

THE REFORMATION  
IN PRINCIPLE AND ACTION

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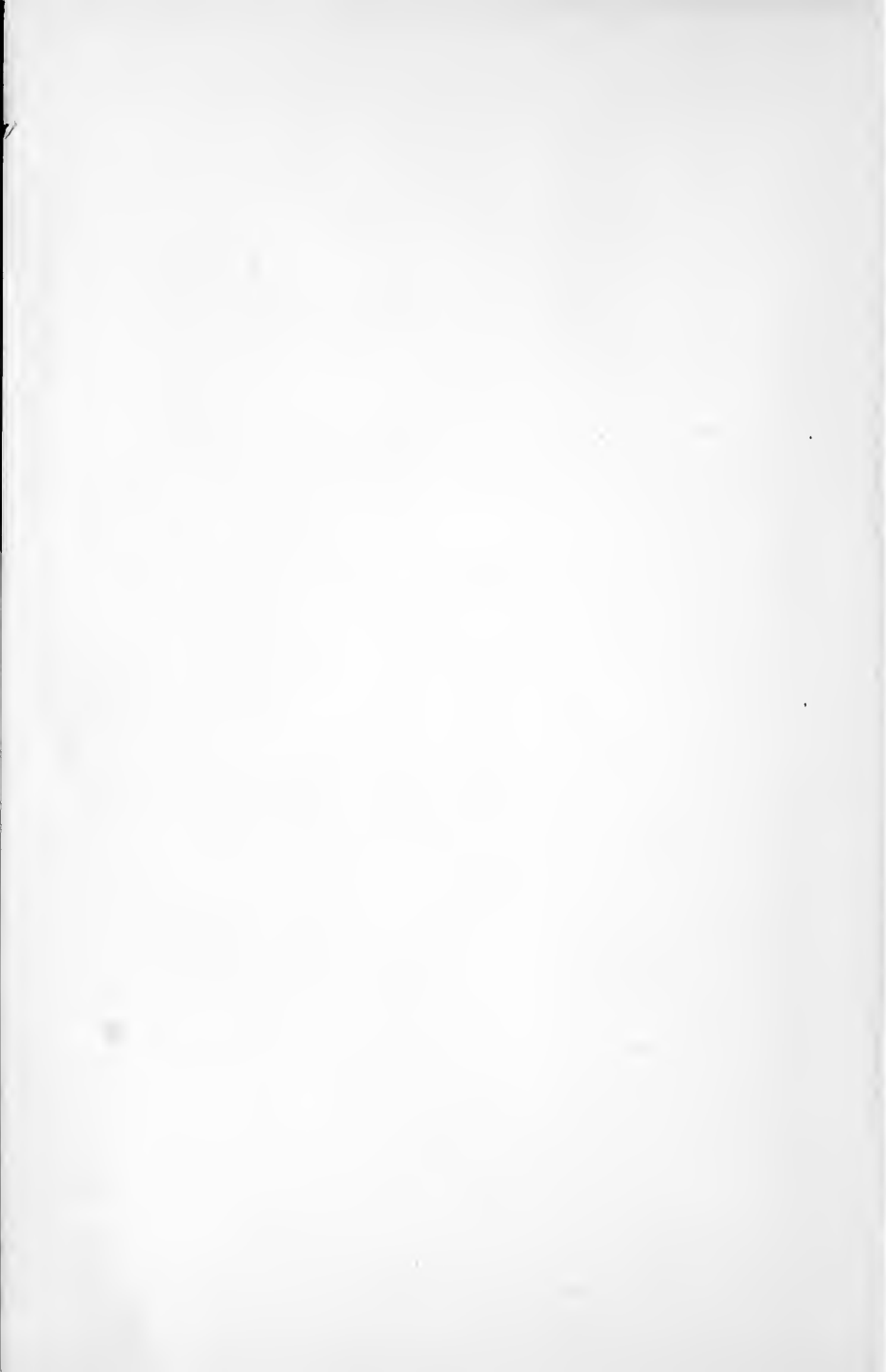
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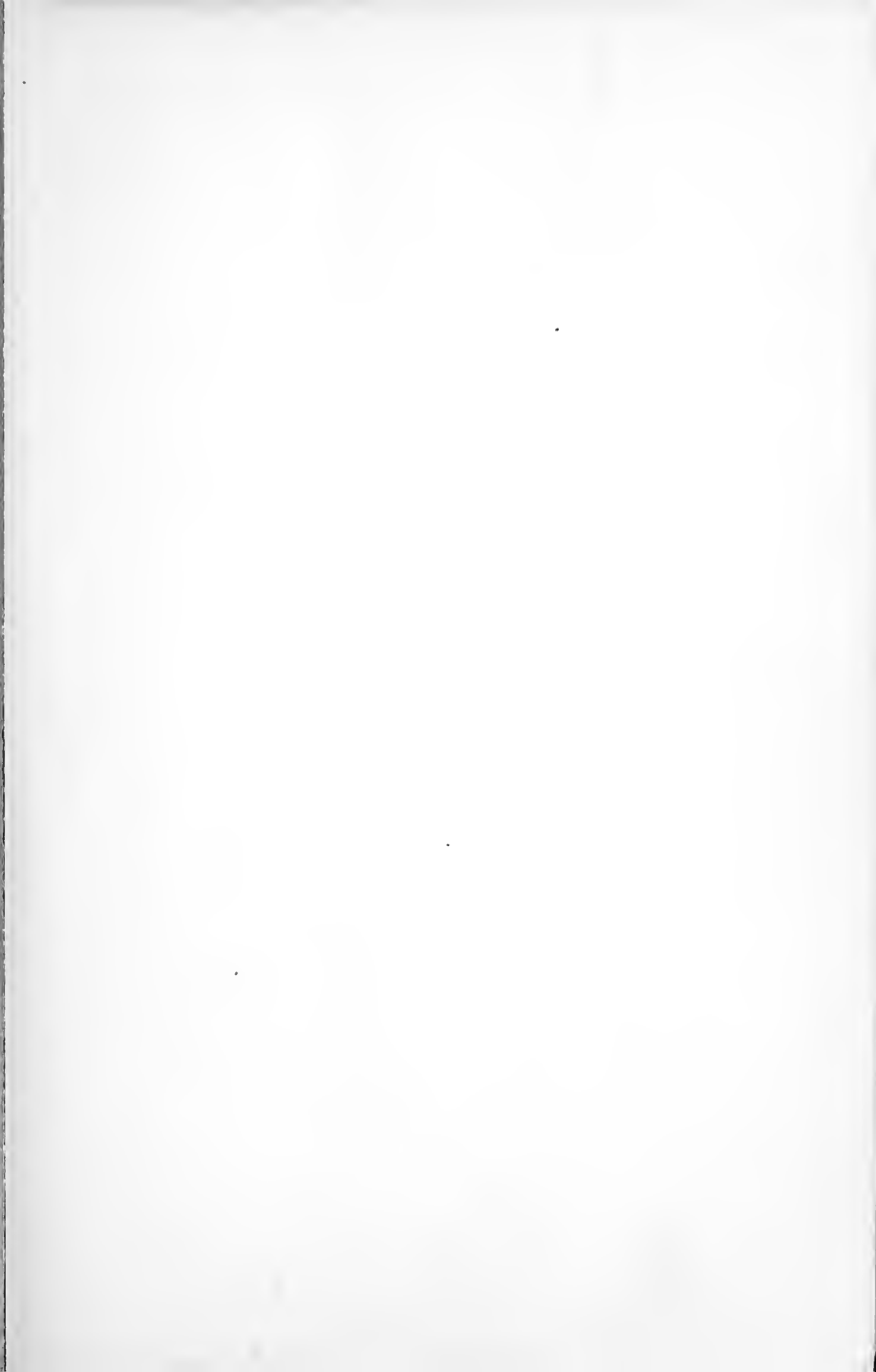
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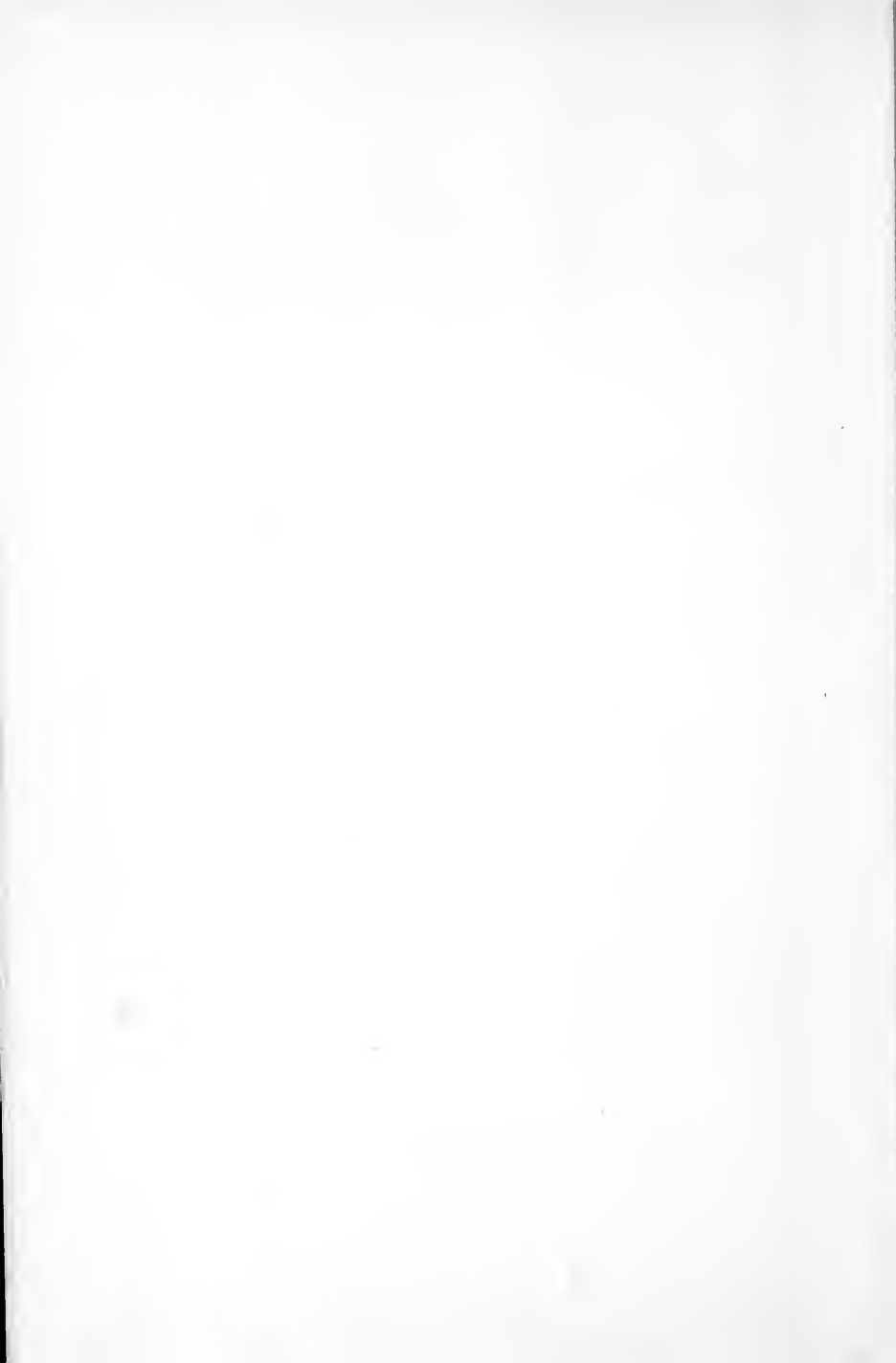




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# The Reformation in Principle and Action

A Bird's Eye View of the Reformation

By  
SANFORD N. CARPENTER

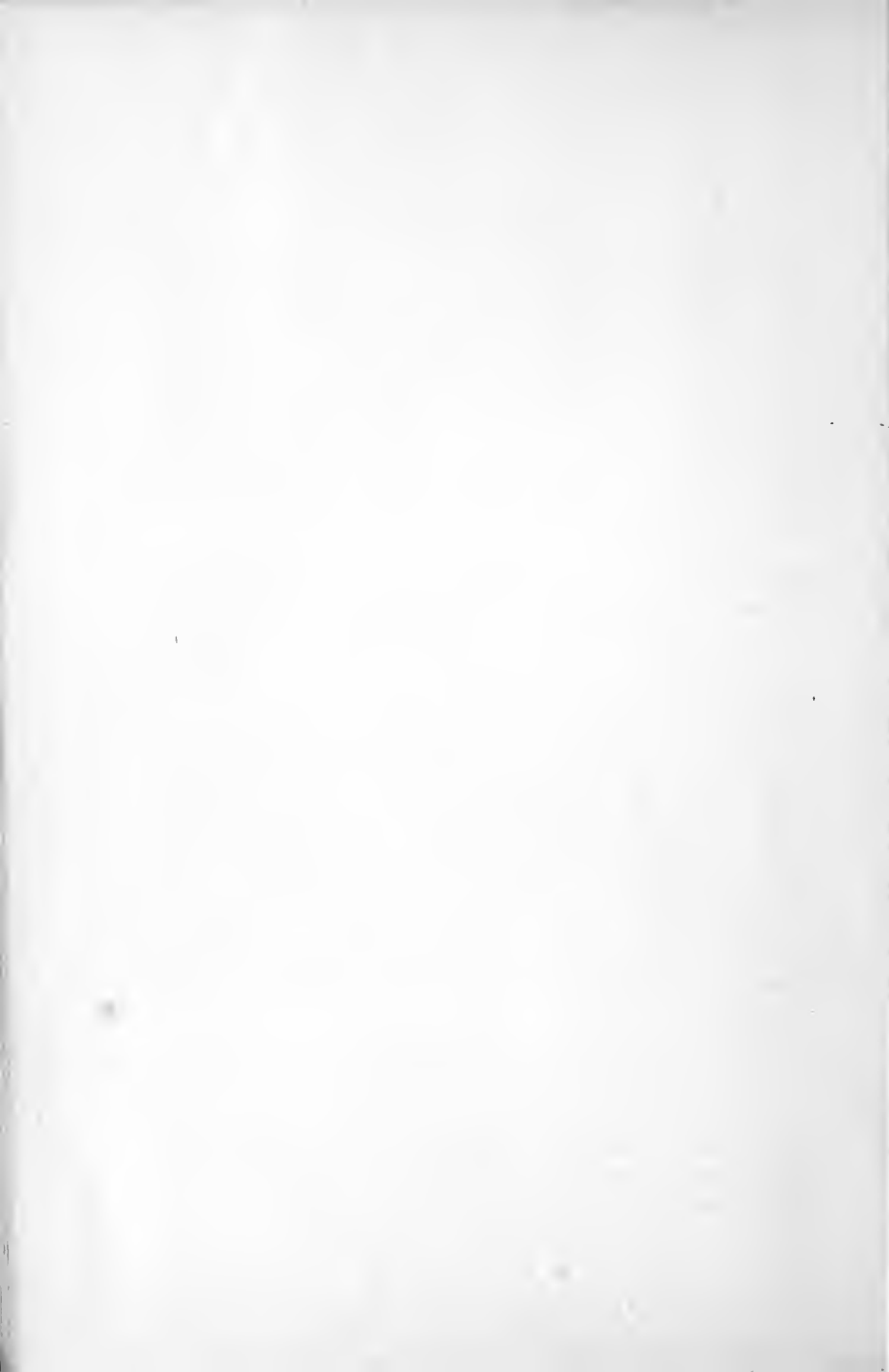
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*This volume is respectfully dedicated*  
*to*  
TRINITY LUTHERAN CHURCH  
*of*  
JOHNSTOWN, PENNA.  
*where these sermon-lectures were preached*

65089





## PREFACE.

While teaching a college class in history a number of years ago, the author made a rather extended search among the Publishing Houses of the country for a popular History of the Reformation in the various countries of Europe. No satisfactory text was found. The nearest approach to the same was Fisher's History of the Reformation. To this volume the author wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness for many suggestions and helpful features of this work.

The absence of a satisfactory historical summary of the Reformation for the classes of colleges and secondary schools drew the author's attention to the still greater need for such a work among the rank and file of the laity of our Church. The series of sermon-lectures which appear in this book is the result.

The cordial reception accorded to these sermon-lectures at home gave ground for the hope that they might modestly claim the attention of a wider circle of friends. The work is sent forth on its merits with the hope that it may be helpful to a more perfect understanding of the Reformation and its principles. My hope for the success of this volume is the wish that the reader may find at least a modicum of the pleasure in reading which the author found in the investigation of the facts contained therein.

The author wishes to make thankful acknowledgment of the services of the Rev. W. H. B. Carney, who read over the manuscript critically and assisted materially in the revision of the same. The same credit and thanks is due my friends and associate pastors in Johnstown; the Rev. Robert D. Clare, the Rev. H. C. Michael, and the

Rev. W. A. Shipman, D.D., who at various times read the entire manuscript and offered most valuable suggestions and helpful encouragement. For every assistance rendered and for the encouragement received from the above mentioned as well as from others, the author here makes most grateful acknowledgment.

The manuscript was read and corrected by Prof. David Smith Muzzey, of Columbia University.

THE AUTHOR.

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## REFERENCES.

For the convenience of those who desire to investigate the facts which are outlined in this book more in detail, I here set down a list of references which have been found useful in its preparation.

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## CHAPTER I.

### THE WHY AND THE HOW OF THE ROMAN CHURCH.

“Neither be ye called masters for one is your Master, even Christ.” Mat. 23: 10.

Before we enter upon a discussion of the Reformation we must, for the sake of clearness, address ourselves to a number of questions touching upon the general conditions which preceded it and out of which it grew.

There are many otherwise intelligent people who have very hazy and indefinite ideas of the answers to such questions as: “What place does the Reformation occupy in relation to other great world movements?” “How does it happen that there is a Pope and the hierarchy of which he is the keystone in the arch?” “How did the early mediæval Church develop such immense wealth and power?” And, “What were the conditions which made a reformation necessary at the opening of the sixteenth century?” It is our purpose, in the present discourse to answer, in brief outline, a few of these very important questions.

Of all the great world movements recorded on the scroll of time, the Reformation is least to be considered an accident. It was not, as the Pope once thought, the outgrowth of a little disturbance among a few German monks, nor yet a sporadic outburst of religious enthusiasm, confined chiefly to the first half of the sixteenth century, as some suppose. On the contrary, it sank its roots deep into the soil of the centuries. We cannot find sufficient explanation in the condition of Germany and Europe, at the opening of the sixteenth century, or at the

moment when Luther nailed his ninety-five theses to the door of the church at Wittenberg. We find it rather in the slow but irresistible onward movement of the ages which, like a mighty tide, creeps forward steadily to the hour and culmination which holy Scripture calls "the fulness of time." As the Reformation, in its effects, reaches forward through the centuries to the present moment, so, for its causes, it reaches back through the ages to the very foundation of the Papal hierarchy. We shall find that the Reformation was not the expression of the passions of a moment, but the utterance of ages. It was not the struggle of a few hundred, or, at most, a few thousand, individuals in the clash of convictions, but the titanic action of deep and eternal principles. It was not only the still, small voice of the monk at Wittenberg, but the deep thunderings of the very power of God.

