

## CHAPTER THIRTEEN

### THE POLISH ELECTION—THE LAST WASA THRONE

Despite Johan Cassimir Wasa's success in the Polish-Swedish war of 1656–57, with its pro-Catholic legends about his role as the Black Madonna's betrothed, he became increasingly weary of government and made known that he wanted to retire. Johan Cassimir's declaration of the Black Madonna as Poland's Celestial Queen had been a critical moment in the Polish national perception of its territory as a millenarian ground for the fight against the infidels of the east and for the final battle of the victorious Catholic church over Protestant heresy. The forced election of 1667 thus came to be considered as a crucial event in the future of the Poles as an independent nation. In 1664, Polish informants made known that the preference of the Frenchborn Queen of Poland for the elective throne was the Prince of Condé.<sup>1</sup> Christina, ex-Queen of Sweden, in her new role as a celebrated convert, now started to make use of the fact that the Polish Wasas had formally reigned as Catholic electors of Poland *and* Sweden since the forced exile of her grand paternal cousin Sigismund, sometime Catholic King of Sweden.<sup>2</sup> She now solemnly declared that she would not have abdicated if Sweden could have become Catholic. Her candidacy was to become a very rare chapter in early modern female politics.

#### *Christina in Hamburg*

Christina's stays in Hamburg had led to some embittered failures in her attempts to regain political control. In the wake of the Swedish King's death in 1660, she had tried to intervene in Stockholm, but instead she had been barred by a house arrest in the Royal palace. In 1667, on her second attempt to enter Stockholm under the regency of Charles Gustavus' young son, she was forced to remain in her revenue town Norrköping under the pretext that she had Catholic confessors in her train. Refusing to leave them behind, she was forced to spend a month in the countryside with

<sup>1</sup> Sven Stolpe, *Drottning Kristina*. 1984. p. 439.

<sup>2</sup> Sigismund Wasa, son of John III, became a Catholic and was elected to the Polish throne in 1587. He ruled in Sweden from 1592 to 1598 when he was ousted by his uncle Charles IX, father of Gustavus Adolphus.

little else to do than to play chess with her servants. Back in Hamburg her design for becoming ruler of Bremen failed with the repulsion of the Swedish troops at the city gates and instead she had to devote her time to alchemy and daily letter writing to Cardinal Azzolino. After the great fire in 1666, there were signs of a Catholic resurgence in London, and Christina mentioned to Cardinal Azzolino that there were hopes that the Dutch-English war could induce the English King to turn Catholic; she added: "si cela est, vous venez que cela produira quelque revolution en France."<sup>3</sup> The failure of English Catholicism was the final sign that she had to turn her eyes away from the west to places more favourable to her Catholic image.

It is in this context that one must see her most infamous act in Hamburg in 1667. When Christina's favourite candidate, the liberal Cardinal Rospigliosi, won the Papal election, she arranged a gigantic feast with fountains of wine, fireworks, and an enormous banner with the text "Clement IX. Vivat". Her public support for the Pope enraged the Protestant citizens who had gathered around the palace. Some started to destroy the lavish decorations and others threw stones at the windows. The turbulence turned to a siege and Christina ordered her guard to fight off the crowd while she fled through a back door. Eight people in the crowd were shot dead and several others were wounded. To protect her image, Christina paid money to the families of the deceased, and had her official story of the events published, in which she calls attention to the "insults" she had suffered from the Hamburg populace. Yet, public journals wrote that on display in the fireworks there also had been pictures of a triumphant Pope trampling the Lutherans under foot.<sup>4</sup>

*Stanislaus Lubieniecki, Spy and Socinian*

When Christina realized that she had no influence in Sweden and that her hopes for Bremen would not work, she set her thoughts on the Polish elective throne. Her campaign was officially supported by Pope Clement IX and her argumentation for the crown was directed by a very conscious effort to draw on her Catholic conver-

<sup>3</sup> Stated in Carl Bildt, *Christine de Suède et Le Cardinal Azzolino* 1899. Azzolino to Christina 15 September 1666. p. 225.

<sup>4</sup> Arckenholtz (1751), Vol. II. p. 127: "Mais il y avoit au dessus une figure de l'Eucharistie dans un nuage, adorée par les Anges, & plus bas l'Eglise en habit Pontifical, qui fouloit aux pieds l'hérésie." Christina's version of the "insult" was printed shortly afterwards and is now found in the Montpellier Collection.

sion. But one should not assume that this was part of an entirely cynical scheme. Christina's interest in Poland and the crucial question of church reform had grown through a series of circumstances during her attempt to influence the Swedish crown in 1660. In Hamburg, she met refugees from the east who could inform her about Polish internal politics. Because of their alliance with the Swedish invaders in the war in Poland, the Unitarian Polish brethren were banned in 1658 and thus were forced to seek exile to the west.

