they would establish, confirm and authorise the Laws, which they gave their People, thought they could not succeed better than by spreading it abroad with all Industry, and causing it to be believed that they had received them from some Divinity, *Zoroaster* from *Oromasis*, *Trismegistus* from *Mercury*, *Zamolxis* from *Vesta*, *Charondas* from *Saturn*, *Minos* from *Jupiter*, *Lycurgus* from *Apollo*, *Draco* and *Solon* from *Minerva*, *Numa* from the Nymph *Egeria*, *Mahomet* from the Angel *Gabriel*; But *Moses*, who was the most

most wise of all of them, has describ'd to us in the Book of *Exodus*, how he receiv'd his immediately from God himself. Upon this Consideration, although the Kingdom of the *Jews* be entirely ruin'd and abolish'd, *Mansit tamen* (says *Campanella* in his Political Aphorisms) *Religio Mosaica cum superstitione in Hebræis & Mahometanis, & cum reformatione præclarissima in Christianis*; Yet the Mosaical Religion remained with Superstition amongst the *Hebrews* and *Mahometans*, and with a most excellent Reformation amongst the Christians. And I take this to be the reason why *Cardan* counsels such Princes, as for the Obscurity of their Birth, Want of Money, Partisans or Military Forces, cannot govern their States with sufficient Splendor and Authority, to take the Support of Religion; As was heretofore done with extraordinary Success by *David*, *Numa* and *Vespasian*. *Philip* the second of *Spain*, being one of the wisest Princes of his Age, thought of a neat Contrivance to give his Son an early Authority amongst those People that he should one day govern: For he made an Edict, that was extremely prejudicial to his Subjects, and let the Rumour be spread from time to time that he would publish and enforce it, upon which the People began to murmur and complain; The King nevertheless persisted in his Resolution, which was likewise followed by the redoubled Complaints of the People; at last the Report comes to the Ears of the *Infant*,
who

who promises to assist the People, and by all means possible to hinder that this Edict should not be published, and to that Effect, he threatened all such as should endeavour to put it in Execution, and omitted nothing that might shew the Desire he had of delivering the People from that Oppression: So that *Philip* having plaid his Game, and speaking no more of the Edict, every one imagined that the Opposition made to it, by the young Prince, was the only Cause of its being suppress'd; and by this means his Father gain'd him an Empire in the Hearts and Affections of the *Spaniards*, which was more assur'd than that he had over the Kingdoms of both the *Spains*; *Longe enim valentior est amor ad obtinendum quod velis quam timor*, says *Pliny Junior* in his eighth Epistle, For Love is more prevalent in obtaining what you desire than Fear.

In short, if we consider the means that were us'd to convert *Henry* the fourth to the Catholick Religion, and to confirm him in it, we shall find a great deal of Conduct, Wit, and Industry throughout the whole Action. For though we ought to hold it for a certain Truth, as may appear by many Testimonies which he gave in his Life time, that it was real, yet if we give our selves the Liberty to consider it as Politicians, we may easily remark three things, to wit, the Motives of his Conversion, which were no other than the obstinate Resistance of *Monsieur du Main*, who upon this Occasion in the *Memoirs of Tavares*
is

is said to have been next under God the sole Author of the Conversion of Henry the fourth; for it is certain that had it not been for him, he might have made a very advantageous Treaty without the change of his Religion. One may likewise place amongst the Motives of this Conversion the Counsel given to the King by Monsieur de Sully, one of the principal and most sensible Hugonots in his Army: *That the Crown of France was well worth the Trouble of bearing one Mass.* As for what concerns the Circumstances of his Conversion, there were two very remarkable; the first was that the King had not a bigotted or superstitious Divine to instruct and catechise him, who might have made the Entrance of our Churches like to those Porticoes and Vestibles of which the Poet says,

*Centauri in furibus stabulant Scyllaque bi-
formes,*

There Monsters stand, Centaurs of double Form.