Historians speak of four great and momentous world movements which took place during the Christian era: They are: The invasion of the Roman Empire by the Barbarians, which took place from the fourth to the sixth century; the Crusades, which occurred during the period from 1096 to 1270; the Reformation, which covers the period of time from the nailing of Luther's ninety-five theses in 1517, to the Peace of Westphalia in 1648; and, the French Revolution, which includes the period of time from 1789 to the Congress of Vienna in 1815. Of these great world movements, it would be difficult to say which occupies the most important place. For close study reveals the fact that they were all directly or indirectly related to each other with respect to both cause and effect. Yet, if one should dare to make comparisons, he would not fall far short of the mark if, to the Reformation, were assigned the central place for it secured to humanity the blessings of the move-

ments which preceded it and inspired the intellectual, moral, and religious freedom which was the moving cause of that which followed.

Although the Reformation itself was, on the whole, of a religious nature; the movement embraced in its wide-sweeping sweep of influence elements which were intellectual, moral, political and commercial. It was, first and foremost, a reformation of religious principles; but the reformation and freedom of religious conviction effected most sweeping changes in men's habits of thought. And, when, in the course of events, men began to enjoy their intellectual and moral freedom, the political and commercial systems of the times, non-progressive and tyrannical as they were, inevitably crumbled before the living power which they vainly sought to suppress.

The Reformation was a struggle of the human mind with intellectual bondage. It was a movement which changed the unlawful and arbitrary control of men's minds to a control by factors that were legitimate and reasonable. It was a struggle of the Christianity of law with the Christianity of the Gospel in which the living truth and principle of the Gospel won a signal, but not a complete triumph. The light of the Renaissance, or, New Learning, breaking through the darkness of centuries had aroused men to think. When men think, they will act; the action, in this case, was the overthrow of an intellectual and moral despotism which, for centuries, had bound not only the mind, but the very conscience, the will and the soul of mankind.

#### THE ROMAN HIERARCHY.

We have before the eyes of the nations to-day, the spectacle of the great and magnificent organization of the Roman Church. In it the Pontiff claims to be the

very Vicar of Christ upon earth. We have here a body, the parts of which are so perfectly coördinate, so entirely subject to the control of one will, that it might be most fitly compared to an organism such as the human body, guided and controlled by one brain and one will. We may begin with the Pope and come down through the various gradations of dignity and authority as: Cardinal, Archbishop, Metropolitan, Bishop, Dean, Priest, Vicar, Deacon, Sub-Deacon, Door-keeper, and Layman. Each of these parts is subject to and moves at the will of the next higher, so that they work together with the least possible friction and confusion. The whole organization constitutes what is known as the Hierarchy, a word composed from two Greek words (heiros) Priest and (archos) rule, meaning, strictly, "the rule of the Priesthood." The Council of Trent (1545-1563) proclaimed, openly, that this Hierarchy is Divine, and "whosoever speaks to the contrary is to be accursed." This decree has never yet been changed or abrogated, so that all who refuse to own the authority of the Pope, Archbishop, Priest, &c., as Divine, are of necessity, under the ban of this curse.

#### DEMOCRACY AND MONARCHY.

We will, doubtless, find it profitable here to examine, briefly, the fundamental theories of government upon which the doctrine and polity of the Roman hierarchy and its opposing idea rest, so that each may throw light upon and illumine the other.

In tracing the history of the State from the earliest times, we find two clearly marked and opposite theories or tendencies in government; one may, roughly, be called the centralizing tendency, the other the de-centralizing tendency. They correspond, generally, to the centripetal and the centrifugal forces in Nature. The first, which

is known as the theory of the Monarchy, is, that the parts derive their power from the head; the theory of the Democracy is, that the head derives its authority and power from the members. The former is the theory adopted by the ancient Roman Empire and faithfully copied by the Roman Church. The latter is the one generally accepted by the Anglo Saxon Race. It finds its highest expression in the constitutions of England and of the United States and the congregational polity of the Lutheran church, and those that are organized on a similar basis.

As before mentioned, the absolute monarchy was the theory of ancient Rome, so thoroughly believed, that to a patriotic Roman, the Emperor was a god, whom he worshipped and adored. When the Roman Empire, built upon such an insecure foundation, had fallen into decay, it was the successive and continued effort of the peoples of Europe to rebuild the foundations of a stable and enduring government upon the ruins of the Empire that marks the progress and history of the race. On every page of history, one notes the perpetual struggle between the advocates of these two theories. It seems that a proper balance between the two would approach nearest to a correct and safe form of government. But the Roman Church, whose organization was the offspring of the old centralized Roman Empire, has never yielded the idea of the monarchy. And so, it is more than a coincidence that, in most of the countries where the Roman religion and Romish politics predominate, the idea of the monarchy is most prominent; while, in all countries where the Anglo-Saxon religion and politics predominate, there the theory of the democracy, or rule of the people, most generally prevails.

This theory and practice of the monarchy has become the ruling idea of the Church of Rome. By this form of government her natural development is best promoted. It is quite true that, for such as the Roman hierarchy, there must be an absolute monarchy, for with the yielding of the theory of the monarchy, her temporal power and much of her spiritual power would fail. We shall see, however, that to the true Church of God, no particular form of government is absolutely necessary. For the government of the Church is, after all, only the outward visible mode of the expression of her life and being. The real inner self of the Church, her life and her soul, is her faith in Jesus Christ, founded upon the eternal, living Word of God.

#### HOW ROME BECAME PREDOMINANT.

We shall next inquire how the Church of Rome and her Bishop attained such power, that, even in this day, it is a fact that the consciences of more men and women are bound and directed by it than by any other civil or ecclesiastical power under the sun.

The history of the Church during the period from the end of the first to the beginning of the fourth century is shrouded more or less in obscurity. All we have of the history of these days are the fragmentary records and writings of comparatively few of the ancient Fathers. Perhaps it is the will of God that it should be so; for, has He not said: "My kingdom is not of this world"? However, such records as we possess show no evidence of such hierarchal organization of the Church then as is centered at Rome to-day. In those days, each pastor was Bishop in his own field. Each was an equal among equals and subject to no superior, save as he occasionally might seek help and advice from the head of some larger

and more powerful church nearby. As time grew apace, the Church grew in numbers and wealth and influence. By reason of her pure and comforting doctrines and exemplary life, many whom God "added daily" came to swell her numbers and power. But, by reason of her rising influence, it was inevitable that she should draw to herself many who came as false prophets—the "wolves in sheep's clothing" of whom the Saviour gave warning. They came with subtle and deceiving errors, so that, if it were possible, they bade fair "to deceive, even the very elect."

One such heresy was the growing tendency to return to Jewish rites and ceremonies by laying the living, world-wide Gospel on the narrow bed of the legalism of the Scribes and Pharisees. This weakness appeared in Peter whom Paul "withstood face to face," when Peter withdrew from association with Gentiles to please the Jews. It was prominent in the question about circumcision which was raised at Antioch. It was the question which caused the calling of the Council at Jerusalem, the first general organization of the Church, in defense of the pure doctrine of the Word. Later on, the same spirit was apparent in the Ebionite heresy, which, like the so-called "new thought" of the present day, asserted Christ's glorious humanity, but denied His essential Divinity.

Another grave error was that which, in these latter days, is known as Gnosticism. Paul found it taking root among the Colossians (Col. 2:8). These placed a mystical knowledge or "science falsely so called" above faith and the Word of God, and were, in consequence, led into many destructive errors.

From the far East came Manichaeism, named after its founder, Mani, a heresy with which Christianity fought its hardest battles. This form of religion was rooted in

a system of Persian dualism. It set over against each other two self-existent and opposing personal beings, each of which was constituted of five elements. The theology of Manichaeism virtually enthroned the principles of light and darkness as two co-equal gods. As a natural outcome of this theory, all the forces and phenomena of Nature were described as the result of the combined influence of these opposites. For example: the soul of Adam was light, his body belonged to the lower elements of darkness. This theory amounts to the same thing as making the devil co-equal in power and majesty with God. This heresy gained many celebrated adherents. The authorities of the Church sought to suppress it by both argument and force. Manichaeism appeared in many later forms of heresy. It is not without a certain degree of kinship with the so-called "Christian Science" of the present day.

In later years, the Arian heresy, which taught that Jesus is super-man—"the first of all creatures"—arose to afflict and disturb the Church for more than a hundred years. This teaching denies the Divinity of Jesus and virtually makes the Atonement of none effect.

Against these "principalities and spiritual wickednesses" it was expedient, yea, even necessary, that the Church should be drawn into more compact organization. Authority was sorely needed, and such authority could find expression in organization alone. We can readily see how these very heresies made prominent the particular church which took the lead in combatting them.

As the Church in her growth drew into herself some of the elements of decay, so, from without, she drew upon herself the fires of persecution which the Saviour freely predicted would become her lot. These sufferings also



brought her to a realization of the fact that organization for mutual defense and helpfulness was imperative.

Such violence as the Church suffered during the cruel reign of Nero (54-68) had the inevitable effect of driving the scattered Christians together like a flock of sheep which is harassed by wolves. On the night of July 19th, 64 A. D., the ancient city of Rome was given to the flames. When the awful holocaust was over, but a small portion of the once proud "mistress of the world" remained to look upon the heaps of ruins and ashes. It is claimed that the Emperor had caused the city to be set on fire to furnish a tonic for his own nerves which were jaded by awful dissipations. In order to divert suspicion from himself, Nero started the report that the Christians had fired the city. The result was a carnival of blood, rapine and fire; a long and bitter persecution through which the Church learned the more profound meaning of the Master's beatitude: "Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake."

During the reign of Domitian (A. D. 81-96) the Church suffered the persecutions which drove the Apostle John into exile on the Isle of Patmos. Among other severe persecutions, was that which occurred during the reign of Antonius Pius (138-161), when the Christians were accused of being responsible for a series of pestilences.

Under Marcus Aurelius (161-180) there was introduced the system of espionage which gave the property of Christians to their informers and permitted the use of torments in order to compel them to recant. After cruel and bloody scourging, Justin Martyr, one of the noblest of the Church Fathers, was executed. Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, suffered the martyrdom of flames at the age of eighty-six because he refused to curse his Lord.

Another outbreak occurred during the reign of Decius (249-251). At this time, the pent up fury of heathenism, restrained for a century, vented its wrath in the thunders and lightnings of a persecution which, like a terrible storm, broke over the innocent lambs of the Christian fold. The whole Imperial army was turned into an instrument of persecution which sought the blood of Christians far and wide, hounding them into caves, woods, dens, and catacombs; exiling, cutting, starving, and burning thousands in a vain attempt to trample out the life of the branches of that vine whose roots had taken hold in every part of the Empire.

These are a few of the many persecutions which the Christian Church had to endure as a part of her testimony of her fidelity to her Lord.

As in the early days of our American history, the settlers from all the country side sought refuge from the fierce and bloody ravages of the red men under the shelter of the towns where fortresses of defense were built; so it was but natural that, under the pressure of these and like persecutions, the Christians of the outlying country districts and villages should seek the shelter and help of the stronger and more influential city churches. It is easy to see how, in the Councils which arose out of these grave circumstances, the larger churches would assume the greater responsibility and fill the more important offices. And, in the West, Rome was the largest city, the only city of world-wide fame, influence and importance which could afford such refuge.

One of the greatest causes of the pre-eminence of the Roman church was the city of Rome itself. Rome was the ancient and honored capital of the old Roman Empire. As such, she was the political capital of the world. "All roads lead to Rome," is an old saying which expresses

two closely related ideas: First, the Imperial system of roads which were the highways of life and commerce built at the public expense by the direction of the Emperors, both radiates to and returns from all parts of the civilized world. The second thought suggested by this adage is the fact that Rome was the great, throbbing heart of that wonderful system of empire built by the Cæsars. From it went pulsating to the extremities of the then known world, the life blood of commercial enterprise, education, art, and government. This Empire was bound together by a wonderful code of uniform laws and by a coinage which made the image of the Emperor familiar in all parts of the world. The center and seat of this Empire was Rome. Rome was the great, revered, imperial, eternal, city whose name had become a talisman, a charm for politician, soldier, statesman and merchant, the world over. Small wonder that the Bishop of this center of the world's life should gradually come to be looked upon as one of the greatest, if not the greatest, of all the Christian pastors. It was not, however, without considerable opposition on the part of the Bishops of the cities of Jerusalem, Antioch, Constantinople, Carthage, and Alexandria that the Bishop of Rome gradually forged to the front and took his place as Primate, or First, in the Councils of the Christian Church.

Moreover, as capital of the Empire, the city of Rome had, for years, been the political and constitutional model of the world; and, when in the desire to further cement her organization, the Church looked for a model constitution, Rome and the church at Rome had such an one ready to hand. The idea of an ancient, divine city was an inheritance of the days long before the time of Christ. For, as Rome was the city of the ancient Empire cult, with the worship of the Emperor at its heart, so, in the

dawn of the new day, the transfer of the idea of Holy Rome was both easy and natural.

We find also that, from the earliest times, Rome had a particular genius for political organization. While, at Athens, Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria, the speculative Greek mind was busy with what some scholars are pleased to call, "Theological subtleties and metaphysical inquiries," and was settling matters of faith in the Creed, practical Rome was at work completing her organization, cementing her union, and widening her political power.

As on the political side, the foregoing facts had their marked influence, so, on the religious side, the fact that the Roman church was regarded as an Apostolic church gave her tremendous prestige and influence. Men held the tradition that the Roman church was founded by St. Peter. Paul suffered imprisonment and martyrdom there, and from Rome he wrote six or seven of his Epistles. With the tradition of the founding of the church at Rome, men coupled the Roman interpretation of the New Testament passages touching the "Power of the Keys." They are such as Matthew 18:18, and 16:18-19: "Thou art Peter and upon this rock I will build my Church and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it"; and, "I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." So also the passage in John 21:15-17, containing the solemn injunction: "feed my lambs \* \* \* feed my sheep" was interpreted as referring directly to Peter whom the Roman Bishops claimed as the first Bishop of Rome. The union of the tradition of Rome as an Apostolic Church with an interpretation of the foregoing passages

of Scripture after the heart of the Bishop of Rome, had very much to do with settling authority in the hands of that Prelate.

#### HOW THE CHURCH OF ROME ROSE TO POWER.

While the facts which we have recited may account for the centralization of power at Rome, it still remains to narrate how this self-same church rose to such sublime heights of spiritual and temporal power. Why did Rome grow in political strength so rapidly as so far to outstrip her sister Churches?

In the consideration of this question, it is well for us to remember that the spirit of conquest which animated the old Roman Empire was not wanting in her spiritual counterpart—the Church. For, the church at Rome was always an active missionary church. To the mother church at Rome, her foundlings, as devoted children, were always true and loyal. There is a tradition that a Roman Monk who later became Pope Gregory I (590-604), while walking through the Roman market, saw a number of fair, golden-haired boys exposed for sale as slaves. "Who are these beautiful children?" said he. "These," said the dealer, "are Angles from Angleland." "Angels they are sure enough," cried the Bishop. "What a pity that these who are so fair should be in heathen darkness." The incident awoke in his heart, the resolve to send the Gospel to Angle-land, as it was then called. The resolution was carried out in 597, when St. Augustine and forty Monks landed on the shores of England and began their labors and triumphs by the conversion of the King of Kent and many of his subjects.

About the same time, a great Irish missionary, St. Columban, landed on the continent and penetrated as far inland as to the then, savage tribes about Lake Con-

stance. His successor, St. Gall, carried on his work for many years. It remained for one Boniface, an English Monk, to do the greatest work among the Germans. He commenced his labors about 718, and did a wonderful work among the peoples of Friesland, Thuringia, and Hesse. Near Gessinar, it is said, there stood an ancient oak sacred to the god Thor. As long as this object of heathen adoration and superstition stood in their midst, Boniface could accomplish little toward their conversion. He was swiftly resolved what to do. With his own hands he cut down the sacred oak and used its timbers for the erection of a Christian chapel. The astonished natives stood around waiting for the lightning of Thor to strike the bold missionary, but, when they saw his triumph, they were converted to the new faith by hundreds. This noble saint went everywhere preaching the Christ and loyalty to the Bishop of Rome. When the hour of need struck, during the perilous days of the dark ages, there were no allies more faithful in their loyalty to Rome than were the descendants of these same German converts of St. Boniface.

The founding of Constantinople as the second capital of the great Western Empire had the effect of adding very much to the strength of the Pope at Rome. For, as the new capital grew in strength and importance, the glory of the Emperor at Rome gradually faded, until all that remained of the ancient glory of the Emperor of the West was the mere name. The fading of the Emperor's splendor made it possible for the Roman Bishop with all his retinue and pageantry and wealth of cult and impressive ritual to surpass him in glory. So then, as the glory of the Emperor waned, the rich inheritance of the Imperial tradition and splendor fell to the lot of the Bishop of Rome.

In the fifth century A. D. there fell upon the effete civilization of the West a terrible catastrophe, the consequences of which finally landed the Bishop of Rome on the very pinnacle of power.

East of the Danube river, and stretching farther eastward toward the Don, dwelt the Barbarian tribes of Germans known as the Viso-Goths, or West-Goths, and the Ostro-Goths, or East-Goths. The West-Goths were terrible warriors who had been in contact with Roman Civilization for centuries. They were human enough to be tempted by the show of wealth and splendor which they saw everywhere so lavishly displayed within the confines of the Roman Empire.

Out of the steppes of ancient Russia came the savage Huns, who drove the Goths from the rear. The Goths sought a refuge south of the Danube and a shelter under the shadow of the Roman Empire on the very spot which as one of the storm-centers of the present great European war, has witnessed the most terrible military struggle in the history of the world. It may be interesting to know that it is the language of these self same Goths which, even to-day, forms the frame-work and skeleton of our beloved English language. The Goths, moved by cupidity and desire for revenge, finally swooped down upon civilization with armies numbering hundreds of thousands. They carried, into the Empire fire and sword. Like a devouring flame, they poured over the land, and the light of centuries seemed about to go out in the darkness of barbaric night.

The old Roman Empire, honey-combed with corruption, and fatally weakened by centuries of sinful indulgence, crumbled and fell before the barbarian invaders. In 410 Alaric and his Gothic hordes plundered Rome. Alaric was deeply impressed with what he saw

at Rome, and commanded his followers to preserve the churches. All was confusion, desolation and despair. It looked as though the hard won fruits of the civilization of centuries were to be swept away. But the Germans brought a hardier manhood than they displaced. They gave a more virile life than they took, and, instead of destroying the whole of civilization, they simply used the best of it to supplement their natural gifts and to supply for themselves more exalted tastes and loftier ambitions. In the midst of this dire confusion, the Church rose stronger and still stronger as the supreme comforter of men. Her light shone when others went out. When the civil government went down in the wreck of the barbarian invasion, the government of the Church remained intact as the sole survivor in the midst of almost universal ruin. It was here that the Bishop of Rome had the opportunity to acquire his great prestige. Men came to him for council and help when they could find no other. In the year 476 the last of the Emperors in the West was quietly deposed and, during the confusion of the years which followed, the State had only a shadowy existence, which was little more than a name. In this time of dire need, the Roman Church gradually assumed many of the duties of the State.