One of Christina's Polish informants was Stanislaus Lubieniecki (1623–1675), the historiographer of the Unitarian movement, who had been forced to settle in Hamburg while trying to argue for a place of refuge for his followers.<sup>5</sup> In his *Historiae Reformationis Polonicae* (1684), he argues that church theologians have corrupted the original apostolic message, that later thinkers had introduced the Trinity in order to make Christ and the Holy Spirit into new divinities whose symbols could easily be handled by a clergy no longer interested in their personal struggle for redemption. In the tradition of Michael Servetus and Faustus Socinus, Lubieniecki held that a true believer understands that Christ is only the Son of God and that the way to salvation is to live scrupulously according to the law of the Scriptures. The Unitarians saw their role as a prophetic quest for truth, and in his *Historiae*, Lubieniecki argues that Martin Luther had been the first to reveal the fraud of the Catholic church in 1517, and that thirty-five years later the reformation was radicalized when the full truth of the fabrication of the Trinity was presented by the Unitarians. As it was 1517 years from the passage of Israel through the Red Sea to the birth of John the Baptist, and as it would take  $5 \times 7$  years from that time to the founding of the New Church, and as the same events would take place under the new covenant, the true Church was revealed to be Unitarian.<sup>6</sup>

From Lubieniecki's records we know that in 1661 in Hamburg, he discussed religion with Queen Christina "regularly and frequently" in the presence of the Imperial Ambassador John de Goes and other diplomats. While Unitarians were despised by almost every variety of Trinitarian Christians, Christina apparently had few qualms about employing their Polish intelligence services. That

<sup>5</sup> K. E. Jordt-Jørgensen, *Stanislaw Lubieniecki*. 1968. George Huntston Williams, *The Polish Brethren—The History and Thought of Unitarianism . . . 1601–1685*. 1980. Notes nos. 28, 29, 519, 545, 591.

<sup>6</sup> K. E. Jordt-Jørgensen (1968), p. 97.

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she also engaged in public discussions with this very well known Unitarian again shows that in contrast to many of her official letters, she did not in practice refrain from taking theological risks.<sup>7</sup>

After Charles Gustavus' death in 1660, and with the failed reintroduction of Unitarians to Poland at the peace treaty at Oliwa, Lubieniecki abandoned his reliance on Sweden and now had to work as diplomatic informant for various crowns: Danish, English, French, and even the Habsburgs. Lubieniecki had until then tried to urge tolerant ideals on Charles X Gustavus and hoped that the influence from the King's mentor Johannes Lenaeus and his *De Veritate et excellentia Christianae Religionis. Brevis Informatio* (1638) would sustain John Dury's irenic ideology in the North.<sup>8</sup> When these hopes perished with the death of this second Lion of the North, Lubieniecki turned to Fredrik III of Denmark who supported him and gave him the opportunity to argue for his religion. In Copenhagen, Lubieniecki held a public dispute with the Jesuit Muhlmann on scriptural interpretation. In their exile the Unitarians were forced to argue even more systematically for their anti-Trinitarian view of unity in God and to defend their practice of regarding the Lord's supper as only a commemoration of Jesus, not a mystical union. But as Lubieniecki's Unitarian views influenced several Danes, hostility against him grew and Lubieniecki had to move back to Hamburg where he cultivated Queen Christina's campaign for Poland.<sup>9</sup>

Trying to obtain settlements for his exiled friends by soliciting and pamphleteering, Lubieniecki kept up contacts all over Europe on differing conceptions of astronomical phenomena. As I mentioned above, in his *Theatrum Cometicum . . . opus mathematicum, physicum, historicum, politicum, theologicum, ethicum, oecumenicum, chronologicum* (Amsterdam 1667), he discusses the two comets of 1664-65 and relates the opinions of a network of scholars such as Gueriecke, Boulliau, Kircher, Riccioli, Curtius, Rautenstein, Wiszowati, Rudbeck, and Heinsius. Describing his comet history and world history to Henry Oldenburg, the Secretary of the Royal Society, Lubieniecki envisioned his project as a "Philosophical College" in pursuit of correct records. However, the comprehensive gathering of information, the collection of opinions among astronomers, and the many lavish charts of astronomical phenomena, made the book long-winded, difficult to handle, and hard to sell. Lubieniecki distributed

1968. George Huntston Williams, *Unitarianism . . . 1601-1685*. 1980.

<sup>7</sup> G. H. Williams (1980), n. 34 p. 533.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* p. 526. K. E. Jordt-Jørgensen (1968) pp. 93, 95.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 101, 107.

it to several monarchs with the hope that it would promote his cause and it is probable that the compilation in fact was a Unitarian project for showing how local interpretations are destroyed by a general and historical approach. The court physicist of the Duke of Tuscany is reported to have said that its thesis really was "Hic dicit haec, ille dicit illa, iste dicit ista."<sup>10</sup> Christina got her copy in 1673, but in 1663, Lubieniecki was on her payroll, and they met again in Hamburg in 1667.