But by Rene Prénouft Doctor of Divinity and Curate of the Parish of St. Eustace, who, if one may judge by the common Report, and what happen'd at the point of his Death, was neither an over zealous Catholick, nor an obstinate Heretick; from whence it came to pass, that by a dextrous Management of the King's Conscience, after the same manner as he had done that of his Parishioners for the space of twenty

twenty five or thirty Years, he made him only comprehend the principal Myſteries without too large an Heap of the leſſer Ceremonies and Traditions; and ſo manag'd this Converſion, rather like a Man of Prudence and a Politician, than an over ſcrupulous and ſuperſtitious Divine. The ſecond thing remarkable was the Story of *Martha Broſſier* a Demoniack, which indeed was only a feign'd Contrivance ſet on foot by ſome zealous Catholicks ſupported by a Cardinal, that the Devil, by which ſhe was ſaid to be poſſeſs'd, coming to be driven out by Virtue of the Holy Sacrament, the King ſhould take occaſion to believe the real Preſence in the Eucharift, of which real Preſence or rather Tranſubſtantiation, they did not think he was entirely perſuaded. But the King who would not let himſelf be eaſily ſurpriz'd before he ſuffered them to come to Exorcifms, ordered Phyſitians and Surgeons to be call'd in to give their Advice and Opinion; which being conceiv'd in theſe Terms, as reported by *Monſieur Mareſcot* in a little Book that he has publiſh'd of this Story: *Naturalia multa, ficta Plurima, a Dæmone nulla*, That many of thoſe things proceeded from Nature, moſt from Contrivance, none from the Devil: The poor poſſeſt Creature after having diſcovered this Ignorance and Brutifhneſs of all the Bigots of *Paris*, was threatn'd to be whipt out of the Town if ſhe did not depart ſpeedily: Upon which a certain Abbot carried her to *Rome*,
from

from whence Cardinal *d'Offat* made her retire so suddenly, that she had not time to impose upon any one. The last thing remarkable in this Conversion is what followed afterwards, upon which a Politician who ought to profit and gather Instruction from the least Syllables and Hints given by Historians, may make Reflection upon the Answer of a Peasant to King *Henry*, that *the Pouch will always smell of the Herring*; when being incognito, he ask'd him what the People thought of the King's Conversion; as likewise that of the *Mareschal de Biron*, who being disgusted at the Refusal made him of the Government of *Bourg in Bresse*, said to one of his Friends, that if he had been a *Hugonot* it would not have been deny'd him: It is from *Cayer* (*Book 7. Hist.*) that I have these Remarks, which no one, except a Politician, would look upon as probable, since they are confuted by abundance of others that are directly opposite to them.

Lastly, The Law of Contraries, which ought to be treated of under the same general Head, obliges us to put into this rank the Occasions that may be presented of bounding or ruining the too great Power of a Person, that would abuse it to the Prejudice of the State, or by the great number of his Partisans, and the Cabals of his Correspondents has render'd himself formidable to his Sovereign, so as to dispatch him secretly, without passing through all the Formalities of a regular

gular Justice. It may be done, say the refin'd Politicians, provided that he is guilty and has deserv'd a publick Death, if it was possible to punish him after that manner. The reason upon which *Charron* turns this Maxim is, that in this there is nothing violated but the Form, and that the Prince being Master of these Formalities, he may dispense with them as he thinks it necessary. When any one amongst the *Romans*, would by force obtain an Office without the consent of the People, or gave the least suspicion of Aspiring to the Sovereignty, they punish'd him with Death, *Lege Valeria*, by the *Valerian Law*, that is to say, as soon as ever they could and without Form of Justice, which they thought not of till the Execution was over: The famous Lawyer *Ulpian* goes farther, when he says, that *Si forte Latro manifestus, vel seditio prærupta, factioque cruenta vel alia justa causa, moram non recipiunt non pœna festinatione, sed præveniendi periculi causa punire permittit, deinde scribere.* If a manifest Thief, or a Sedition broke forth, or a bloody Faction, or any other just Cause, do not admit of delay, it is permitted to punish, not to hasten the Punishment, but to prevent the danger, and afterwards to write, that is, to frame the Indictment, or the Formalities of the Accusation. Such were the Executions of *Parmenio* and *Philotas* by *Alexander*, of *Plautian* and *Sejanus* amongst the *Romans*, of *William Mason* in *Sicily*, of the *Messieurs de Guise*