During the Middle Ages there was extant also a series of documents and decrees which served to make the church at Rome of first importance among all the elements of civilization in the West. The Council of Sardica, in the year 343, decreed a limited right of appeal from local decisions to Julius, at that time Bishop of Rome. In the year 445 Leo I, involved in a desperate conflict with the Archbishop of Arles, obtained from the Emperor Valentinian III an edict declaring in most explicit terms, the supremacy of the Bishop of



Rome over the Church of the Empire. Both these decrees were very effectual means of buttressing the political power of the Bishop of Rome.

During the latter half of the ninth century, two remarkable forgeries, which rendered great service to the power of the Pope, were foisted on the public. They were called "the Donation of Constantine" and the false "Decretals of Isidore." According to the legend of the former, Constantine the Great, cured of leprosy by the Pope, turned over to him all his Imperial rights over the West, by a deed of gift. The latter claimed to be a collection of the decrees of Councils and Popes of the first three centuries. These forgeries put all ecclesiastical power over the Bishops and Archbishops into the hands of the Pope at Rome. One can readily see that, even though these documents were untrue, they gave the Pope great power and influence as long as men believed that they were true. In an age of credulity and limited learning, when men believed what they heard from the pulpit without question, the mere solemn announcement of all these decrees must have had such tremendous moral effect as, at once, to raise the Bishop of Rome to a position of lofty pre-eminence, in the minds of the vast majority of the world's Christian population.

The first of the Roman Bishops to enjoy anything like a recognized world power and influence was Leo I (The Great), 440-461. He is the first to deserve the name and title of Pope. The name, Pope, now so much hated and execrated by many sincere and earnest men, is simply the English corruption of the Greek and Latin word "Papa" or Father. By it is meant the Bishop of Rome who, according to the Roman Catholic doctrine, is the successor of St. Peter and, as such, the Vicar of Christ and the visible head of the Church.

Pope Leo I is credited with being the hero of Rome after the battle of Chalons in 451. At this time, Attila King of the Huns, who called himself "the scourge of God," raised an immense army of his savage subjects and moved up the course of the Danube River into Central Europe, spreading ruin, death and terror wherever he went. Under the stroke of this calamity, the whole of Western civilization was threatened with extinction. Aetius, captain of the Roman legions, gathered a great army of Romans, Franks and Germans to repel the invasion and, on the Catalaunian Plains, near Chalons, was fought the terrible three days "Battle of the Nations." Attila and his hordes suffered an awful defeat at the hands of the Allies, and turned southward in retreat. It is worthy of note that the very races which, fifteen hundred years ago, were allied to preserve the hard won civilization of the West are, at this moment, engaged in destroying that civilization by killing each other in the most horrible war of all the ages. But, to return to our theme; on his way home, burning with the bitterness of his defeat, and thirsting for revenge, Attila turned toward Rome. Tradition tells us that Leo, at the head of a great and imposing embassy, met the frenzied Huns and so impressed them that they turned away from Rome, and the threatened ruin was averted. Thus Leo earned the lasting gratitude of all the West.

The history of the Pope's rise to power has to do with the story of the Kings of the Franks. The Franks were Germanic peoples who had early come in contact with the Roman civilization in Gaul, a land which, in early times, embraced most of what is now known as France. These Franks and their Kings had become orthodox Christians. They, at first defended the Pope against overthrow at the hands of the less cultured Germans

from beyond the Rhine. These Germans dwelt in the "Hinterland," or frontier, where now there are great cities, influential Universities, and vast armories and gun shops. In later years, as we shall see, the triumph of the Pope in bitter conflict with these same Frank defenders of the faith, earned for him the name of the mightiest civil power as well as the mightiest ecclesiastical power in the world.

In the year 754, one Pippin, King of the Franks, was called by the Pope to protect him against danger from the Lombard Kings, who were champions of the Arian heresy. Pippin donated to the Pope a strip of land extending across Italy to the Adriatic Sea and including the City of Rome. This was the beginning of that temporal dominion of the Pope in the territory called the States of the Church. To it successive Popes kept adding lands, and, for over a thousand years, the Papal lands remained a strip of territory in Central Italy which, like a wedge, cleft Italy in twain and, in later years, effectively prevented the union of the Italian people.

The Lombards were Germanic people who settled in Northern Italy and remained there for over two hundred years. Time and again their activities threatened the very life of the Papacy. In 773, at the earnest entreaty of the Pope, Charlemagne the greatest of the Frank Kings subdued them once and for all. In the year 800, this same great King visited Rome and, while he was kneeling in prayer in St. Peter's Cathedral, Pope Leo III crowned him as "Emperor of the Romans." As we have before noted, the Old Roman Empire in the West had fallen three hundred years before, but now, for a thousand years, Kings and Emperors were to waste time, energy and countless treasures, as well as the lives of multiplied thousands, in the vain effort to restore the glories

of an Empire which could exist only as the shadow of a dream. The act of Leo III in crowning Charlemagne was the sign and symbol of a fatal union between Church and State which was destined, for centuries, to embroil succeeding Emperors and all their dominions in bloody and useless wars. In the Church it fanned the unholy lust for wealth and temporal power. It was an unnatural and unholy alliance whose outcome was the ruin of the State and the fatal corruption of the Church. The results have proved to all who care to see, the undying truth of the words of Christ: "My kingdom is not of this world." It has also been an unmistakable fulfilment of His prophecy: "They that take the sword shall perish by the sword."

After a period of about two hundred years, during which time the Emperors seem to have been able to dictate to the Pope, a bitter conflict to the very death, broke out between the Pope and his one time protector and friend, the Emperor. The conflict persisted to the extermination of two Dynasties of German Kings. From the crowning of Charlemagne in 800, to the death of Frederick II in 1250, there was more or less dispute as to the limits and bounds of the mutually exclusive authorities of these two, each of whom claimed to be supreme in the same realm. The ruling power was, during these years, a two-headed monstrosity which must inevitably perish.

The keystone of the whole vast arch of the Papal hierarchy is the supremacy of the Pope. On it depended the very existence of the immense structure of wealth, power, and influence which the Church had reared. For it the Pope was ready, on his part, to risk the peace of the Church, the best interests of the world, and even his own life. On the other hand, the Emperor, with blazing

sword in hand, was ready to imperil his own soul, the peace and interests of Germany, and the stability of the whole world.

The conflict first broke out over the question of Investiture, which was, in very brief, a question of authority over the vast lands of the Church. Since the Church owned or controlled about one-third of the richest land within the Empire, it was a question of great import for both parties concerned. The contest grew apace. The Emperor, from time to time, outlawed the Pope, and the Pope hurled the thunderbolt of the "curse of God" at the Emperor. Finally, by a series of diplomatic triumphs, Pope Hildebrand, known in history as Gregory VII, so far succeeded in humbling his rival, Henry IV, that, for three days, the King was compelled to stand barefoot in the snow as a penitent before the gates of the Pope's temporary home at Canossa, (1077). But the spectacle of such great humiliation on the part of the Emperor, on the one hand, and of such un-measured arrogance, on the part of the Pope, on the other, aroused, in Europe a mighty reaction, so that men who were both the loyal subjects of the one and the faithful adherents of the other were loud and positive in their denunciation of such extremes.

The final stage of the conflict was the struggle with the famous Hohenstaufen line of Emperors. The first of the line was Conrad III (1138-52). The real struggle began with Frederick I (1152-89), and ended with the Emperor Frederick II (1212-1250). After the death of the great Frederick, the power fell so completely into the hands of the Pope that the last male descendant of the Hohenstaufens, a young man called Conradino, was hanged in Italy as a traitor, and the long contest was ended.

The Pope had triumphed. Henceforth, he dreamed of a Universal Empire in which the world should lie at the feet of the Pope, who, in the name of the Church, should administer in all affairs both temporal and spiritual. He would hold sway over men's bodies in order to save their souls, and reign upon earth as the Vicar of Christ, virtual and actual "King of kings and Lord of lords." Let us remember that this claim of temporal dominion on the part of Rome has never been renounced. "From the fourteenth century," says the Historian,\* "the Popes have worn the triple crown. The three tiers of the tiara, richly ornamented with precious stones, indicated the power of the Pope over Heaven by his canonizing, over purgatory by his granting of indulgences, and over the earth by his pronouncing of anathemas." Though temporarily in subjection by virtue of necessity, the doctrine awaits only a favorable day and opportunity to reassert itself in all the features of its baneful significance.

#### THE SEEDS OF DESTRUCTION.

Even while speaking of the heights of the Papal power, why should we now begin to talk about destruction and decay? Because, as we shall see, it is in this very power and its abuse that there lie the germs of destruction and ruin. The Papacy with its dream of Empire is a great example of what Shakespeare so aptly styles:

"The vaulting ambition which over-leaps itself  
And falls on the other side."

In other words, the Pope "overshot the mark." Much wants more and loses all. In taking the sword, their power perished by the sword.

Just before the accession of Frederick II (1212-1250), Pope Innocent III (1199-1216), enjoyed almost unlim-

\*Kurtz.

ited power and was able to rule like a tyrant. He used as his most powerful weapon, the Interdict. This was a Papal Bull, or proclamation, aimed at a rebellious Prince or Ruler. By it the Pope professed to absolve all subjects from obedience to the Ruler, and even threatened with the curse of Heaven those who presumed to obey him. This terrible edict placed all the realm under a ban or curse. The Interdict might vary in degree of severity, but in many cases, church doors were closed; there was no preaching; the people were denied Christian burial, baptism, and the Lord's Supper; prayers for the living and the dead were denied, and the pall of a spiritual death and destitution hung over all the land. Pope Innocent used this weapon so effectively against the great Philip Augustus of France that it brought him in humble subjection to the Pope. Its curse was hurled at King John of England until, in humble submission, he laid his crown and the rights of his realm at the feet of the Pope. This abject spectacle of their King, virtually dethroned by a foreign Power did much to fan the flames of a rising spirit of hatred in the Teutonic hearts of the independent English People and paved the way for the political reform of that day. The Popes possessed great power and they used it over-much to the supreme disgust of the rising spirit of intelligence and independence of the nations and, therefore, ultimately to their own undoing.

To the foregoing sources of danger we must add the great flow of wealth into the coffers of the Church from church dues, taxes and many other sources of revenue, which proved a most subtle and dangerous cause of corruption. The fabled King Midas wished that everything he touched might turn into gold and his request was granted. So then, when he touched his wife, his children,

his friends, his subjects, even his food, all turned into gold, and that which he sought as a blessing proved the greatest curse. So likewise the Church acquired the "golden touch," and it turned her moral and spiritual forces into the gold of worldly power which was fatal to her Christian love and starved her soul.

The Church of the centuries immediately preceding the Reformation became proud and self-sufficient in her wealth. As the internal sources of her spiritual power dried up, she multiplied the splendors of her externals. Her Priests broadened and lengthened their robes and narrowed their Theology. They multiplied their pageants and divided the Gospel of hope and love. They magnified the Priest and minimized his office; they became rich in this world's goods and poor in the treasures of Heaven; they made a great show of churchliness to the world, but concealed from the eyes of men, the Bible, which is the foundation of the Church. Thus in the course of long centuries, they reared a vast and imposing structure built upon an insecure foundation. The only hope of a reformation was by reconstruction. The old must be torn down and rebuilt, or a new structure reared on the enduring foundation of the Word of God. It needed but a blast from the rain's horn of Luther to send the ancient structure crumbling to its fall. But the long and patient labor of centuries was needed to rebuild and fashion the Church after the pattern of its ancient glory. Amen.



## CHAPTER II.

### THE GULF BETWEEN ROME AND LUTHER.

“Can two walk together except they be agreed?” Amos 3:3.

In order that we may proceed intelligently in our inquiry as to the Reformation and its characteristics in the various countries of Europe, it is well to inquire carefully what it was all about. Were there forces, opinions, and convictions of such a nature that Rome and the Reformed Party could not be reconciled and brought together? Why is this great schism or division in the Christian forces of the world necessary? Is there any hope of the severed parts of the Church ever being reunited? Or must we look for the separation to remain to the end of time?

We shall find, as we go more deeply into the answer of these questions, that the difference between the views and convictions of Martin Luther and his followers and Pope Leo and his theologians, such as Cardinal Eck, was such that a rupture was inevitable. And, since the days of the Reformation, the breach, like a vast crevasse in a glacier, has constantly widened. As two who walk in diverging paths, so the Lutheran Church and all Protestants, and the Church of Rome, find themselves farther and farther apart with the lapse of days, years, and ages.

We shall find it most convenient to follow the difference as we find it to-day rather than as it existed in the time of Luther. For, the Lutheran Church still abides by Luther as he uttered himself in the deathless words of the Augsburg Confession; while the Church of Rome, following the course of her errors of the sixteenth cen-

tury, finds herself farther from the truth as set forth in the mighty confessions of the Lutheran Church.

### I. IN MANY THINGS, LUTHER AND ROME AGREE.

It is well to remember that the Reformation of Luther and his associates was what is known as a "conservative" or safe Reformation. Luther rejected only the things which he found contrary to God's Word, while many others rejected everything but that which God's Word strictly commanded. Luther believed that a reform in method and a change in the emphasis from non-essentials to essentials in the preaching of the Church could be effected easily within the ranks of the Roman Church itself. There are many fundamentals in which both we and other Protestant churches are not out of harmony with the church of Rome. And, it is quite possible that, as Luther and his friends, while members of the Roman Communion, yet held to a true faith in the perfect Word of God and in Jesus Christ as the Saviour of men, so there are, doubtless, many thousands within the Roman Church who are saved by a living faith. Moreover, in fairness to the Roman Church it must be said that she has been a bulwark of defense as to the teaching of the true nature of God and the need and authority of the Church throughout the ages.

After the presentation of the Augsburg Confession, it was placed in the hands of certain Roman Catholic prelates for reply. After long delay, these men reported in a lengthy "Confutation" in which they received the articles: I, III, X, XI, XIV, XV, XVI, XVII, XVIII, and XIX: which treat respectively concerning: God, the Person of Christ, The Holy Communion, Confession, Of Ecclesiastical Order, Of Rites and Usages of the Church, Of Civil Affairs, Of the Judgment, Of the

Freedom of the Will, and Of the Cause of Sin. They also received, in part, the articles II, IV, V, VI, XII, XIII, and XX, which treat of: Original Sin, Of Justification, Of the Sacraments, Of Good Works, Of Repentance, Of the Use of the Sacraments, and of The Character of Good Works, respectively. However, articles: VII, VIII, and XXI, Concerning, The Church, The Administration of the Sacraments and of the Worship of Saints they rejected altogether. In the course of time, as the meaning of the Reformers became clearer, other articles such as article X, in regard to The Holy Communion, were bitterly assailed.

It is worthy of note that now, as then, not all of the body and members of the Roman Church are in sympathy with its grave errors and extravagant claims. There is to-day, within the Roman Church itself, a vast and unmeasured movement which is known as Modernism. It is really another Reform which is working silently but none the less powerfully, like leaven, in an effort to conform the teaching and practice of the Church with the more reasonable demands of modern times. By reason of the Encyclical of the Pope condemning this movement, it is the part of prudence for men who are in sympathy with it, to cherish their convictions in silence. Hence, it is a difficult matter to measure its extent; but the claim is put forth that very many of the young Catholic priests in Spain and in France are in secret sympathy with the movement. For a number of years there has flourished within the walls of Rome herself an organization known as the "Old Catholics." They challenge the infallibility of the Pope, believe in communion in both kinds, the marriage of the Clergy, and the preaching of the Word in the language of the people. But the leaders of the move-

ment were excommunicated and their organization was partly suppressed.

Moreover, there is a growing multitude of priests and laymen in the Catholic Church who, on account of interests aroused by sociological and industrial, as well as by general moral and religious problems, are not only taking a keen interest in civic, political, moral, and religious improvement, but are drawing closer to other churches in order better to bring this to pass. Most of us can point to personal experiences and intimacies as an indication of a growing spirit of understanding, if not of harmony, between the members of the two Communion.

#### THERE IS A DIFFERENCE BETWEEN ROME AND LUTHER AS TO CERTAIN FUNDAMENTALS.

All the differences of doctrine and practice between these two communions spring out of differences of doctrine and conviction as to certain fundamentals. The two fundamental principles upon which Luther differed with his Roman Catholic opponents were: First, a difference as to *the formal principle* of religion, that is, *the place and authority of the Word of God*. By reason of her peculiar doctrine of the Priesthood, Rome arrogated to herself the right both to fix the Canon and finally and definitely to determine the interpretation of Holy Scripture. Among the doctrines condemned by various Popes is that of religious freedom. "Insanity" is the term applied to the doctrine that "liberty of conscience and worship is the right of every man." The doctrine of "the liberty of the press" is condemned in the same scornful terms. At the Council of Trent, 1545-63, tradition was solemnly pronounced to be of equal authority with Scripture, and the Vulgate, a corrupt and defective translation

of the Scripture, was made authority in all public addresses, expositions and debates. All interpretations must be in accord with those of "Holy Mother Church."

In his "Address to the German Nobility," Luther explains that there are *three walls* behind which the Papacy is wont to take refuge when any attempt is made to reform abuses. The first was, that the Clergy formed a superior class which could neither be judged nor punished by civil rulers; the second was the claim that the Pope is superior to any Church Council, so that even the whole Church was powerless to correct him; and, lastly, the Pope assumed the sole right to interpret the Scriptures, so that, from the Word of God itself, no one could bring a word of rebuke; In the Lutheran Church, the rule is that "no Scripture is of any private interpretation" (2 Pet. 1: 20), but the Word of God must explain itself, the more obscure passages being explained and illuminated by the plainer and unmistakable portions of Holy Writ.

We can readily see how, by placing tradition as of virtually equal authority with Scripture, Rome opened the door to all kinds of private interpretations, strange fancies and abuses. She seems to interpret wrongly the words of Rev. 22: 18: "For I testify unto every man that heareth the words of the prophecy of this book, If any man shall add anything to these things. God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book." By her insistence on the Vulgate translation, Rome virtually would put her own interpretation into the hands of all who read or preach the Word. And, by the three walls which Luther mentions, she would see to it that no power in heaven or on earth could gainsay her will or thwart her counsels.

The position of Luther and the Lutheran Church concerning the Word of God is: that every human thought, every conscience, every purpose, every Council, Institution, or age, all powers and principalities; every interest, all knowledge, all tradition, for time and eternity, are subject to the Holy Scripture. Out of this firm reliance on the Word of God, and out of this high regard for its authority, grew the life and force of the Reformation. This principle is the foundation of every effective and enduring work noted in all the story of the Reformation in every land and clime.

From her treatment of the Word of God, Rome evolved all the shades of abuse in doctrine and practice, and gradually widened the gap between herself and that Rock from which she turned adrift into the devious channels of narrow selfishness and bigotry.