Lubieniecki had some success in his pro-Unitarian plans; his extolling of *Gluckstadia vera Tychopolis* (1667) was an attempt to move Fredrik III of Denmark to develop his new commercial town on the pattern of the Dutch Friedrichstadt open for all denominations: Arminians, Lutherans, Catholics, Mennonites, Unitarians, Jews, and perhaps even Turks if there be any.<sup>11</sup> Lubieniecki referred to the stock-exchange in Amsterdam as an example of how people with differing opinions can reach an agreement that would further everybody's course. As a Unitarian he could, correspondingly, tolerate everyone. The secular senate of Hamburg saw little to quarrel about with him and referred to the successful acceptance of Jews in the city. But when Jews and Calvinists had made such a stir in 1667 (a probable reference to the Sabbatai Sevi phenomenon), the Spiritual council accused Lubieniecki of turning innocents to his godless Unitarianism. "Can one forbid a Wolf not to go after the Lamb? Can one forbid a weed not to spread?" they asked, complaining that his appeal to reason and scripture must alter the grace of believing in Christ.<sup>12</sup> He openly held views that were thought to lead to the Jewish and the Turkish creeds. He argued that the passage in 1 John 5:20 was a forgery, and he objected to Romans 9:5.<sup>13</sup> He corresponded with people all over (some said even with Turkey). Rumours said that he wanted to settle a thousand of his followers in England or in Norway. He intruded himself upon everyone. Clearly, one must get rid of the man.<sup>14</sup> Lubieniecki had to leave Hamburg for Amsterdam where he published his work on the comets, with Christina's financial support.

There might have been some truth to the accusations. Lubieniecki had wide contacts and he did not refrain from openly arguing his case. As a Polish knight, Lubieniecki had in his youth

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* p. 108.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 64-73.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 104-105.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.* p. 88.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.* p. 106.

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his pro-Unitarian plans; his *Religio Rationalis* (1667) was an attempt to develop his new commercial town of Altona open for all denominations, Mennonites, Unitarians, and others there be any.<sup>11</sup> Lubieniecki returned to Amsterdam as an example of how to reach an agreement that would be Unitarian he could, corresponded with the senate of Hamburg saw little to be gained from the successful acceptance and Calvinists had made such a deal with the Sabbatai Sevi phenomenon. Lubieniecki of turning inno- cent to one forbid a Wolf not to go and spread?" they asked, and scripture must alter the openly held views that were the Turkish creeds. He argued for a forgery, and he objected to the people all over (some said that he wanted to settle a deal in Norway. He intruded and must get rid of the man.<sup>14</sup> For Amsterdam where he published Christina's financial support. In response to the accusations. Lubieniecki did not refrain from openly attacking Lubieniecki had in his youth

been able to travel widely in France and Holland. He had met Louis Cappel the Christian Hebraist, and Moize Amyraut the Huguenot theologian in 1648. He met Jesuits and Jansenists, he studied at Leiden, met Descartes in 1649, and was a lifelong friend of Nicholas Heinsius. One of his Unitarian fellows, Andreas Wiszowaty, sent him comments in 1665–66 on the astronomical theories of Gassendi, Kepler, Galileo, and Campanella. In 1665, Wiszowaty, also sent a manuscript with objections to the Trinity to Christian Boineburg and thus stirred a reply from Leibniz, his early work *Defensio Trinitatis* (1669). The debate finally resulted in Wiszowaty's *Religio Rationalis* (1676) that shows the incoherence of Trinitarian Christianity and argues that reason is the only valid criterion for doctrine.<sup>15</sup>

While the original Socinians had emphasized the revealed character of their insights, Unitarians in exile increasingly emphasized the rationality of their stance, and their arguments have been shown to have influenced philosophers such as Spinoza and Samuel Sorbière, French translator of Hobbes, More, and Gassendi. Unitarian ideas like Lubieniecki's were later to influence the private religious views of Jean Le Clerc, John Locke, and Isaac Newton. But at this early stage, the risks involved in professing Unitarianism were very high. When Lubieniecki in Amsterdam wrote a signed introduction to a Unitarian treatise by Johan Crell and Johannes Schlichting, he had gone a step too far. On his return to Hamburg he was constantly attacked by the Lutheran theologian and famous Christian Hebraist Eben Ezdra, teacher of the pietist Jakob Spener. In 1675 under strange circumstances, Lubieniecki was poisoned and died before completing his historiography.<sup>16</sup>

#### *The Argument for the Polish Throne, 1667*

By 1667, Christina had become very well informed about the various renderings of political plans for reaching a more universal concord in Europe, and she now, due to Lubieniecki, could evaluate the Polish platform as the instrument to effect their passage from plans to reality.<sup>17</sup> In 1667, Christina started her campaign by

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.* p. 30. G. H. Williams (1980), n. 20 p. 531. Andreas Wiszowaty, *Religio Rationalis 1676*. Wolfenbüttler Studien zur Aufklärung, Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel 1984. Compare Yosef Kaplan, *From Christianity to Judaism* 1989. pp. 274–275.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.* n. 85, p. 539. K. E. Jordt-Jørgensen (1968), pp. 112–116.

<sup>17</sup> Louis André, "La candidature de Christine de Suède au Trône de Pologne (1668)" *Revue Historique* 1908 vol. II. pp. 209–243. Based on Christina's Polish