Guise and the *Marshall d'Ancre*, under two of our Kings, and of the Collonel of the *Lansquenets* in *Pavia*, who was poisoned by *Antonio de Leva*, because he fomented Trouble and Sedition. Now although these Actions cannot be lawful, but by an extraordinary and absolute Necessity, and that it is Barbarity and Injustice to practise them often, yet the *Spaniards* have nevertheless found means to reconcile them to their Consciences, and to surmount many Difficulties in their Performance. For they appoint secret and private Judges for him that they look upon as a Criminal of State, they make out his Process, they condemn him, and afterwards seek all Methods possible to execute it. *Anthony Rincon* a *Spaniard*, and consequently a Subject of *Charles* the fifth, not being safe in his own Country, came to *Francis* the first, and was sent by him to treat of an Alliance with *Soliman*: The Emperor who foresaw the Damage that might come to him by this Embassy, caus'd *Rincon* and *Cæsar Fregosa*, his Colleague, to be kill'd as they pass'd down the *Po* to go to *Venice*, by the Contrivance of *Alfonso d'Avalos*, his Lieutenant in the *Milanese*: For which Action the Emperor was so far from thinking him culpable, that even one of our Bishops has pleaded for his Innocence, *Rinco Exul Hispanus & Francisci apud Solimannum legatione functus, non injuria fortasse Fregosus præter jus casus videbatur*, (*Belcar* l. 22.) *Rincon* a *Spanish* Exile and Envoy

Envoy from *Francis* to *Soliman*, seems not to have been unjustly slain, tho' the Death of *Fregosa* might be beyond the bounds of Justice.

Andrew Doria having quitted the Party of the King of *France* and taken to that of the Emperor, under whose Favour he held the City of *Genoa*, as a Vassal, *Lewis Fieschi*, a Citizen there undertakes, with the Assistance of *Henry* the Second, and *Peter Louis Farnese*, Duke of *Parma* and *Placentia*, to set the City at Liberty: he kills *Jannetin Doria* immediately, and is drowned by accident when the Enterprize was but just began: what does the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth! upon this incident, he decrees in his Cabinet Council that *Peter Louis* is guilty of High Treason, and at the same time sends orders to *Doria* to cause him to be assassinated, and to *Gonzaga*, Governor of *Milan*, to seize upon the City of *Placentia*, which was punctually executed according to the Project that was given him, and although the Emperor did all he could possibly to demonstrate, that he had no hand in this Execution, yet all Historians write the contrary, and the Distick mentioned by *Noel des Comptes*, shews sufficiently that it was believed to be so in those times,

*Cæsaris injussu cecidit Farnesius Heros,
Sed Data sunt jussu præmia scariis.*

Cæsar gave no command *Farnese* thou'd bleed,
But paid the Villains who perform'd the
Deed. I But

But to proceed: Was not the Cardinal *George of Hungary* sentenc'd after the same manner, and executed with more barbarity by *Ferdinand of Austria*, upon a suspicious Fear which he had conceiv'd, that the Cardinal would seek Assistance from the *Turk* to continue his Command in *Transylvania*? And have we not seen within these four Years, that *Walestein* was assassinated in *Egra* by the secret Management of the Count *D'Ognate*, who was then Embassador from the King of *Spain* to the Emperor? And that the Burgo-master *La Ruelle* was treated after the same sort in the Town of *Liege* by the Count *De Warfuzée*, pursuant to the Orders that had been given him by the Marquis *D'Aytône*, Commander of the Armies in the *Low-Countries*, with such precise Formalities that even those of making him die, *after Confession and Resignation to the Will of God*, were not omitted, to add the greater Strength to the Action, and to make it appear like a Criminal Sentence that had been lawfully given and executed. In short, this kind of Justice is so much in Fashion in the Houses of *Austria* and *Spain*, that even the Father would not exempt his own Son from it, when he judg'd it less expedient for the good of his Kingdom to let him live than die. *Cetera enim Maleficia tunc persequare cum facta sunt, hoc nisi provideris ne accidat ubi evenit, frustra judicia explores*, as *Cato* said very well in his Oration concerning *Cataline's* Conspiracy in

I

Salust,

Salust, You may prosecute other Crimes when they are perpetrated, but unless you prevent this before it happens, when it is once committed it will be in vain to seek for Judgment against the Actors of it. And it were to be wish'd that the great Emperor *Charles the Fifth*, who perform'd so many master Strokes of State, had not been short in that which he should have put in practice upon *Luther's* Person, when he appear'd at the Conference of *Ausbourg*! we should not now be forc'd to cry out with *Lucan*,

*Heu quantum Terræ potuit Pelagiq; parari,
Hoc quem civiles fuderunt sanguine dextra.*

What Countries might not have been subdued by the Expence of the Blood and Treasures which the Civil Wars have consum'd.

But not to speak of *Germany* and other foreign Countries, *Bodin* and divers Authors have shown, that since the first Tumults rais'd by the *Calvinists* till the Reign of *Henry the Fourth*, the pretended Reform'd, have given us five most cruel and bloody Battels, and have been the cause of the Death of above a Million of People; of the surprizal of three hundred Towns; of the Expence of a hundred and fifty Millions only for the payment of the Troops; and that nine Cities, four hundred Villages, twenty thousand Churches, two thousand Monasteries, and ten thousand Houses have been entirely burnt or ruin'd.