The second fundamental difference was with respect to what is known as the "*Material*" principle of the Christian religion:—*Justification by Faith*. Luther holds fast to the Word in such passages as: "Being justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ" (Rom. 5: 1), and, "by grace are ye saved through faith, and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God," (Eph. 2: 8), and many other like passages. Now, as the Word of God is the foundation of the Church and of the Christian life, so faith is the very heart, the core and the center of the whole being of Christianity. If counsel be darkened here, there is no light; if the heart be quenched, there is death. Faith—"The substance of things hoped for and the evidence of things not seen," is the vital connection between a man and his God. It is the hand that lays hold on heaven and all the verities of eternal life. It is a single principle of great power and simplicity. By faith

we mean our personal trust in God and in His only Son, Jesus Christ alone for salvation. He died for all. He died for me. He lived and died to save me and all men from self, from guilt, from sin, from death, from hell, from the power of the devil, and from eternal despair. He *does* save me and all believers from all these ills. He and He alone is mighty and able to save. I must not destroy this faith by substituting something else or by letting anything else share its work.

Now Luther's great controversy with Rome is that Rome makes good works—the feeble efforts of our own hands and lives, of such great importance. So great, in her sight, do good works become that faith is often sadly overshadowed and obscured. Rome says we are justified by faith *and* works. And, as oftentimes happens in the case of we carnal mortals, when we try to regard the earthly and the heavenly at the same time, we have eyes only for the things of earth. We cannot, at the same moment, look on the clods and fix our eyes on the stars. If we say: "The works of God *and* our *own* works save us," it is quite likely that our own will rise in magnitude and honor, and the work of God be less regarded.

With Luther, good works are the fruit of faith. So then, it is not "faith and works," but a "faith which worketh by love," or good works as the fruit of faith. Salvation is not, cannot be, the reward for labor, but the free gift of God. When in the cloister at Erfurt, Luther found a copy of the whole Bible, and the Epistles to the Romans and Galatians brought this truth home to him, the words, "The just shall live by faith," awoke such echoes in his soul that all the din of earth and hell could not silence them. Luther went forth to preach the glad message. It was the preaching of this Word with all its consequences that brought about the crisis of the Reformation.

Rome had, by reason of her doctrine, raised "good works" to such a lofty pinnacle of regard that men had almost lost sight of faith and often tried to buy their salvation. The purchase price may have appeared in the form of money or of grievous penances, of punishments self-inflicted, of monastic vows, of tortures, or of prayers, and sacrifices of all kinds.

For upwards of one hundred and fifty years, (1096-1244), it was regarded a good work and the way of salvation to go on the long and dangerous pilgrimage to the Holy Land to rescue the tomb and the land of Christ from the infidel Turk. Men went to flee from their load of sin, but carried it with them in their hearts. So, by this work of toil and danger, they failed to find, that which simple faith and a heart uplifted to God might have found at home—the Saviour precious to their souls. Men traveled barefoot in the snow to cool a burning conscience; they walked over paths of thorns until they fell with bleeding feet, fainting and exhausted; they lashed themselves with many stripes; they prayed day and night for mercy; they sold all they had and gave to the Church. By these and a thousand-fold "good works" they sought to enlarge the works of their own hands and—to bribe God! But, plainly, all this was as nothing compared with the great work of God in giving His only begotten Son that, "whoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life." Simple truth! yet mighty faith which hath power with God! When once this principle began to work, it was a living force which broke the bonds of superstition and upset the system and tradition of centuries. It is a truth fundamental—a corner stone of the Christian life. All that resists it must be overthrown.



LUTHER DOES NOT AGREE AS TO THE NATURE OF THE  
PRIESTHOOD.

The Roman Catholic Council of Trent declared: "If any one saith that by sacred Ordination the Holy Ghost is not given, and that vainly, therefore do the Bishops say: 'receive ye the Holy Ghost' or that a character is not imprinted by that ordination; or that he who has once been a priest can again become a layman; *let him be anathema.*"

Luther denies this "indelible character" of the Priesthood and declares with Holy Writ, that we are to "esteem them very highly in love *for their work's sake.*" 1 Thess. 5: 13. Lutherans and Protestants in general deny that in ordination a character is bestowed that cannot be lost or taken away. The ordination is, indeed, a solemn commission to preach the Gospel and perform the ministerial acts necessary to the advancement of the Kingdom of God. But, as it is the Church, composed largely of laymen, which for the sake of good order, bestows this commission, the same power which gave, can also take away the authority. The priesthood is not a separate order, but a class of men placed in position of very unique and great opportunity. So, in our Church, when a minister or pastor is guilty of heresy or gross immorality, or when he demits the ministry by engaging in a secular occupation, he is asked for his ordination papers, and the title, "Reverend" or "Pastor" is dropped from his name. We conceive that the work of the pastor is far above the man. The workman may fall, but the work of the Kingdom goes on. The end of the lives of the Apostles is shrouded in mystery, or is a matter of mere tradition, but the work they did can be clearly traced. Thus God honors the work here and seems to let the workman pass on to neglect and

forgetfulness. It is well that it should be so; that we as stewards of the mysteries of God should decrease while He must increase; that we should be nothing that Jesus Christ may be all and in all. While we thus minimize the Priest and magnify the office, we are, however, not unmindful of the promise: "whosoever shall give a cup of cold water only in the name of a disciple \* \* \* he shall in no wise lose his reward." Matt. 10: 42.

This claim of the "indelible character" and high order of the priesthood has been the cause of many strange inconsistencies of discipline in the Roman church. In the early days, it led the Church into long and bitter conflicts with the civil authorities in her endeavor to defend the guilty with the shield of the "indelible character." Even in modern times, the case of the notorious priest, Hans Schmidt, of New York, guilty of the foul murder of a young girl, was dragged from court to court and suffered delays without number before the offender was brought to justice. It is, indeed most difficult, even to-day to mete out punishment to a priest for any crime.

The celibacy of the Clergy is another difference of grave importance. In the early Church, it was customary for the priests to refrain from a second marriage or from marrying after ordination. There was no general rule and no agreement among the churches as to the particulars on this point. But as the Church lands began to multiply and her property grew in value, it soon became evident that the priests would hand this property over to their children as an inheritance, if some drastic means of preventing it were not employed. It was finally decided that instead of leaving so grave a matter to voluntary choice, a hard and fast general rule should be drawn up. The Church attempted to enforce clerical celibacy by a succession of decrees. One of these decrees which is of

special interest, is that of Pope Gregory VII who, in 1074, issued a mandate forbidding all priests to marry and annulling all marriages of priests. As a direct consequence of this edict, many of the Bishops and priests lived in open concubinage. Thus to reverse the laws of nature and to set back the order of creation, is not within the power of any body of men on earth. In 1123, the Lateran Council at Rome undertook to enforce the rule of celibacy. Priests were torn from the bosom of their families; households were disrupted; children were dragged from happy homes; wives were made unnatural widows; and confusion and sadness reigned in the homes of the Clergy.

The story of the private lives of the Priesthood throughout the ages, as a result of this rule, is one dark picture over which it would be well to draw the veil of charity were the matter not one of grave danger to public and private morals. The Historian,\* speaking of the life and times of a certain Pope, says: "In him as Alexander VI, we have a Pope whose government presents a scene of unparalleled infamy, riotous immorality and unmentionable crimes, of cruel despotism, fraud, faithlessness and murder, and a barefaced nepotism, such as even the city of the Popes had never witnessed before. He had already before his election, five children by a concubine, Rosa Vanossa, four sons and one daughter Lucretia, and his one care was for their advancement." The illegitimate children of Bishops, Popes, and Priests are known in history as "nephews," one of the sons of this same Alexander VI, Cæsar Borgia, being reputed as the most shamelessly wicked of them all.

In the works of Alphonso M. Di Liguori (1696-1787), an accepted Roman Catholic authority on ethics, there

\*Kurtz, Church History.

are minute and detailed directions how priests may, by a system of double-dealing and equivocation, absolve women who are involved with them in sinful indulgence and crimes. If any one needs to be convinced, let him secure copies of these books and read them. It is not for us to set forth the disgusting and revolting details of a system of morals which is the natural result of the attempt to suppress the very laws and powers of Nature. Why not make honest and legal and pure a relation which has been arranged and established of God to "make fruitful \* \* \* and replenish the earth?" The contrary doctrine of Rome is called, by St. Paul, the "doctrine of devils." I Tim. 4: 1-3.

#### TEMPORAL POWER.

Our Church also denies Rome's claim to temporal power. We believe that this doctrine is an ever-present danger and an open menace to Democracy. The doctrine of the temporal power of the priest and Pope cannot live in the atmosphere of Democracy. We have before cited the vast temporal power exercised by such Popes as Gregory VII and Innocent III. In 1493, upon the appeal of rival claimants, Pope Alexander VI extended the temporal power of the Pope so far as to divide the lands of the newly discovered Western Continent between Spain and Portugal. To Spain he granted all the lands west of an imaginary line running from pole to pole, and to Portugal all lands east of that line. Let us remember that the Pope has never renounced his claim to temporal power. From time to time the Popes have defended this claim with fire and sword. To uphold his claim of temporal power Pope Julius II (1503-1513), was "incessantly engaged in war," keeping Italy and all Europe in a continual state of ferment and discord.

There are two extreme views in our country as touching the claims of Rome. First, there are those who hold that the claims and present position of Rome constitute a menace, which threatens, at once, to overwhelm the whole fabric of our Republic, and, that "the chief duty of man" now is to fight Rome by fair means or foul. Secondly, there are those who believe that all talk of danger is a false alarm; that we have nothing to fear from the pretensions of Rome and would do well to yield somewhat in compromise. Both of these extremes are wrong. We have more to fear from the indifference of the latter than from the radicalism of the former.

As long as Rome does not openly and candidly disavow her pretense of temporal power, there is danger, especially in a republican or democratic State like our own country. Here in America, the balance of political power becomes daily more delicate. As old parties break up and new ones form, the margin of safety for the party in power becomes ever smaller, and hence the adjustment of power grows more delicate and easily disturbed. Now, it is easy to understand that it is that person or institution or political element which can direct and swing into action a united force which can control the actions of the Powers in any delicately balanced political situation, like the small weight on a see-saw. It is, therefore, altogether a question of two factors: how much the party in power is willing to yield in order to get the decisive vote, on the one hand, and the ability of the Roman Catholic Church to unite her political forces on the other. Of this last, we are not certain; but every "good" Catholic will, in the last analysis, be found voting in the interest of his religious convictions; especially if, in his opinion, other things are equal.

The Pope at Rome would fain find opportunity to install a formal ambassador or Nuncio at Washington, and to have our government set up the court of a United States Embassy at Rome. This could occur only if our government were turned into a Catholic Court. Both President Taft and President Roosevelt sent informal representatives as well as formal official addresses to the Pope. In 1912, President Taft furnished an army and navy escort for Cardinal Gibbons and his brilliant pageant at the unveiling of the Columbus Monument in Washington, D. C. There is no reason in the Constitution of the United States or in the laws of the land why the humblest pastor should not be granted the same escort upon his bare request. A few years ago, at a state and military parade in Boston, the Roman Cardinal insisted on preceding the governor of the State—a request which the governor indignantly and rightly denied. When the Pope secures his cherished wish to exchange ambassadors with our Federal Government, then will we as a nation, have gone to Canossa just as really as Henry IV did in 1077. We would then bow in supplication at the court of Rome. The beginning of the end of our boasted civil and religious freedom would be ushered in, and the sunset gleam of our real national independence would purple the sky. May God preserve us from the perils of that day!

In addition to this larger question of Democracy, there are yet the dangers to two institutions vital to our very life and happiness which grow out of this dispute; namely, civil or Protestant marriage, and the public schools. In the Encyclical or proclamation of Pope Pius X called "Ne Temere," in 1908, he makes the solemn statement: "All marriages before Protestants and civil courts are no marriages at all, simply concubinage or living in

prostitution." And this from a ruler thousands of whose underlings daily live in open concubinage! You men and women, take a long look into the fair faces of your children, and then remember what the Pope calls them! Remember the legal status of your child and your property if the Pope had temporal power! And yet these very priests are openly authorized to unite in marriage the pure (?) product, the fruit of a legal Roman Catholic marriage, with the illegitimate (?) offspring of Protestant parents, on condition that the semi-illegitimate children which spring from such a union are brought up in the Roman Catholic faith! We who prize so highly the blessings of virtue can scarcely repress our hot indignation at this base slander flung at our purity by the unclean hands of Rome.

Again, in the Papal Syllabus of 1864, there are three noteworthy errors condemned: First, the denial that the Church may avail herself of force; Second, *that schools may be freed from ecclesiastical authority*; third, that Church and State ought to be separated. Ah yes! we may go on in our uncontrolled freedom here, preaching the good doctrine that Church and State must be separate, that men may worship according to the dictates of their own consciences until Rome is once more in position to avail herself of force! And then what? No one would be more miserable than the unhappy devotees, the members of the Church of Rome herself! We may go on with our system of free schools, built on the solid foundation of national liberty, until Rome is able to gain the political mastery, when there are to be no more schools "freed from ecclesiastical authority." And then? "The schools will be dictated by the Church, and, in the language of the Roman church, there is but one church—Rome. Then we shall have education and training doled

out in ecclesiastical doses, and the whole course of the formation of character from the cradle to the grave controlled by Rome. The danger and positive menace from such an ambitious program arises not from the probability of its success, but from the danger of bloody revolution which would inevitably arise out of any attempt to carry it out. "Let the Church not abrogate the laws of civil rulers, etc.," declares the Augsburg Confession, Article 28.

#### THE INFALLIBILITY OF THE POPE.

The infallibility of the Pope is another doctrine of the priesthood which widens the gulf between Rome and Luther. This doctrine of Papal infallibility is a far cry from the success of Leo X, in Luther's time, in preventing the gathering of a Council to sit in judgment on his acts; and yet it is the natural result of a doctrine announced two hundred years before the Reformation.

Thomas Aquinas (1226-1274), the Roman Catholic authority on doctrine, was the first to announce the doctrine of Papal infallibility in a formal manner. Not without serious opposition did the Pope succeed in carrying this doctrine through the Vatican Council of 1869-1870. There were present 719 members, one-half of whom were Italians. The Pope laid down the rules of procedure. He nominated the officers, and it was a fixed rule that all proposals must have the sanction of the Pope before they could be discussed. A numerical majority was substituted for unanimity in case of a dogmatic decision. The stage was well set. On the first ballot, eighty-eight voted, no; sixty-one cast qualified negatives; and ninety-one did not vote. Before the final vote, one hundred and sixteen of those who opposed the measure returned home, and all but two of the 535 Fathers remaining voted yea on the



decree which declares that: "When the Pope speaks 'ex cathedra,' (from the throne), that is in his character of pastor and doctor of all Christians in defining a doctrine regarding faith and morals, he is possessed of infallibility,"—that is, he cannot err.

With no formal restrictions as to the moral character of the Pope, what power on earth and in heaven is this supposed to give to one man when joined with the significance of the three crowns! It means that, in matters of faith and morals, the Pope has unfailing authority over hell and heaven. And yet this same infallible, this same mighty, this same being of the unerring word, is mortal. He has passions; he sickens; he groans; he dies! Methinketh we may hear the voice of Him who shall put "all things under His feet" saying: "Whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant."

#### WORSHIP IN THE ROMAN CHURCH.

The whole fabric and scheme of worship in the Church of Rome is colored by her peculiar doctrines of the Word, of Justification, and of the Priesthood.

We do not believe in "the invocation of Saints," because: "If any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous." (1 Jno. 2: 1.) What more powerful, what more effective, infinite, Divine intercessor could we crave than the Son of God? He of the thorn crowned brow, the pierced hands and feet, and the wounded side?

All Saints Day, November 1st, was established by Pope Gregory IV in 835. There are so many canonized "Saints" that there is one for every day in the year. The Council of Trent (1545-1563), declared, "that the Saints who reign together with Christ, offer up their own prayers to God for men; that it is good and useful sup-

pliantly to invoke them." In the Papal confutation of the Augsburg Confession, it was taught "that Saints ought to be petitioned to pray for us." On the contrary, our Lutheran Church teaches that: "The Scripture teaches not the invocation of Saints, nor to ask help of Saints, since it sets before us Christ the only Mediator." Aug. Con., Art. 21.

The Mariolatry of Rome is another phase of her worship which serves to widen the breach between Rome and Luther. The perpetual virginity of Mary was an article of faith since the fourth century. The victory of those who used the term "Mother of God," in the Nestorian controversy, gave a great impulse to the practice of Mariolatry. In 1854, Pope Pius IX, in the presence of about two hundred Bishops, declared it to be a revealed truth that the Blessed Virgin, from the first instant of her conception, "was preserved from all stain of original sin." In the development of the Roman Catholic worship, the worship of Mary has almost overshadowed the worship of God. The angel's salutation is in almost every prayer: "Hail thou that art highly favored, the Lord is with thee: blessed art thou among women." (Lu. 1: 28.) Its frequent repetition led to the use of the Rosary, which was a rose wreath consecrated to the most blessed among women. The first appearance of the Rosary in worship was the use made of it by the Monk Macarius in the fourth century. He took three hundred stones in his lap and after each paternoster, threw one away. Every eleventh bead on the Rosary indicates the place to say the Paternoster or Lord's Prayer. Saturday was, of old, dedicated to the worship and adoration of Mary. We object to all this as gross idolatry.

Along with the worship of Mary, we condemn the worship of images and relics of all kinds. Catholic docu-

ments and authorities uphold the veneration of relics and of the bones of martyrs and Saints as a good and wholesome thing. In the decrees of the Council of Trent, they teach: "That the holy bodies of Martyrs \* \* \* are to be venerated by the faithful." Out of this doctrine has grown the vast system of abuses in regard to sacred relics; a craze which has assumed the proportions of a world-wide sacrilege. During the Middle Ages, an immense traffic in relics, false and true, was developed. We are told that Frederick the Wise of Saxony, the friend of Luther, had a collection of 1010 sacred relics in his new chapel at Wittenburg, and, if one but looked upon these, he might have indulgence for one hundred years. In a catalogue of relics in two churches of Halle, published in 1520, there are mentioned such articles as: a piece of earth from the field of Damascus where God made the first man, a piece of the body of Isaac, fragments of the burning bush at Horeb, six drops of the Virgin's milk, the finger of John the Baptist which pointed to the Lamb of God, and a great piece of Paul's skull. There were 8,933 articles and they could offer indulgence for 39,245,100 years. Thus did men substitute dead men's bones for the living Christ, and the shadowy relief of doubtful, ancient relics for the Divine assurance of the forgiveness of sins. "O foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you?" cried St. Paul. And this is the age long cry of the Spirit of God to all His people who desert the substance of the Truth for dumb idols, whether of relics, or images, as in days of yore; or of gold, or silver, and stocks and bonds and houses and lands, as in the present day. For, they all, all, fail to feed and fill the deepest, inmost longings of the soul which craves and thirsts for the living God. "As the hart panteth after the water brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O God!" Ps. 42: 1.

Of Monastic vows and meats, the Augsburg Confession treats in articles 25 and 27. The Confession claims that these ordinances call forth the rebuke of the Saviour: "In vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men." In former days as now, men and women withdrew from active life into the sheltered seclusion of the Cloister that there behind the ban of a mighty oath they might be more or less secure from the temptations of a wicked world. That they did not succeed is a fact evidenced by the many stories of deep hatreds and lusts, and intense and bitter rivalries from within the narrow confines of virtual prison walls.

One need but set in contrast the blessed work of an active pastor in comforting the sick, sustaining and cheering the dying and teaching and preaching the Word of God to the living, to see the great mistake of the Monastic life. Or let us contemplate the blessed work of a Deaconess, or of the mother in the midst of her loved ones, or the heroism and devotion of the father who is a breadwinner for the rising generation, as against the idleness of a life shut out from the cares and activities of the world. "Ye are the salt of the earth," says the Saviour, and, we believe that the proper place for the salt is in, and not out of the world, as in the case of the Monasteries and Nunneries. The call of the world is a call to service with prayer, rather than a call to prayer without service.

We object to the Roman form of the confession of Sin, because of the character of the Confessional. While confession is, by no means, abolished among us, we with the Fathers, believe that "an enumeration of sins is not necessary \* \* \* for it is impossible to recount all sins as the Psalmist testifies: 'Who can understand his errors?'" Ps. 19: 12.

We retain confession in the form of the open, public confession of sins in our general service and in connection with the special services preparatory to the Holy Communion. But the private confessional we reject as unnecessary and dangerous. The Historian,\* speaking of the Clergy immediately before the Reformation, says: "The moral condition of the Clergy was, in general, very low. The Bishops mostly lived in open concubinage. The lower Clergy followed their example. The people, distinguishing the office and person, made no objection, but rather looked upon it as a sort of protection to their wives and daughters from the dangers of the Confessional."

Finally, Luther objects to the preëminently priestly character of the worship in the Church of Rome. In the Roman Church, the priest being, as before said, regarded as of a separate order, stamped with an indelible character, is accorded a place of special privilege in worship. He stands in a closed chancel, where the people are forbidden to enter, and reads the service of worship in an unknown tongue (Latin). He ministers strictly as a sort of intermediary who makes intercession for the people.

In the Lutheran Church, the whole service is designed from the view point that the minister is the chosen and ordained leader of the people, but, nevertheless, a member of the congregation. For the sake of convenience and good order, he is the mouthpiece of the people, the instrument of the congregation, the leader who presents their prayer and sacrifice unto God. The responses of the service give the larger part to the whole congregation, and the whole congregation unites with both heart and voice in prayer and hymn. For this reason, the chancel rail before the altar is not closed and the congregation, in

\*Kurtz, Church History.

every well ordered Lutheran Church, is fully instructed in the significance and use of the entire service.

#### THE ROMAN VIEW OF THE SACRAMENTS.

The Roman view of the nature and powers of the priesthood was bound to develop a corresponding belief, with respect to the sacraments. For, if there be a priest ministering at the altar with a peculiar Divine character and mysterious power, there must inevitably, in course of time, be a sacrifice for his ministration. The need for a sacrifice was met by the Roman teaching concerning the Lord's Supper and the Sacrifice of the Mass.

Luther and Rome are very far apart in their respective views of the sacraments. At the fourth Lateran Council in 1215, the so-called doctrine of transubstantiation was finally accepted as a dogma of the Church three hundred years before the Reformation. This doctrine, which was by no means accepted by all within the communion of the Christian Church, was a purely objective or rather materialistic view of the Holy Supper in contrast to the spiritual teaching of the Lutheran Church with respect to the sacrament. By the word "transubstantiation" the Roman Church means the literal change of substance of the elements in the communion so that the wine is no longer wine, but is transformed into the very blood of Christ; and the bread is no longer bread, but is transformed into the natural flesh of Christ. So then, they teach that, in the act of consecration, the elements of bread and wine are mysteriously transubstantiated into the crucified body and blood of our Lord. This doctrine and the services connected therewith constitute what is known as the "Sacrifice of the Mass."

The tenth article of the Augsburg Confession declares that: "The body and blood of Christ are truly present

and are distributed to those who eat in the Supper of the Lord." The Roman Prelates, in their confutation, accepted these words as far as they went, but claimed that they did not go far enough. The Confessors, said they, should have added an explanation as to how the body and blood of Christ are present. Inasmuch as the Reformers did not think it worth while further to antagonize and arouse the fury of their opponents, they did not care to add any further explanation. Moreover, in Luther's Smaller Catechism, the doctrine of the Reformers had already been set forth in these words: "The sacrament of the altar is the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, *under bread and wine*, instituted by Christ Himself for us Christians to eat and to drink." In the phrase: "under bread and wine," Luther clearly and distinctly repudiates the whole Romish doctrine of transubstantiation and the sacrifice of the mass; and his followers have steadfastly continued to do so to this day.

At the Council of Constance (1414), it was made a dogma of the Church that the Holy Communion in one kind is sufficient. This declaration was but a setting forth of an old doctrine against the teachings of John Huss, whom this Council burned at the stake. Huss held that the communion should be celebrated in both kinds, that is, by both bread and wine, instead of by bread alone, as the Roman Church taught. Out of this doctrine of transubstantiation, there grew a great fear that a drop of the precious "blood" might be spilled. For this reason, the cup was gradually withdrawn from the laity. The practice of withdrawing the cup from the laymen was justified on the theory of "*concomitantia*," that is, that the blood is contained in the body. But Luther holds fast to the words of Christ: "Drink ye all of it," which words show that all the disciples partook of the cup.

Out of the Roman doctrine of transubstantiation grew the doctrine and practice of the sacrifice of the Mass which is, to Protestants, the most objectionable, and the most repulsive of all the teachings of Rome. In view of the change of substance, it is taught by Rome that the sacrifice of Christ is renewed on Roman altars at the communion, that is, Christ is crucified afresh. As a direct outgrowth of this doctrine and practice, it gradually became the custom of the Church to transfer her adoration of the Lord and God of the sacrament to the elements themselves which, it was claimed, were the veritable Christ Himself. The adoration of the host in the Romish sacrament of the Mass became the repugnant doctrine against which all the Reformers protested most bitterly. As a result of this so-called "renewal of the sacrifice," the penitent soul need not be present at the celebration, but need only to have the priest repeat in his behalf this same "sacrifice of Christ," in order to secure for himself the benefits of the forgiveness of sins and peace of conscience. It was Luther's study of such passages as Heb. 10:12: "But this man, after he had offered one sacrifice for sins forever, sat down at the right hand of God," that caused him to hate and abhor the Romish doctrine of the Mass so thoroughly. (See also Heb. 10:14 and 18.)

The Reformers, in express language, condemn those: "who teach that the Sacraments justify by the outward act, and do not teach that, in the use of the Sacraments, faith, which believes that sins are forgiven, is required." This declaration is aimed at the so-called "ex opere operato" theory of Rome, which teaches that the Sacraments justify and do their work of grace even when there is no living faith. This latter teaching of Rome probably is made necessary by the practice of extreme unction.



Extreme unction consists of the anointing of portions of the bodies of the dying, as: eyes, ears, hands, nose and feet. Rome claims that this is a sacrament.

Rome teaches that there are, in all seven sacraments, The Council of Trent declares: "If any one saith that the sacraments are less than seven, to wit: baptism, confirmation, the eucharist, extreme unction, penance, ordination and matrimony; let him be anathema."

A sacrament must have three elements in order to commend it as such. First, there must be visible elements such as: water, wine and bread; second, it must be of Divine institution; third, it must have the promise of Divine grace. The Protestant churches generally accept two, baptism and the Lord's Supper, as having these requisites. While each of the five additional sacraments claimed by Rome has two of these elements, it lacks the third, therefore the Lutheran Church rejects them as sacraments, and receives those which Rome observes, such as marriage, ordination, and confirmation, only as ordinances useful for the sake of convenience and good order.

#### THE LAST THINGS.

Thus, as we have seen, do the Lutheran Church and Rome differ in an irreconcilable way in regard to many very important and vital doctrines which affect the faith and life of the Church Militant, that is, the life of the Church on this earth. But even as touching the Great Beyond there is a wide gulf fixed between these two communions. I shall briefly describe these differences. The general Protestant view of the World to come is that, unto eternity, there are two states, that of heaven and that of hell; that of eternal life and of eternal death; of bliss and of torment; of reward for the life of faith,

and of punishment for wickedness and unbelief. This is according to the words of Jesus: "And these shall go away into everlasting punishment, but the righteous into life eternal." (Mat. 25: 46.) Rome, on the other hand, divides the other world into five parts. They are: Hell, Purgatory, the "Limbus Puerorum," the "Limbus Patrum," and Heaven. Hell is the abode and place of torment of the lost and unbelieving world. Purgatory is an intermediate place and state between heaven and hell in which the venial (pardonable) sins of believers are atoned for. The duration of this period depends on the character and number of sins to be atoned for, on the number of prayers said in behalf of the soul, and on the number of Masses celebrated for the dead. As has been intimated before, when a Mass is celebrated, that is when "the sacrifice of Christ is renewed," the benefits of that sacrifice are said to accrue to the absent soul for whom the Mass is said, whether that soul be in Rome, in Spain, in New York, or in the distant and shadowy Purgatory awaiting the time of its redemption from penal fires.

The "Limbus Puerorum," the abode, (literally the edge) of the children, is the place where unbaptized infants suffer loss. Here, it is said, they have no heaven but suffer not the torments of hell. I once walked through a Roman Catholic graveyard in the city of Pittsburgh, Pa. Far off in a lone and neglected corner, I found the spot where the little unbaptized infants await the trump that wakes the dead. Rough, unkept, covered all over with briars and in a state of general neglect, it was a silent, yet eloquent reminder of the Roman doctrine of the "Abode of the Infants."

The "Limbus Patrum" is the place where the Fathers who fell asleep during the Old Testament times remained until the coming of Christ completed their redemption.

Of course, in view of the fact that this redemption is accomplished, this place is empty now.

Thus, have the Church of Rome and the Church of Luther, at first, torn asunder as by revolution, gradually drifted apart while the breach has continued to widen. There are thousands of earnest souls in both communions who would like to see the severed portions of the Kingdom of our Lord reunited; but there never will be the remotest possibility of such reunion until there is an open and frank understanding as to the differences which keep them apart. There are many thousands in the Church of Rome, both priest and layman, who are, by no means as far from Luther as the outline we have drawn indicates. And yet the great gulf remains, and for those of us in this generation, it will remain until time with us shall be no more.

When, with unobscured vision, we see eye to eye and face to face, then, and then only will the heart's prayer of the Master be fulfilled: "That they may be one even as we are one." Amen.

## CHAPTER III.

### THE REFORMATION DAWN.

“And let it be, when thou hearest the sound of a going in the tops of the mulberry trees, that then thou shalt bestir thyself: for then shall the Lord go before thee, to smite the hosts of the Philistines.” 2 Sam. 5: 24.

In our former survey, we have seen how, at the opening of the sixteenth century, the Roman Hierarchy contained within itself the seeds of its own destruction. We have observed also, how the very wealth and power of Rome became potent causes of her decline. In the description of The Great Gulf, we have noted the reasons why a separation was inevitable.

It now remains for us to study and investigate the conditions and incidents of the period between the time of the culmination or high water mark of the Roman Hierarchy and the end of the latter half of the Middle Ages. The events to be studied, occurred during the period of approximately two hundred and fifty years between the time of the downfall of the Hohenstaufen enemies of Rome in 1250 A. D., to the opening of the sixteenth century. This space of time is called The Reformation Dawn. During this period the culture and philosophy of the Middle Ages reached their culmination. During these years came the Renaissance or New Learning. It is the period of repeated abortive attempts at reform, the day of the great Councils, and the age of great inventions and discoveries which revolutionized the progress of the race. This period also marks the days of absolutism in government and the somewhat paradoxical rise of the middle class or third estate. It was the combination of all these

great facts and circumstances which rendered the times ripe for the entrance of a new epoch in the religious experiences of men and brought on the "fulness of time" which gave to the Reformation its matchless opportunity. We cannot fully understand the progress and meaning of the Reformation in all its phases and situations without some knowledge of this very important period in the secular history of the world. We shall take up the various features of the times which have been indicated above and study them in order.

#### THE LEARNING OF THE MIDDLE AGES—SCHOLASTICISM.

It is a great mistake to under-estimate the achievements of the past. There are those whose conduct reminds one of the callow, beardless youth who oftentimes thinks his shallow wit and wisdom far superior to that of his elders and superiors. Such persons are always ready to decry the wisdom of their fathers, and to set up the present as the age of ages for all things that are worth while. They forget that all that we have achieved in the present age is but a superstructure built on the foundations that were laid by the fathers in the ages of the past. The present generation is tall because it stands on the shoulders of the mighty giants of the former days. We have won great victories in science and letters and art and invention because the fathers paved the way for our triumphs.

So, in our thinking of the Reformation Period, we must not be unmindful, nor think lightly of the times which immediately preceded it, as though they had been barren of great achievements, or had made no progress toward the goal of human perfection. Be it remembered that the progress and culture of the Reformation were built upon the achievements of the times immediately preceding it.

That we may the better understand this fact, let us take a brief survey of the intellectual foundation which was laid in the scholarship of Europe before the time of Martin Luther and his associates.

The Middle Ages may be divided, roughly, into two parts. The earlier half is that period of time from the Fall of Rome (about 476) to the days of Pope Gregory VII or Hildebrand (1073-1085), and the conquest of England by William of Normandy, 1066. The latter half extends from the times of Gregory to the period of the Reformation or about to the year 1500.

The scholarship of the latter half of the Middle Ages is described by a very general term called Scholasticism. While the term is more or less indefinite, it is possible to describe its general features. The word is derived from the Greek word (*schola*), which means leisure. This word in its original sense, aptly describes what is meant by Scholasticism. It was a sort of Theological system which resulted from the learned speculation of those who had "leisure," to sit within the cloister study and spend their time in thinking profoundly on the mysteries of life and being. Owing to the intellectual limitation of the times, it was a system, more or less speculative. The scholars of this period sought to answer the great problems of life and of the world by the thought and speculation of men, rather than by going out to learn the lessons of the mystery of life and being by direct contact with Nature.

The Theories of Scholasticism were, for the most part, based on the reasoning of an old Greek philosopher named Aristotle (about 384 B. C. to 322 B. C.), who was the teacher of Alexander the Great. What Aristotle has to say about physical science shows a very imperfect knowledge of the facts. He believed and taught that there are four elements in nature: earth, air, fire and water. With

the superior advantages of the present day, every high school student knows how badly Aristotle was mistaken.

Among the principles of theology which he taught was the somewhat strange doctrine that "God is an act rather than a will, a process rather than a person." In all his teaching, Aristotle laid stress on activity rather than on personality or character. In this respect, we find that he was very much like those who preach and teach what is known as an extreme of the philosophy of Pragmatism, to-day. They lay all stress and emphasis on the magical and supposedly all-powerful word "efficiency." The world has gone efficiency mad. Everything is to be measured by the yardstick or by the pound. The emphasis on character as the proper basis for all true efficiency is almost forgotten in the mad rush to teach and lead men to *do*, and to achieve, those things which can be seen and measured, rather than in training them to *be*. Aristotle laid stress on the external or objective, rather than on the internal or subjective side of life and experience. He magnified *self* as the end and judge of all things. In himself he found the light of his soul. From within came all the promptings and leadings of his whole life. We see in a word how all this was opposed to the teachings of Holy Scripture as expounded by our Saviour who says: "*I am the light of the world*"; for the Christian finds the light of his soul without, in that light which streams from heaven in all the Word and power and wisdom of God.

The philosophy of Aristotle was set in contrast with that of another philosopher, Plato (427 B. C.—347 B. C.), who took the subjective side of life and being as his norm and standard. He stressed the internal experiences of life rather than the external, as did Aristotle. But he too had many elements in his philosophy which could not be

accepted by Christians. He entertained and taught a false view of sin. From him the modern Evolutionist has borrowed his conception of sin. "Sin," says Plato, "is a defect or misfortune which is to be cured by a succession of transmigrations or purgatories." How much like the theory of the modern free thinkers is this theory! And they really imagined they had found something new when it was gravely announced that, through the efforts of successive generations to climb up out of the slough of human misery and sin, man could and would be redeemed without a Saviour! Of such a thing as forensic or external forgiveness Plato knew nothing. In the philosophies of both Plato and Aristotle the power of forgiveness must reside within the sinner himself. Therefore, such a thing as Divine grace or any power to wipe away the stain of guilt or sin from without had no place in their philosophy. So, then, the philosophic foundation of Scholasticism left man hopeless in his sin. There was no Redeemer, no external Saviour, no eternal life, no hope! These two philosophies ruled and in measure, ruined the thinking of Athens. We fear very much that a great deal of our modern thought as reflected in our books, papers, magazines and even from many of our lecture platforms and pulpits is but the recasting of an old heathen philosophy, the light, "which shined to bewilder and dazzled to blind," the teaching which polished the mind and ruined and damned the soul of old Athens.

While the philosophy of Aristotle was not satisfactory in all its features to the scholars of the Church of the day, it was the only system of learning which they found ready to hand. Men had not yet attained independence enough to leave the beaten paths and mark out for themselves a new system, in the maze and wilderness of thought. Such a system could have been based on the



fundamental principles of grace in Jesus Christ. Because of this lack of independence they assumed the impossible task of adapting the teachings of the old heathen philosophy to the doctrines of Christianity. That the attempt involved them in very many apparent inconsistencies did not seem to deter them very much. The Church, for many hundreds of years, suffered from this attempt to graft upon the pure and simple teachings of the lowly Nazarene the outworn ideas of a heathen philosophy.

It will help us to appreciate the advance in learning made by Scholasticism if we remember the almost superhuman task which the scholars of the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries faced. They inherited the burden of ignorance and superstition which came down to them from the earlier half of the Middle Ages. This portion of the Middle Ages is appropriately styled "the Dark Ages." The time fixed for the so-called Dark Ages varies, but it can be fixed approximately, between the year of the death of Theodoric the Great in 526 and the first Crusade, which took place in 1096. The Dark Ages followed immediately upon the confusion which was caused by the invasion of the Barbarians and the consequent breaking up of the Roman Empire. There was, as we have seen, a partial restoration of order during the brief reign of Charlemagne, but chaos returned with the failure of his successors. From the moment of his death until the time of Gregory VII there was no one to lend stability to the tottering framework of Society. For want of a strong hand in authority, there was a period of about three hundred years during which the political affairs of Europe resembled more nearly the drift of anarchy than a purposed development. Yet, even during these "Dark Ages," men were learning most valuable lessons in civili-

zation and self-control in the hard but thorough school of experience.

The political task of the first half of the Middle Ages was, for the culture of Europe to assimilate the immense amount of Barbarian influence which overwhelmed it at the time of the Barbarian invasion. In the performance of this task, Europe was handicapped by internal ignorance and the political confusion of the times.

The theological task of the latter half of the Middle Ages was to bring system and order out of this chaos and confusion. We have seen how that, in addition to this handicap, the scholars of the period set for themselves the impossible feat of squaring the dogma of the Church with the super-imposed philosophy of Aristotle.