To

To which if one should add all that has happen'd in the last Wars with the present King, I am assur'd one might erect a spectacle of Horror capable of moving Compassion in the hardest Hearts, and drawing this Exclamation from Persons of the most reserv'd Expressions:

Tantum Religio potuit suadere malorum,

Religion to such Mischiefs can persuade.

Now seeing no Person as yet has made Reflection upon this History of *Luther*, I shall say in my Opinion, that they made three very false Steps when he began to publish his Heresies; the first was, in suffering him to pass from the Correction of Manners to that of Doctrine; seeing in that case, what is most common is always the best, and that to change any thing in it is dangerous and of little Profit, that it is not for a private Person to do it. And in short, that a Christian Kingdom well order'd ought never to receive any other Novelties in Religion, than such as the Popes and Councils have been accusom'd to introduce, from time to time, to accommodate them to the Necessities of the Church; which Church ought to be the only Rule of holy Scripture and our Faith, as the Councils are of the Church, and amongst the Councils that which was celebrated last ought to be preferr'd to all those which preceded it. The second was, that *Luther* be-

ing come to *Ausbourg* with a real design to Confer, and if possible, to agree with the Catholics, the Cardinal *Cajetan* ought to have accepted the Offers that he made, not to say or write any more in the matter they were treating of, provided reciprocally that they should impose Silence upon *Ecckius*, *Cockleus*, *Sylvester*, *Prierias*, and others of his Adversaries: And not to have press'd him to deny or recant in Publick all that he had said or preach'd to the People with so much Ardor and Vehemence. After which the third was, that they had not recourse to some Master-Piece of State, when they saw he began to champ upon the Bitt and grow resty at the indiscreet Zeal of the Legat. For they should have stopt his Mouth, his Tongue should have been softned with *Spread Eagles*, since *Oxen* and *Syrenes*, that have been often prevalent on such occasions, are no longer now in Fashion, that is to say, they ought to have gain'd him by some good Benefice or Pension, as they did afterwards by several learned and celebrated Ministers. *Ferrier* about thirty Years ago undertook an odd Enterprize of going to *Rome*, to maintain the Doctrine, that the Pope was Anti-christ; and yet the Queen-Mother had no great Trouble in making him quit his Party and come over to us. And Monsieur the Cardinal *de Richelieu* had never accomplish'd so many glorious Undertakings against the *Huguenots*, if he had not made use of the King's Revenues

nues to gain their greatest Generals. So true is that saying of *Horace*,

*Aurum per medios ire satellites
Et perrumpere amat saxa
Ictu fulmineo.* (Ode 16. 1. 3.)

Gold through Guards can go,
Walls with ease can overthrow
By the fierce Thunder of its Blow.

But if *Luther* could not have been managed by this means, they should have made use of another and secur'd his Person, as they did lately to the Abbot *du Bois*, and *Barnese* the *Benedictine*, or else have gone farther, and dispatch'd him secretly, as it is said *Katherine de Medicis* did a famous Magician; either publickly and by Form of Justice, as the Fathers of the Council of *Constance* did *John Hus* and *Jerom* of *Prague*: though to say true, the first Means were the most proper, since they were more moderate, easy, and private; and such as might more certainly produce the Effect that was aim'd at, which the last could not do, but might perhaps have exasperated the Duke of *Saxony*, and confirm'd the Followers of *Luther* in their false Opinions; for what was said of the ancient Christians, *Sanguis Martyrum est semen Christianorum*, The Blood of the Martyrs is the Seed of Christians; may be applied to all those who have once begun to maintain those Opinions which they persuade themselves to

be true. And in effect *Henry the Second* thinking by this sort of Punishment not only to stifle Herefy, but to prevent the occasions that foreign Princes might one Day take, of disturbing his Kingdom by the Means of the *Calvinists*, as he had perplex'd and embroil'd the Emperor, by assisting the *Lutherans* in *Germany*, was very much deceiv'd; for the number of Hereticks increas'd daily, so that they put the whole Kingdom in Confusion under *Charles the Ninth*: and *Henry the Third* being necessitated to make use of their Forces, so rais'd the Choler and indiscreet Zeal of *Jacobin*, that he despis'd the losing of his own Life, so he might take away that of his Prince. The learned Mathematician *Regiomontanus*, being sent for from *Germany* to *Rome*, to reform the Calendar, died there in the very height of his Labour; and if his Friends and the Hereticks may be believ'd, it was a piece of Policy of *Gregory the Thirteenth*, who had rather make use of his Goblet than see his Design, and the Work of the most expert Astronomers in *Italy* not only retarded, but entirely overthrown by the opposition of so learned a Person. But it is certain that the Death of *Regiomontanus* ought in no wise to blemish the Innocence of so good and generous a Pope, since it was rather a Crime committed by the Sons of *George Trapezuntius*, who being griev'd for their Father's Death, and thinking that *Regiomontanus* was the Cause of it, by having made too
severe