The transition or change from the comparative ignorance of the Dark Ages to the superior order of the Scholastic period is not altogether clear. The period of time which it covers overlaps the Dark Ages on the one hand, and the earlier Renaissance on the other. The outstanding feature of the thinking of those times is the fact that, for the moment, many seem to have lost sight of the fact that Holy Scripture is the solvent of all moral and spiritual difficulties. Men relied more and more on speculative and metaphysical thought as the way out.

So then, in imitation of the secular thought of the day, the theological thought of the transition period (about 918 to 1273), spent itself in endless dialectic, in disputation, in fine analysis, in divisions and subdivisions. In ridicule of this age it is said that men spent their time and energy debating such questions as: "How many angels can stand together on the point of a needle?" or, "Can an angel be at two places at the same time?" It is said that in the realm of physical science, men puzzled for years over the question: "Why does a fish weigh heavier out

of the water than in the water?" until some one took the trouble to weigh a fish under both conditions and found that it weighed the same.

Thus was the learning of the times a sorry mixture of heathen philosophy and Christian Ethics, a maze of confusion which often led the inquiring soul deeper into doubt and despair. But let us not forget that there was one grand redeeming feature of this period of transition. This feature was the fact that the Church still cherished the Bible as her inner light, even though, at times, she failed to apply its truths. In the darkness and unutterable confusion of the early Middle Age, the Church was the only light and the only hope. Where her own attempts to harmonize truth and the old philosophy failed, the Church still had her priceless treasure in the Word of God, of which she was the sole guard and custodian. Sooner or later the "bushel" of heathen philosophy which obscured the truth must be lifted and the light would flash forth as the light of men. This light of the Word was carried into the very heart of the Barbarian countries by the missionaries of the cross. And, it was largely through their efforts, that the culture of the world was not entirely overwhelmed, and that the powers of the earth became Christian rather than heathen. In fairness to Rome it must be said that it was, after all, the Catholic Church which, through the long night of Mediæval darkness, held aloft the light of truth. While men were blasting away at the very foundations of society, the Church was quietly going on laying the rock of truth upon which we have built this immense and showy structure called modern culture.

Among the very first lights of this period we find a scholar named Abelard (died 1142). He awoke the scholarship of the day from its slumbers by means of his

text book on philosophy entitled "Yea and Nay." Although he was persecuted by his contemporaries, it was his fortune to set the fashion of discussing the doctrine of Christianity with greater freedom.

The thinking of the Church was aroused and much influenced and guided by the works of Peter Lombard (1100-1164). In an extensive work called the "Sentences," Lombard collected and edited the sayings of all the Theologians of the Church and bound them together as a sort of system of Theology. These "Sentences" of Peter Lombard ruled and guided the Theology of the Church, from the twelfth to the sixteenth century. The "Sentences" gave evidence of a broader scope of vision than that of the Early Middle Age. They gave indication of the deeper and more independent thought which was to characterize the period of the Renaissance, which followed. They were the highest expression of Scholasticism as applied to the problems of the spiritual life.

The particularly bright and shining star of the Roman Church in the realm of theology is Thomas Aquinas (1226-1274). Inasmuch as his work is a standard of theology in the Roman Catholic Church to this day, it may be profitable to stop for a moment to examine the principles of his teaching. Thomas was an Aristotelian by philosophy, a Dominican monk, and a great theologian in the Roman Church. He taught the absolute freedom of the will. Over against this teaching of Aquinas, Luther places the doctrine of the will, lost and enslaved by sin, and the wonderful doctrine of free grace in Jesus Christ. Thomas taught, that, "The supreme object of man is to know;" while Luther believed that the supreme object of man is to believe. Thomas believed that Popes and Councils are the guardians of the interpretation of the Scripture. Luther said: "Let the Word in-

terpret itself." Luther was more Augustinian than Aristotelian. He finally rejected Aristotle altogether as an authority in spiritual affairs. Aquinas clung very closely to Aristotle throughout the whole course of his reasoning. Thomas emphasized the primacy of the Church. Luther stressed religion and faith. Thomas tried to harmonize philosophy and faith; Luther sought to subject his reason to the law of faith working in and through the Word of God. Aquinas said: "To believe is to know and to will—as God wills." Luther held that to believe is to love and be subject to the will of God. The differences between Luther and this Aristotelian philosopher of the Roman Church mark out the fundamentals of difference in the two communions to-day.

#### THE PROGRESS AND CULTURE OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

Let us briefly examine the foundations of culture upon which the leaders of the Reform movement in Europe built their great work.

As a stream cannot rise any higher than its source, so the culture of any age is not apt to rise above the level of the schools. Our inquiry, therefore, will take us first to the door of the University. There were Universities at Paris and Bologna which, throughout the Reformation, were Roman Catholic strongholds. Tradition holds that they were founded near the end of the eleventh century. The Oxford and Cambridge Universities of England were founded soon after the two just mentioned. The equipment of these Universities was of the most meager nature. At the University of Paris, the students sat around the lecturers in the straw which was scattered on the stone or earthen floor of their rude quarters. Because of this fact the street, on which the University was located, was called "Straw Street." The subjects

discussed were Scholastic and speculative in character. Their inquiries were all of a metaphysical nature. They dealt with the immaterial and the unseen rather than with the material. They discussed such subjects as: Ontology of the Science of Pure Being, and Epistemology or the Science of the Validity of Human Knowledge. While, to us who dwell in such a material atmosphere as that of the present day, these speculations seem to be profitless, the fault may be as much in ourselves as in those whom we venture to criticize. May it not be that the broadening out of the scholarship of the world in the years that followed was but the flowering of that wisdom of the Middle Ages which was then in the bud? If this be so, then we have a powerful demonstration of the value of the studies which bring results in terms that cannot be measured by any of our modern standards of efficiency. The abstract, the metaphysical, and the ideal have values which, after all, lie at the very foundation of values touching the concrete, the material and the real.

The studies of the Mediæval University show the human mind at work forever striving against the bars of its own limitations. They kept the candle of research burning during the age of semi-darkness when the new spirit of nationalism was rising to dispute the absolute power of princes.

The literature and art of this age are, by no means to be despised. The titles and initial letters of all books and paragraphs were elaborately hand wrought affairs which would put to shame the finest pretenses at imitation in the cheap and gaudy printing devices of the day. The poetry of the earlier days consisted largely of wild and stirring songs of war and of conquest such as the *Nibelungen Lied* of the old German people, the epic, "Beowulf" of the Anglo Saxon writers of the eighth or ninth

century, and the "Chanson De Roland" of the French Romanticists. One can trace the heart beats of the race in poetry and song as it gradually grows more refined and humane. The poetry of the later Middle Ages approaches more nearly to the standard of modern dignity in the great lyrics of a certain German singer, Walther Von der Vogelweide (1198-1228) who greatly influenced the art and politics of his time by his noble songs of patriotism and religion. Many of his poems are real gems of earnest and beautiful thought which teem with a wealth of inspiring sentiment.

There were some attempts at the drama. Most of the playing done during the later Middle Ages consisted of crude attempts at imitation of the Greek art. Men still followed very closely what are known as the rules of the "Dramatic Unities." It was by a hard and fast custom, forbidden to present any play or portion thereof which was out of harmony with the ideas of time and place. It was necessary, for instance, that all the incidents of the play could have occurred on the same day, and that the places represented in the play were such as corresponded with the time required actually to pass from one to the other. All this was swept away after the Reformation by the matchless skill and boldness of the great Dramatist William Shakespeare; and now much more of the time and place of the play is left to the imagination of the audience than is actually presented.

This age is marked by the rise of the modern languages. In the Early Middle Age, the mingling of the Latin and the German with the local languages of the country supplied the languages and dialects of the French. Latin and Celt combined to make the Spanish language. In the latter half of the middle ages the Teutonic elements in the Danish and Saxon combined

with ancient Breton and Norman-French to make the English language what it is. Just as the languages were fused to make one whole out of many diverse elements, so the people who spoke them were gradually welded together by the force of circumstances until there arose out of the confusion of peoples and tribes the sense of a national unity and solidarity.

It was in the realm of architecture that the culture of the period of Scholasticism had its most splendid and enduring achievement. The architecture of the thirteenth century still remains to charm and enrapture the beholder.

It was during this period that the rounded style of building called the Romanesque or round arch style, brought over from the Oriental models, was gradually displaced by the more elaborate and ornate Gothic style. The rounded arch of the Romanesque, now gave way to the pointed arch of the Gothic. With it came the flying buttress and the lofty tower, stained glass facades or fronts, magnificent mosaics, heavy columns, beautiful statues, elegant pulpits, great altars and flying arches. The work of men's hands defied the narrow limitations put upon them by the Scholastic theology and philosophy, and the poetic imagery of the soul found its expression in lofty piles of stone.

The Church buildings of the later Middle Ages were the mute expression of the poetic imagery inspired by religious sentiment. Their cathedrals were magnificent hymns and poems of solid stone. The foundation, wall and buttress formed the body of the poetic sentence which expressed a deep conviction based on a crude, yet honest and enduring faith. The elegant facade and delicate tracery together with the frescoes, mosaics, and gilded architraves and entablatures were the decora-



tive epithets expressive of the beauty of holiness. The tall pillars and stately columns were its brilliant metaphors and similes which called upon the whole creation to serve to the praise of the living God. The soaring arches and lofty spires were the apostrophes addressing mute ascriptions of praise and earnest prayer to the Almighty King of Kings and Lord of Lords; while the up-raised pulpit and massive altar were copula and conjunction, the meeting place of God and man. In fact, every stone and frieze and tile was made to speak in tones of mute eloquence: "This is a dreadful place, and none other than the house of God." The worship in these cathedrals made the vast and elegant recesses of dome and arch vocal with the praise of the most High God in prayers and chants and melodies which had been hallowed by the hearts and tongues of the followers of Christ for a thousand years.

#### THE RENAISSANCE OR NEW LEARNING.

It was upon the foundation of physical idealism and metaphysical inquiry which was laid during the transition period, that the succeeding centuries built that great intellectual movement which is known in history as the Renaissance or New Learning.

While it is hard to fix bounds for any great intellectual and moral movements, students of history usually place this great epoch between the years of 1300 and 1500.

The Renaissance had its inception or start in the cities of Northern Italy. These cities had, for hundreds of years, been famous as the gateways of commerce between the East and the West. From the East came the precious spices and the fine silks and other rare fabrics which the growing prosperity of the land of Western

and Northern Europe was bringing into demand. The goods of the Orient were brought from India and Siam and the Spice Islands by caravan, over highways which had been the routes of trade for a thousand years or more. At places like Tyre and Sidon they were placed on board ship and sent across the Mediterranean Sea to Venice and other ports in sunny Italy. From this point they were distributed over all of Western Europe, and the merchants of the Italian cities became very wealthy by reason of the immense profits which resulted from the fact that their towns were the markets of the world. Inasmuch as the Italian cities were self governing commonwealths, they were, in reality, city states. The chief of the city states of Italy were: Venice, at the head of the Adriatic Sea; Milan, a hundred miles West of Venice; Florence, an inland city lying about one hundred miles South of Milan, and the famous old city of Rome.

Venice was a republic which had become virtually an oligarchy under a group of local politicians called "the Council of Ten." Milan had fallen under the despotic sway of a celebrated family called the Visconti. Florence was nominally, a republic which was ruled by a family of political bosses called the Medici. The members of this family lived in palaces which looked more like fortresses than homes. They stopped at neither fraud, deceit, bribery, nor even murder to maintain themselves in positions of power. One of the most powerful of the family was Lorenzo the Magnificent (died 1492), the father, of Pope Leo X (1513-21) and the great-grandfather of the famous Catherine De Medici of France.

We may gain a fair conception of the character of the Renaissance, or "new birth" of learning by a study of a

few men who stood at the head as the leaders of the movement. Historians rate a Florentine named Dante as a link between the old and the new learning. He lived from 1265 to 1321. Dante is still reckoned as one of the foremost of Italian poets. He broke with the past in part in that he wrote his great poem, "The Divine Comedy" in Italian rather than in the ancient Latin, which was as little understood by the rank and file as Anglo Saxon would be understood among the Englishmen of to-day. On an imaginary trip through the lower world, Dante has the old Latin Poet Virgil for his guide. In it he takes occasion to hold up the fads and foibles and sins of the times to scorn and ridicule.

"The First Modern Man" is the title given to the great Petrarch, (1304-1377). He refused to recognize Aristotle as the final example of all that was good in culture, and sought farther for his authority in a perusal of the old classic literature, which had been neglected for the sake of cheap translations of Aristotle. For seven hundred years there had been no Greek literature in Italy. The great authors of Greek literature like Homer, Plato and Demosthenes were at that time, practically unknown to the scholars of Western Europe. Petrarch had a mind which was hungry for learning. When he looked about and sought to gratify his tastes, he found nothing to read. He made large collections of the Italian Classics and, by his writings and teachings, encouraged the study of both Greek and Latin. For hundreds of years, the men of Europe had not only neglected the study of the Classics, but many copies of valuable works had been wantonly destroyed. Petrarch pointed to this neglect and vandalism as a crime against intelligence. Although he could not read a word of Greek himself, he cherished

a copy of a Greek classic which by chance fell into his hands as one of his most precious treasures.

In 1380 a learned Greek named Chrysolorus was brought to the University of Florence to teach the young men of the country the secret and method of the Greek language. In 1423 an Italian scholar brought two hundred and thirty-eight Greek books to Italy. The movement in favor of the classics and the new learning soon spread. It numbered among its friends and adherents many of the most prominent men of Europe. The Medici of Florence, several Popes, Kings Francis I of France, and Henry VIII of England and many others of less renown were enthusiastic patrons of the Renaissance.

Among the great artists and sculptors of the day were such men as: Giotto (1266-1337), who was the first to break away from ancient models; Nicolo of Pisa, and Ghiberti of Florence who made the bronze doors of the baptistry at Florence so beautiful that Michael Angelo declared they were fit to be the doors of Paradise. There was Leonardi Da Vinci, the matchless painter of Bible scenes, and Michael Angelo, the great sculptor, painter, and architect, who became justly famous through his decoration of the Sistine Chapel at Rome. There were many others such as Andrea Del Sarto, Titian, Dürer, and Holbein, whom we do scant justice by bare mention.

#### HUMANISM.

The Humanists were a class of scholars and writers who derive their name from the Latin word "humanitas," which means culture. They were devoted to the study and investigation of the old Greek and Latin Literature. They sought the foundation of their scholarship as far as possible in the original sources of information.

Among the German humanists, the most prominent was John Reuchlin (1455-1522), who was an earnest student of the ancient languages and literature. Reuchlin made a specialty of the study of Hebrew. He tried to persuade the Churchmen of his time to go to the Hebrew Old Testament rather than to the corrupt and faulty Latin translations of the Bible for their authority in matters of religion and conscience. He soon came into conflict with the Roman Catholic authorities of Cologne. They looked upon Reuchlin's investigations as heathenish speculations and advised the civil authorities to have all Hebrew literature, except the Old Testament, burned.

Another great German humanist was Rudolph Agricola who was a ripe scholar, thoroughly versed in Greek and Latin and German. The German humanists were, on the whole, serious and devout. They turned their attention to the study of the Holy Scriptures. It was their piety and thorough consecration which formed the intellectual backbone of the Reformation movement in Germany.

The humanists of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries aimed to follow the advice and method of Roger Bacon an English Franciscan monk who died about 1290. Bacon believed that it was a waste of time to pore over the works of Aristotle and advised his friends to burn the writings of that philosopher. He argued that all scientific progress should be through experiment made by means of accurate instruments, instead of the guesses which characterized the so-called scientific work of that day. He urged that a careful inquiry should be made into the nature of light, heat, fire air, water, and other phenomena of Nature. Poor Bacon was about two hundred years ahead of his times. He was hounded from

country to country because of his peculiar opinions, and finally died in exile.

The most celebrated as well as the most scholarly humanist of the times was the Dutch Scholar Erasmus of Rotterdam, (1467-1536). Erasmus travelled much, both in England and on the Continent. Early in his career he enlisted in the fight against the two great enemies of progress and religion, which Luther found in his generation, namely, Paganism, and the popular confidence in the use of outward forms and ceremonies, as a balm for the sinful conscience. In the year 1516, Erasmus rendered a great service to humanity by his preparation of a superior version of the New Testament in the original Greek Text accompanied by a new Latin translation. For a while, Luther and the friends of the Reformation hoped for much through the writings of this brilliant and versatile scholar; but Erasmus lacked the courage of the bold and dauntless Luther, and, when the opposition grew dangerous, he decided to let reform alone and remained in the shelter of the Roman fold.

#### ATTEMPTS AT REFORM.

The growth in intellectual life and the revolt against Scholasticism was not without immediate fruit in the sphere of the religious and spiritual life of the people. During the period of the Reformation Dawn there were numerous attempts at religious reform. None of them, however seems to have produced a permanent or lasting effect. They served rather as straws to show the direction of the religious and moral atmosphere of the times.

#### FRANCIS OF ASSISI.

"There is," says J. H. Robinson, "no more lovely and fascinating figure in all history than St. Francis." St.

Francis was born in 1182 and died in 1266. He was the son of a wealthy merchant of Assisi, who, in his early youth, was more or less of a spendthrift. The contrast of the condition of the poor in his native city with his own life of luxury greatly distressed him. A long and serious sickness led him to forsake his life of ease and devote himself to the ministry of the outcast and the destitute. His father objected to his ideas of service and the companions into whose company it led him. He was finally disowned, and gave up all he had for the sake of his convictions. "One day in February, 1209, as he was listening to Mass, the Priest turning toward him by chance, read: "As ye go preach, saying, the kingdom of heaven is at hand \* \* \* get you no gold, neither silver, nor brass in your purses, no wallet for your journey, neither two coats, nor shoes, nor staff; for the laborer is worthy of his food." Matt. 10: 7-10. This seemed to Francis like a direct command from heaven and he forthwith adopted it as the complete program of his life. He soon began to preach in a simple way, and a number of his fellow townsmen were induced to follow his example and to sell all that they had to take up the cross. To all queries Francis and his followers made reply: "We are penitents, natives of the city of Assisi." In 1215, he received the sanction of the Pope to found an order of penitents. They went all over Europe preaching the simple gospel and the life of self sacrifice and service. Thus was founded the great order of the Franciscan monks. Francis counselled his followers to continue to refuse the wealth of the world, but the arguments of those who thought that much good might be done by means of the offerings of admirers and adherents prevailed. So then: "After the death of St. Francis, \* \* \* a stately church was immediately constructed at Assisi to receive the remains of their humble

founder, who in his lifetime had chosen a deserted hovel for his home; and a great chest was set up to receive offerings."

There were other Friars and monks who undertook measures of reform, such at St. Dominic and Marsiglius of Padua, but time and space forbid anything more than a mere mention here.

#### WYCLIFFE.

John Wycliffe was an English Reformer, who was born in 1320 and died about 1384. As Professor at Oxford and as translator of the Bible he was sometimes called the father of the later English prose. Through his investigations in the Word of God he became convinced that the doctrine of transubstantiation was wrong. He began to decry pilgrimages as a relief for the conscience, the worship of saints, and the practice of selling indulgences. Wycliffe soon gathered about him a company of men who, because of their peculiar habits, became known as the Simple Priests. These men, clad in rustic garments, with no shoes for their feet, oftentimes crude of speech and unlettered, went about everywhere in England preaching the simple gospel as a powerful protest against the evils of the times. It was at the burning fires of Wycliffe and his simple priests or Lollards, as they were called, that John Huss lighted the torch of revolt against the Roman system, and with it illuminated the darkness of his native Bohemia.

Both the civil and ecclesiastical authorities were opposed to the preaching of Wycliffe and his simple priests, but they were almost powerless to prevent them. For Wycliffe's movement swept over England during the period of the Hundred Years War with France. During the progress of this war English authorities had enough



to do with their troubles abroad to say nothing of lighting the torch of persecution against earnest citizens at home, however misguided they might be. In the Church of Western Europe too, it was the time of the so-called Babylonian Captivity. So then, Wycliffe and his associates were protected by a wall of political conditions much after the good fortune of Luther a hundred and twenty-five to a hundred and fifty years later. The Lollards, in their opposition to Rome, faced a distracted government and a divided Church. After the death of Wycliffe, the simple priests and their followers were without competent leadership. Lollardism lost its head and organization and, under the stroke of an early persecution, it degenerated into the spirit of political revolt.

#### JOHN HUSS.

John Huss, who was born in 1369 and died July 6th, 1415, was the first Rector at the University of Prague, the capital of Bohemia. He preached the doctrines of Wycliffe among his native countrymen. So like the preaching of Wycliffe, was that of Huss that he is said to have produced little that was original. He held that it is "no article of the faith that one must obey the Pope to be saved." He frequently quarreled with the Roman Church, and finally, in 1415, he was summoned before the Council of Constance to answer to the charge of heresy. As soon as he arrived at Constance, he was seized by the Archbishop of Constance and imprisoned in the castle of Gottlieben. Here he was chained day and night, poorly fed and sick. He was tried before the whole Council on June 6th to 8th. When asked whether he would recant his heretical teachings he said: "In the truth of the gospel which I have written, taught and preached, I will die to-day with gladness." He was soon to have the privilege of dying for the truth which he

preached; for on the 6th day of July, 1415, he was taken from prison and burned in the public square of the city.

It is related that the Emperor Sigismund had guaranteed a safe conduct to Huss, if he would come to the Council. But the Emperor was deterred from carrying out his agreement by reason of ecclesiastical pressure brought to bear upon him. When the pyre which was to consume him was lighted, Huss fixed his accusing glance on the faithless Emperor. Years afterward, when Luther was before the Diet of Worms, The Emperor Charles V was urged to break truce with Luther in like manner, but he remembered the story of the blushes of the guilty Sigismund and kept his word. The ashes of Huss were thrown into the Rhine lest they should become an object of veneration and superstition among his followers. But the spirit of Huss, following along the courses of the Rhine, was to rise and return to plague the unrepentant Rome a hundred years later, through the mighty leadership of the peasant priest and professor who lived and labored some distance from the flow of that same famous river.

#### SAVONAROLA.

Girolamo Savonarola, a Dominican Friar and preacher of the city of Florence, believed himself to be a prophet, sent of God, to scourge and to warn Italy on account of her sins. He believed, that God was about to punish his native land for her sins, and he preached repentance with all the fervor of an impetuous nature set on fire by a holy zeal. He openly reproved the Medici for their crimes, and urged the people to depose them, and set up the Republic. In 1494, Charles VIII of France approached with a large army, for the purpose of conquering Italy. In the mind of Savonarola and his followers,

the day of judgment and vengeance had arrived. The people arose en masse against their wicked rulers, and put Savonarola at the head of the government. And so, we have here the contradictory and anomalous spectacle of a great city ruled entirely by the Priesthood in the very midst of the pagan splendors of Italy. But the triumph of the reform element was short lived. Like most movements of this kind it virtually defeated itself by its own excesses. Charles VIII soon abandoned his Italian campaign in disgrace and, in the year 1498, the Medici returned to their old power. The same year, Savonarola was burned at the stake, in the public square, of the city of Florence, the city which he so dearly loved, and for which he was willing to lay down his life. His was a powerful example of a faith which probably was united with a zeal without sufficient knowledge. Savonarola's was the last as well as the most spectacular of all the abortive and unsuccessful efforts at reform.

#### THE GREAT COUNCILS.

Out of the strange conditions of the fourteenth century grew the Great Councils and their unsuccessful attempts to reform the Church.

One of the great outstanding historical features of this age is what is known as the 'Babylonian Captivity', from 1305 to 1377. The Babylonian Captivity gets its name from the analogy of the captivity of the Jews when the Jewish Church and people were carried bodily to Babylon by King Nebuchadnezzar's army in 587 B. C.

The story of this "Captivity" runs as follows. King Philip IV of France, who is known in history as Philip the Fair (1285-1314), and Pope Boniface VIII became involved in a prolonged and bitter quarrel chiefly over the question of the taxation of the clergy. In the long contest, the King won, and the victory of the King was

the beginning of more than a hundred years of trouble for the Church. It sowed the seeds of the Great Schism and did much to prepare the way of the Reformation by demonstrating its necessity.

Philip was supported by the French Legists or lawyers. They held the theory of Absolutism which they had learned from Rome herself. Time was to show that they had learned their lesson well. The theory which made the King absolute and supreme was, during the next hundred years, to prove as effective a barrier against the extension of Rome as is the opposite theory of Democracy.

After his quarrel with Boniface, the French King now resolved to have no more trouble with the Pope, and, at the next election, he saw to it that the College of Cardinals elected a French Pope, the Archbishop of Bordeaux, who became Pope as Clement V. He remained in France during the period of his Papacy and was partly subject to the will of the King of France. The French King now provided a home for the Popes at the city of Avignon, France, and for sixty years the Popes lived at Avignon in a home of splendor, luxury and avarice. In order to maintain the extravagance of the Papal court, the Church of all the world was heavily taxed. Simony became the rule of the hour. The sin of Simony refers to the sale of office or position in the Church. In order to keep up their lavish display, those who were near to the Pope demanded pay for the offices which were in their power. A Bishop must pay the Archbishop for his place. He in turn demanded the same from the Priests under his dominions. And the priests had to reimburse themselves by taxing the poor people and imposing all kinds of heavy fees. The spread of Simony became such a scandal that, in the course of time, those rulers who were not in sympathy with the French government re-

fused to permit their subjects to make further contributions to the so-called "French" Pope. Finally, to the great joy of the Faithful, Pope Gregory XI voluntarily returned to Rome in 1377. He died in 1378, and the election of his successor was held at Rome. The Roman citizens stood without while the election was being held and loudly demanded the election of an Italian Pope. Under such circumstances, an Italian, Urban VI, was elected, but when the French Cardinals got away from Rome, they declared that the election was forced and proceeded to elect a French Pope who was called Clement VII. From henceforth until the year 1419 there were two Popes with two rival colleges of Cardinals. Each claimed to be the supreme head of the Church and the very vice-gerent of God. The scandal grew apace. The countries which were politically aligned against France supported the Italian Popes and those who sympathized with France supported the French Anti-Popes. Thus: England, Germany, Bohemia, Holland, Hungary and Italy supported Pope Urban; while France, Spain, Savoy and Lorraine were on the side of Pope Clement. As the breach continued to widen, the means of settling the dispute and thus healing the scandalous Schism were discussed in various quarters. The old question as to whether a General Council is superior to the Pope was revived. In this case, it seems that it was absolutely necessary to acknowledge the superiority of the Council, if the Schism was to be healed.

In 1409, a General Council was assembled at Pisa, a city of Tuscany in Northern Italy, for the purpose of dealing with this vexing question. But the action of the Council was ill advised and hasty. They summoned before them the two Popes, Gregory XII of Rome and Benedict XIII of Avignon, and, when both refused to

appear, they were summarily deposed. The Council then proceeded to elect a new Pope, who took his place in history as John XXIII. But the other two refused to abdicate, and now, instead of two Popes there were three. The Council of Pisa had made the scandal much worse instead of hushing it up.

Things could not move along thus, and within five years, another Council was called at the city of Constance. The Council met in November, 1414, and continued in session for three years. It was a grand and imposing affair. There were present twenty-three Cardinals, thirty-three Archbishops, one hundred and fifty Abbots, over one hundred Dukes and Earls, and hundreds of lesser lights of the Church. The task of this Council was three fold, namely: to heal the Great Schism, to effect a large measure of reform in the Church, and to deal with the new heresies which had arisen.

For the purpose of healing the Schism, the Council deposed John XXIII and Benedict XIII and proceeded to elect a new Pope, Martin V. Martin V was generally acknowledged as the true Pope. John XXIII fled from the Council and, within a short time withdrew. Benedict XIII soon lost all his following. The Great Schism, was fully healed by the year 1419.

On the subject of reform the members of the Council found it difficult to come to an agreement. Most of the time was spent in fruitless discussion of non-essentials. The Council contented itself with passing a series of decrees, among which was one to the effect that a General Council should meet every ten years for the purpose of considering the reform of the Church. A list of the reforms which the Council itself had failed to effect was prepared and turned over to the Pope for execution. One of the notable acts of this Council was the decree called

Sacrosancta, which declared that a General Council is superior to the Pope.

We have seen how the Council dealt with the problems of heresy in the account of the trial and execution of John Huss.

The Council of Basle (1431-1449) met to consider a course of action against the Bohemian heretics; for the execution of John Huss had not solved the burning questions of conscience which he had raised as easily as the Council supposed. The Council quarreled with Pope Eugene II, and was dissolved by his authority. The Council refused to stand dissolved, deposed the Pope himself, and finally reluctantly yielded to his authority. The Pope, in the meanwhile, called a Council at Ferrara which remained in session from 1438 to 1439. Its chief claim to historical notice is the fact that it partly effected a reconciliation between the Eastern and the Western Churches which had been divided since the year 1054. But the Eastern Churches repudiated the agreement, and the division between the Greek Catholic and the Roman Catholic Churches is as marked as ever.

#### THE GREAT DISCOVERIES AND INVENTIONS.

The great discoveries and inventions of the age, preceding the Reformation, affected the Reformation indirectly, in that they brought the whole race to the beginning of a cycle of great changes and opened up the first pathway into the broad reaches of the modern world. We can take time to give each of them little more than a bare mention.

Navigation was given a great stimulus by reason of the invention of the mariner's compass. Men no longer needed to steer by the uncertain light of the stars which were wont to hide their kindly light during a storm

when they were most needed. Mariners now began to strike out boldly into the deep instead of hugging the shore as in the former days. The mariner's compass made a pathway on the trackless sea.

Prince Henry the Navigator of Portugal is known in history as one of the boldest and most progressive of all the men of his time. Under the protection of his flag, and by means of his patronage, his own countrymen gradually pushed their conquest of the mysteries of the deep farther and farther. In 1445, they reached Cape Verde and in 1486 Diaz rounded the Cape of Good Hope. In 1498, Vasca Da Gama reached the city of Calicut in Hindustan by way of the Cape of Good Hope. This event marked an epoch in the history and progress of the world. From henceforth, a new route was opened to the Spice Islands and the rich trade of the Orient. The Italian cities were now to have a rival which they could in no wise suppress or conquer. The greater part of that trade which Europe had, for centuries, carried on with the East was henceforth to go by way of the open sea, and the rich toll of profit was lost to the cities of Northern Italy. The land of the Popes suffered a very serious decline in commercial importance. It was partly on this account, partly on account of moral and political conditions that the intellectual center of the world now moved northward. From this day forth Italy ceased to be the leader of men in thought and culture. This fact has had a profound effect on the history of the whole world.

The world's horizon was greatly extended by the discovery of America in the latter part of the fifteenth century. Columbus made his famous voyage in 1492 under the patronage of Queen Isabella of Castile. In 1498 he discovered the mainland of South America near the



mouth of the Orinoco River. It seems most significant and Providential that the new world was opened just before the Reformation. The discovery of America made the world too large for the absolute control of any ecclesiastical prince and opened an asylum for those who were oppressed on account of religious convictions which were contrary to the opinions of the Powers that be.

Printing was one of the great inventions of the fifteenth century. Since the dawn of time, men had laboriously wrought by hand in their efforts to communicate with one another and to preserve the records of the deeds of the race. There was little improvement in the method. As late as the middle of the fifteenth century, when Cosimo de Medici wished to have some books made, he employed forty-five copyists. By working patiently for two years they succeeded in producing two hundred copies. Books were so scarce and expensive that they were utterly beyond the reach of all but the very rich. The most freely circulated book of all was the New Testament. Experts have counted about one hundred and twenty thousand copies of the New Testament or parts of the same, which were made by means of the slow and laborious hand process.

It remained for the careful experimenters of Germany and Holland to perfect an art which was to revolutionize the whole process of spreading knowledge throughout the world. During the years 1444 to 1450 a German mechanic named Gutenberg began experimenting with movable blocks of wood, at the city of Metz. The amazing possibilities of Gutenberg's invention developed slowly. The first book that was published was a copy of the Bible which was printed at Mayence. Since that day, the art of printing has proved one of the greatest of boons to the human race. Books and reading now came

within the reach of the poor. What a marvelously strange feature of the combination of the Providence of God and the affairs of men! The art of printing made it possible for the Reformers to go to the people with the facts and arguments which they were presenting for the salvation of the souls of men. Luther's works were distributed from busy printing presses by the hundreds of thousands, and John Calvin, through the medium of the press, found an audience in all the lands of Western Europe.

The invention of gunpowder put an end to the ancient feudalism. Prior to this, most of the fighting was hand to hand. The armor of a Knight was expensive. In addition, the fighting man had to be provided with a horse. The horses for war-like purposes were furnished to the poor by the rich, so that every man who bore arms was either a rich feudal lord or an attendant upon a feudal lord. Now, however, with a gun in his hand, the unmounted peasant was as much a military force as the mounted Knight. The old castle walls with their wide moats were no longer effective against gun and cannon. The castles of the Mediæval lords lost their original significance. To this day, all along the Rhine, the old castles which were the means of defense for the Knights and Ladies of those romantic times, remain as striking relics of the Age of Feudalism. Their chief interest, now, is in their historical significance. They stand as silent yet strangely romantic and powerful reminders of a by-gone day.

Thus, through the progress of art and invention and by means of great discoveries, the world was prepared for the great and crucial event of the Reformation. The broadening of commerce through the improvement of the means of navigation, made the interests of the world more varied and, at the same time, brought the race

closer together, so that any agitation or movement at the center was speedily felt at the remotest ends of the earth. The world was bigger, broader, brighter, and better for all these improvements. It was a world made ready for the message of frank and fearless men who for conscience' sake, were ready to break with the traditions of the ages.

#### THE FALL OF CONSTANTINOPLE—POLITICAL CONDITIONS.

An event which had a most far reaching effect on the course of the progress of Europe was the Fall of Constantinople.

This was the ancient city of Byzantium which was converted into the capital of the Eastern Empire and renamed Constantinople, that is, "the city of Constantine," by the Emperor Constantine the Great, in the year A. D. 330. It was the second capital of the great Roman Empire, and was most cosmopolitan or world wide in its character and interests. To this new center of the Greek civilization, Constantine and his successors brought the art treasures and riches of the world. There were three hundred and twenty-six churches and many great and costly palaces.

For centuries the city of Constantinople stood as a wall of defense against the encroachments of the semi-barbarous people of the North and East. Here the proud and powerful waves of the Ottoman invasion of the Turks vainly surged for years against the walls of the gateway of the West.

It was also in the city of Constantinople that there was erected a power which withstood to the utmost the Papal supremacy of the Roman Bishop. Constantinople preserved for the world the spirit of non-Roman Catholicism. The Great Council of Chalcedon in 431 decreed that the

same rank belonged to the Patriarch of Constantinople as to the Bishop of Rome. It was in this city, also, that the old Greek language and literature were preserved at the time when Rome herself was bowing her head to the storm of the Barbarian invasion.

During all the perilous times of the Dark Ages, Constantinople kept the candle of the ancient learning burning more or less brightly.

It was the question of the Papal supremacy which was foremost in the separation of the Greek and the Roman branches of the Catholic Church in 1054. Caerularius, the Patriarch of Constantinople, refused to render the homage and obedience demanded of him by the Bishop of Rome, and his rebellion finally led to a complete separation of the Eastern Church and the Western Church.

But the Ottoman Turks had been pushing their conquests gradually nearer to the ancient bulwark of an independent faith. In 1389, Murad I (1361-1389), after a crushing defeat of the Servian and Bulgar defenders at Kosovo, took the city of Adrianople. One of his successors, Mohammed II (1451-1481), pushed on to the conquest of Constantinople. After a siege of fifty-three days, the city was taken by a grand assault. The Eastern Emperor, Constantine XII, died in the defense of the city. The long reign of Christianity in this heart of the world's political and intellectual life, came to an end. The cross was supplanted by the Crescent, and the ancient church of St. Sophia became a Mohammedan Mosque. Since that day, the life and habit of the city has been thoroughly Orientalized, and Constantinople has become, in every respect, a Turkish city.

The immediate effect of the fall of Constantinople was that the way to Rome was laid open for the Mohammedan invaders of the peace of Europe. Italy was invaded and,

in 1479, the ancient and proud city of Venice was compelled to buy immunity from the flames. The Eastern possessions and the rich commerce of the Orient were laid under tribute to the power of the Ottoman rulers of the destinies of the East. Chin I (1512-1520), and Soliman the Magnificent (1520-1566), enjoyed dominion over a great Empire which stretched eastward from the Danube to the Euphrates, a distance of a thousand miles, and southward from the Adriatic to the Cataracts of the Nile, a distance of about two thousand miles. The high water mark of the Mohammedan invasion of Europe was reached at the time of the siege of Vienna in 1683. The city would have fallen into the hands of the Mussulmans had it not been for the glorious victory of the Polish King, John Sobieski, and the German Princes who came to the rescue of the European civilization. In these days, when some men are so busy trying to lay the stigma of Barbarism on the Germans, it is well to remember that their bravery and intelligence helped to save the civilization of Europe from the dominance of the Turk.

The possession of Constantinople by the Turks had an important bearing on the political fortunes of the German Reformation by way of creating a diversion which compelled the German Emperor to abandon repeated projects to crush the Reformation in order to unite his people against the more serious menace of the oncoming Turks. We shall take up the details of these circumstances in a later chapter.

Following the invasion of the Turk, there were great political changes in all of Western Europe. It was a time of great upheaval and change, both in practice and ideals.

Owing to the many changes dependent on the progress of invention and discovery which we have described

above, the period from 1250 to 1500 is marked by what is known in history as "The Rise of the Third Estate." This is an expression which refers to the growing importance of the trading and merchant classes of Europe. Before the advent of this change, there were but two classes of men who ruled the destinies of the Western World. They were the members of the Clergy and the Nobles. These two "Estates" now had to yield, more and more to the rising influence of the so-called Third Estate, or Middle Class.

The condition of the ordinary Peasant was, as yet, little changed. He had to await the great changes of the French Revolution for the day and hour of his opportunity.