severe Remarks upon the Latin Translation of *Ptolomey's Almagest*, set forth by *Trapezuntius*, they resolv'd to be reveng'd of him and treated him rather after a *Greek* manner than a *Roman*. If the *Venetians* had been as innocent of the Death of *Lauredan*, one of their Citizens, *Bodin* (Book 6.) would not have remark'd in his *Method*, that he did not live long after he had appeas'd, by his Presence only, a furious Sedition of the Mariners embro'd with the Blood of the *Mechanicks*, when all the *Magistrates* and the whole Forces of the City assembled, could not remedy the Confusion. Perhaps they were afraid, that coming to understand his own Power, and the Command he had over the Subjects of the Republick, he should have the Ambition of making himself absolute Master of their State: Perhaps likewise they did it out of Jealousy and Emulation, as *Aristotle* says the *Argonauts* would not let *Hercules* go in their Company, for fear all the Glory of so great an Enterprize should be attributed only to his Valour and Virtue,

*Urit enim fulgore suo qui praegravat Artes
Infra se positas.* (Hor. Ep. Book 2. Ep. 1.)

A superior Excellency in any Art will always create Envy, and its Brightness will be too strong to be endur'd by those below it.

And the same *Aristotle* adds, that the *Epheians* banish'd *Hermodorus*, their Prince, because he was too good a Man, This was



the Reason which establish'd the *Ostracism* at *Athens*, and oblig'd *Scipio* and *Hannibal* to put to Death two brave Soldiers, who were their Prisoners. Now if the Stratagem be true, which it is said the *Venetians* made use of not long ago, when they spread the Report that the Duke *d'Offuna* had some Enterprize in hand against their City, I look upon it as one of the most Judicious that I have mention'd: Besides it was of great Importance to them to do it, to oblige the Embassador of one of the greatest Princes in *Europe*, to quit his Practices, that aim'd at nothing less than the Ruine of their State, and force him afterwards to a decent Retreat. So it is that those sovereign Remedies, ought to be reserv'd for dangerous Maladies, and to be made use of, as *Horace* says the Gods should be, who are introduc'd into Tragedies, to perfect and finish that which Mortals could not effect,

*Nec Deus interfit nisi dignus Vindice nodus
Adfuerit.* (Horace Art of Poetry.)

Or as Mariners do by their Sheet Anchor, which they never throw into the Sea till all other hopes is given over. For in truth, if a Counsellor or Minister should propose to himself to get out of all the Difficulties that present themselves to him by some one of these Expedients, he would be look'd upon as no less wicked and foolish than a Surgeon that would Cure every Hurt by burning or cutting

cutting off the Member that had receiv'd it. *Extremis siquidem malis extrema Remedia adhibenda sunt*; Extraordinary Remedies are to be applied to extraordinary Diseases. I farther add, that if the same Counsellor abuses these Remedies to support his own Interests, or to give a freer Range to his Passions, besides the betraying of his Master's Service, he becomes guilty before God and Man of the Evil he attempts to do. And the Sovereign himself when he uses these sorts of Politicks, otherwise than for the good of the Publick or his own, which is not to be separated from what the other requires, he rather acts according to the Passion and Ambition of a Tyrant, than performs the Office of a King. So we see that Queen *Katherine of Medicis*, *Quam exitio patriæ natam Mathematici dixerunt*, Who by the Astrologers was said to be born for the Destruction of her Country; could not bear being married to the Son of a King without being a Queen, and therefore made use of the Artifice of one *Montecuculi*, to get rid of the only Obstacle she had in the Person of her Husband's elder Brother, *Affinitatem enim nuper cum Clemente contractam tanto sceleri causam dedisse postea compertum, quamvis infcio marito; verum illo Mortuo cum frater proximus esset, qui in Regnum succederet, omissa indagandæ rei cura est & suppressa veritas*; For it was afterwards found out that the Affinity lately contracted with *Clement* was the Cause of all that Villany, but trans-