As the old Feudalism broke up, the spirit of nationality began to wake up and manifest itself in the affairs of men and of nations. The two great nations, England and France, began to assume more definite form and function. Henry VII of England, became one of the first of the great national Monarchs with almost unlimited power. Louis XI of France, by means of shrewd diplomacy and close bargaining, succeeded in consolidating and uniting his realm into one people. Ferdinand of Spain began to reach out after world dominion through the riches of the newly discovered world. In 1494, Charles VIII of France, invaded Italy. His attempt was the first of all the wars of Western Europe for a real *national* aggrandizement.

It was preëminently the day of the absolutism of the Princes of Western Europe which came about through the desire of their people to further the new national ambition and hope. The horizon of men was broadening. The purpling skies of the Occident were aglow with the hope of wealth and of conquest. The golden West was

flashing its challenge to the spirit of adventure, in the colors of the setting sun. There was a stirring and a moving among the peoples of the world such as had not been for centuries. France laid claim to the districts of Naples and Milan in Southern and Northern Italy, and, to establish these claims, Louis XII and Francis I, his successor, waged bloody and desolating wars with Spain and Italy.

The political situation in Europe at the opening of the sixteenth century was confused and chaotic. The foundations of society were being broken up. The Church of Rome, as we have described before, was declining from her zenith of power just before the Reformation. Henceforth the Roman See was to find its opposition in the unseen yet powerful spirit of nationality which, like the rising of the tide was to set its powerful current against the temporal power of the Pope. Some of the Popes themselves were given more to the care of their temporal dominions, and they were more devoted to the patronage of art than to the care of the Church. The Great Schism had revealed to the world the inner weakness and corruption of the whole Papal system. The Great Councils and their failure to reform the Church pointed to the necessity of the revolution that was inevitable. The long, long night of Papal misrule and external splendor, wanting so largely in a real, spiritual content was passing. The hour had come when the tocsin of Luther should herald the light of the new day. Amen.

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE GERMAN REFORMATION AND ITS CHAMPION.

“Stand fast, therefore in the liberty wherewith Christ has made us free.” Gal. 5:1.

It was but natural that the revolt against the narrowness and tyranny of Rome should originate among the German people. They of all peoples were farthest removed from the racial, historical, and political influences of Rome. The tree of German life struck its roots deep into a soil which had little in common with Rome. Their independence and freedom were proverbial. The nature of the German mind was such that it was clearly impossible for any man-made traditions to bind its conscience for long centuries.

The history of the origin and life of the German tribes is shrouded more or less in obscurity. As early as the time of Cæsar, that great soldier and writer found the semi-barbarous peoples along the upper and lower courses of the Rhine and Weser, with certain well established forms of government and clearly defined habits of life. That they were brave and resourceful, Rome learned in many a hard fought battle. When the Roman Empire, in her world-wide sweep of conquest, was bringing all the nations under the powerful sway of the Roman Eagles, she found an impassable barrier in the stubborn resistance of the German tribes. Greece and the Orient had been conquered; France and England lay at the feet of Rome; but the Roman legions, like the waves of the sea, surged and broke against the rock of German re-



sistance beyond the Rhine. The Germans were never conquered.\*

The last attempt to conquer the German tribes was made by Augustus who, in the year A. D. 9, sent his best general, Varus, with three legions into the wilds of Germany. Near the banks of the Weser, they were met in the wilds of the Teutoburg forests and cut to pieces by the German leader Arminius and his hordes. It is said that Augustus for days paced through the halls of his palace crying in despair, "Varus, give me back my legions." The Rhine became, thereafter, the permanent boundary of the Roman Empire.

As children of the forest, cradled by the North Sea, the German character partook of the nature of its surroundings. Like the sea, the Germans were wild, aggressive, unconquerable, independent; like the forest, they were of a sober mind, born of the somber silence of the forest depth and calm. Of subjective, inward cast and meditative mind were they, as though they drank inspiration from the soulful sighing of the winds through the hemlock, pine, and oak of their native haunts. There is in the German disposition, even to-day, an inwardness which, defying all subtleties of logic, goes straight to the heart of truth and ignores both the appearance and the splendor of externals.

The present day inwardness of the German character is illustrated in the penetrating depth of their philosophy and the thoroughness of their organization. It was shown in the manner in which Luther and his friends ignored and despised the external splendors of Rome, for the sake of the true inner principle, the heart's doctrines of the Kingdom of God.

\*Although the Romans penetrated as far as the Elbe River, they made no permanent conquest beyond the Rhine.

The independence of the German mind and life bore fruit also in the Teutonic constitutions of government to which that mind gave birth. The constitution of England, which is the model and foundation of our own, has for its fundamental principles and framework the principles and ideas of the old Germanic tribes. The seeds of the English constitution were planted in England with the first invasion of the "Mother Country" by the Angles and Saxons which began about 449.\*

This same spirit of independence and separatism was further manifest in a rather detailed division of territory among the various German tribes and peoples. At the time of the Reformation, there were within the limits of the present German Empire, no less than three hundred separate states and principalities each with its own ruler and more or less independent organization. It was this same looseness and independence of organization, which we shall find, had much to do with the character and success of the Reformation.

Among such a deep thinking people, we naturally look for thorough scholarship. This was not wanting in the days of Martin Luther. The Humanists of Germany were numerous and active. The first translation of the Hebrew Bible was made by Reuchlin, a German scholar, just before the Reformation took place.

#### THE BIRTH AND TRAINING OF MARTIN LUTHER.

Of such a people and amid such an environment, Martin Luther was born. We speak of him first, because, from the year 1517 to the year 1530, the Reformation and the biography of Martin Luther are practically the same.

\*The Constitution of England is not a formal document. It consists of the whole body of English Common Law and the documents which sustain it, such as the Bill of Rights (1689).

It is impossible to separate the man and the movement of which he was the head. The Reformation and its champion are so vitally connected, that it is impossible to consider one without the other. The Reformation struggle is the story of the heart struggle of a race mirrored in the soul conflicts of one man—Martin Luther. It would be as hard, therefore, to recite the story of the Reformation without telling the life of Martin Luther as it would be to recite the play of Hamlet with Hamlet left out.

Martin Luther was born at Eisleben in the Electorate of Saxony, the seat and birthplace of the old Anglo-Saxon race. He was the first child of Hans and Margaret Luther, or Luder, as they were known in the German language of that day. Luther's parents had just moved to Eisleben from the town of Möhra, which was the seat of the old, ancestral home. The village of Eisleben lay near the foot hills of the mountains of the celebrated Thuringian forest. It was in this vicinity where, almost seven hundred years before, St. Boniface had so effectively preached the gospel of Jesus Christ to the half civilized Saxon tribes. Luther's parents were humble folks, thrifty, and intelligent. His father worked in the mines of Eisleben.

To the lowly home of these sturdy peasants came this little babe; just a cry in the night, a helpless, frail bit of humanity. And yet, with that cry, there came a new note in the world's busy jargon of affairs; a new day was ushered in. For the babe that slumbered under the roof of that Thuringian cottage was destined, under the mighty hand of God, to shatter the traditions of centuries, to break the shackles of sin from many fettered souls, and to usher in the broader light of the better day by his earnest and fearless preaching of the Christ he loved.

Luther attended school in the village of Mansfield, whither his parents had moved six months after his birth. From this school he was sent to Magdeburg for a short time for the sake of the superior advantages to be found in the larger town. His preparatory training was completed at the town of Eisenach. It was here that Luther, with some of his fellow students, supplemented his slender income by singing from door to door.

While out singing on one of these occasions, Luther's fine voice attracted the attention of Conrad and Ursula Cotta. These were people of means who took him into their home and showed him great kindness. They ministered to his necessities and made it possible for him to pursue his studies without interruption and finish his academic course. It was just a little thought, a word, a gentle deed, a cheerful ministry to the needs of a growing boy who was to them but a passing stranger on the toiling way of life. And yet, how that little act of kindness, done for the sake of love alone, with no thought of earthly reward, has flashed the name of Cotta as an example of Christian ministry, on the glowing skies of history, before the Church of all the ages! Verily the Master has well said: "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto the least of these, my brethren, ye have done it unto me."

In 1501, at the age of eighteen, we find Luther at college in the University of Erfurt. At this place Luther developed that habit of looking within, and the practice of deep thought on the eternal truths of God, which were a part of his life throughout his entire career. These habits proved vital factors in his own life and were of the greatest importance to the Church and the world. It was while a student at the University that Luther, for the first time, saw a copy of the entire Bible. With the eagerness of one who has found a most precious treasure,

he read it through. He had not known that the Word of God contained more than the fragmentary selections from the Pericopes, which constituted the lessons read in the churches on Sunday. One of the parts which interested him most deeply was the beautiful story of Hannah and her consecration of the boy Samuel to his great work and ministry. From his references to this incident, we gather that it had much to do with the shaping of his own career as a prophet of the Most High.

The finding of this Word of God seems like the merest accident, and yet, in the providence of God, what results spring from so small an event! It is nothing strange that a college student, browsing in a library, should hit upon a volume like this and be attracted thereby. And yet, by the grace of God, such common-place events become the mighty instruments in carrying out His eternal will. These are the forces which overturn the power and sway of Empire and bring to nought the counsels of the devil and all his hosts. In the economy of God there are no accidents, but purposed events which lead men, as instruments in the hands of an overruling Providence, to heights of which they know not themselves. Luther's finding the Bible during the formative period of his career made him the broad champion of religious liberty and of the life which is lived "by faith of the Son of God who loved me, and gave himself for me." Gal. 2:20.

From the activities of college life, just as he was about to take his degree, Luther suddenly stepped into the seclusion of an Augustinian cloister. While he was earnestly pursuing his collegiate studies, his thoughts turned most seriously to the study of religion and his personal condition. His naturally sensitive conscience was also aroused by the sudden death of a friend. This alert state of conscience gave way to a condition bordering on ter-

ror by reason of a narrow escape from death by lightning during a severe thunderstorm. Luther believed that God was punishing him for his sins, and that he was spared to repent in order to make his calling and election sure. His mind was made up, and he determined on his course. Without consent of his parents, or consulting with friends, he announced his intention to enter the Cloister. He renounced all his worldly ambitions, to take this step and entered the Monastery at Erfurt on July 17, 1505. Luther's father had set his heart on having his oldest son become a lawyer and this decision of Luther's caused the father most bitter disappointment. He protested strongly, but finally yielded a reluctant and unwilling consent. Luther's friends, who cherished high hopes for his great talents and abilities, were astonished and chagrined. We can enter into fullest sympathy with Hans Luther and his friends. Yet out of this very disappointment was to come the realization of all their hopes for Luther's career.

The Cloister was to become a crucible of refining fires to purge out the dross of superstition, of tradition, of formality and self-confidence which would otherwise have weakened Luther's mighty arm. In the heat of the penitential torments which there afflicted his soul, was to be shaped a new faith, a new life and a steadfast purpose. On the forge of monkish self-denial, under the mighty strokes of conscience, the several elements of Luther's character were to be welded into one united whole; an instrument which was to be: "Mighty through God to the tearing down of strongholds."

Luther was now to enter upon a religious experiment the far reaching results of which were to affect the course of history. He went down into the depths. He probed to the bottom, the whole system of forms, of good works, and of penances, which, throughout the course of the

centuries, Rome had built up as the very fabric of religion. His experience exploded the Mediæval idea of God which pictures Him as the great policeman of the Universe, anxious and ever ready to wreak wrath and vengeance and destruction upon the sons of men. This was the old idea of Rome; an idea expressed in multitudes of prayers, of penances, of masses, of sacrifices and of good works. It is like the old delusion of the Hindus who, during its season, go by tens of thousands to wash in the river Ganges, that they may wash away the stain of a guilty conscience. Luther's experience was the old, old story of Jacob wrestling with the angel of God through the long, dark night of self-confidence to the dawning of the day of faith. Like him too, Luther, helpless on the arm of his Saviour, in full consciousness of his own weakness, was by the might and mercy of God crowned "Israel"—Prince of God.

So severe were his prayers, exertions, and penances, that Luther himself said: "Had I not been rescued by the comforts of the Gospel, I could not have lived two years longer. If ever," says he, "a monk got to heaven through monkery, I should have been certain of salvation." The young monk grew pale and wan. He paced back and forth through the Cloister, moaning and groaning in agony of soul. He lived in daily and hourly fear of the implacable wrath of God, and felt sure that he had not *done* enough to merit salvation. Thus the one great question which drove him into the Monastery: "What must I do to be saved?" remained unanswered, and, like the will-of-the-wisp, the light of peace and true joy ever evaded his eager apprehension.

At this juncture, Von Staupitz, the Vicar General of the Order, took an interest in the struggles of young Luther. He pointed out to him that he should dwell

more on the love of God than on His wrath and that the comforts of the Gospel were to be placed over against the rigors of the Law. Thus the light gradually dawned upon the darkened and saddened walls of his soul. Finally the full meaning of the Word: "The just shall live by faith" (Rom. 1:17), broke upon him and Luther stepped out of the prison house of his old self, a free man, a redeemed soul, filled with an insatiate desire to tell to other men the wonderful story of the grace which had made him, vile as he was, a child of God. He puts his doctrine briefly, in a wonderful prayer: "Lord Jesus, thou hast taken thyself, what is mine and given to me what is thine."

During this period of crisis, he was helped wonderfully by the reading of a little book by John Tauler the Mystic, entitled, "The German Theology." Luther claims that from this book, beside the Bible and the works of St. Augustine, he learned more than from any other of what God and the Church and Christ and Man are. Luther now began to balance the works of St. Augustine, who teaches absolute grace and predestination against the works of Aristotle, who teaches the doctrine of Utilitarianism, or the supremacy of human effort. Utilitarianism is a philosophy which teaches that to be useful is to be good and to be good is to attain unto salvation, which is the highest and best within the reach of man. The philosophy of Aristotle is, at bottom, a worldly, heathen philosophy which shuts the soul of man within the narrow limits of its own works. If we may judge from the fruits thereof, Luther was right when he accused the Roman Theology of substituting the works of Aristotle for the Word of God. Luther utterly rejected Aristotle as an authority on morals, and cast him out of the class



room for the more Christian Augustinian philosophy and theology.

In the year 1508, Von Staupitz called Luther to be Professor in the new university at Wittenberg, which was founded by the Elector Frederick the Wise in 1502.

As the word "Elector" occurs again and again in the history of the Reformation, it may be well to stop long enough to define it. An "Elector" was one of the seven Princes upon whom was conferred the power to choose the Emperor or head of the so-called "Holy Roman Empire." The "Empire," as we have learned, was a somewhat shadowy successor of the old Roman Empire.

The seven men who conferred this title of Emperor were: The Archbishop of Mainz, the Archbishop of Cologne, the Archbishop of Treves, the King of Bohemia, the Margrave of Brandenburg, the Count Palatinate of the Rhine, and the Duke of Saxony.

The Electors together with the Princes and rulers of the many separate and independent German states, constituted the Diet or Congress of Germany. It was a loosely organized body and federation of more or less independent princes. The Diet had little more than advisory power. Of the Electors mentioned, Frederick, the friend and patron of Luther, was among the most prominent and influential.

While Luther was Professor at Wittenberg, he spent much of his time in the class room lecturing on the Psalms and on the Book of Romans. He put in his spare time broadening his own mind by cultural studies of various kinds. In 1511, he was sent on business of his Order (The Augustinian Monks), to the city of Rome. When he came in sight of the ancient city, it is said, he fell on his knees and exclaimed: "Hail! Holy Rome!"

The unsophisticated monk was soon to have a rude awakening. When he entered into the life of the city, and saw the ease, splendor, and profligacy of the lives of the officials of the Holy See, he was filled with disgust and deep chagrin. To him, it seemed that those to whom had been committed the solemn trust: "Feed the church of God," were turned into devouring wolves who spared neither the flock nor their substance. He afterward said: "I would not take a hundred thousand guilders and not have seen Rome; otherwise I might have some fear that I did the Pope an injustice; but we speak what we have seen." Would it not be well if the hand of Providence would, in like manner, lead every true Minister of the Word within the inner circle of the glory and splendor of the modern world to behold the empty pretenses of modern society that he, as Luther did, might come forth from his experiences satiate and with open eyes to exclaim with Solomon: "Vanity of vanities; all is vanity!"

After his return from Rome, the degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred on Luther in 1512, when he was but twenty-eight years old.

#### LUTHER TURNS FROM ROME.

The German Reformation was not a sudden movement either as to its inception or as to its execution. There is an old story of Grecian Mythology which relates how the goddess Athene, in her birth, sprang fully armed and equipped from the head of Zeus. There are those who imagine that the German Reformation, in like manner, suddenly rose full orb'd out of the conditions and persons connected with the University at Wittenberg. Luther did not say: "Go to, now, I will reform the Church." Neither did he set out to make any radical changes in the head and members of the Church. The Reformation, on

the contrary, was a natural development, a growth just as the grain germinates and springs forth from the seed. The movement waited but for the time and the man. It needed, as Luther said, "some one to bell the cats."

The beginning of the German Reformation was on this wise: The Pope, Leo X, who loved literature and art more than he cared for religion or the weighty duties of his office, had set out to bring to completion the lofty project of the great St. Peter's cathedral, which occupied about three hundred years in building. In order to raise funds for the project, the Pope had hit upon the plan of selling indulgences. An indulgence is an order or warrant to draw upon the so-called "Treasures of the Church." These "treasures" consist of the accumulation of the good works of the Saints which are over and above the needs of those who perform them. They are called, by Rome, "Works of Supererogation," and they constitute a treasury of grace upon which future generations may draw as upon means of grace.

To the Archbishop of Mainz who was deeply in debt, the Pope granted the privilege of disposing of these indulgences with the understanding that he was to keep half of the proceeds of the sales. To the borders of Saxony came John Tetzel, a Dominican friar, selling these indulgences. Through them he promised remission of sin and escape from all the penalties thereof for both the living and the dead. It was the special duty and privilege of the living, he claimed, to purchase these indulgences for the dead in order to redeem them from purgatorial fires. "Just as soon as the money rattles in the chest," said Tetzel, "the soul flies out of Purgatory into Heaven." The chest in which the money was received was set up in the center of the large towns and a huge banner bearing the cross was set over it. The entrance of Tetzel and his

wares was celebrated, in every city, by an imposing procession.

There were grave doubts in the minds of many devout Christians, and protests against these proceedings came from every quarter. Finally, Tetzel drew near to the borders of Wittenberg and opened up his traffic in the town of Jüterbock. The time had come when some one at Wittenberg must speak out. Burning with indignation and righteous wrath Luther, as the custom of the time was, framed ninety-five theses, or propositions, for discussion and debate, which he nailed to the door of the Castle church at Wittenberg. The propositions were addressed, primarily to Tetzel and were to be the basis of a personal discussion. But such was the condition of the public mind at the time that the matter at once became public property and was discussed far and wide. The boldness of this simple monk and Professor who dared to defy the practice which the Pope had sanctioned was a source of great wonder to all. The news flew swiftly over the entire countryside. Copies of the Theses were soon circulated all over the Empire. The sound of Luther's hammer was heard around the world, and since that day has been resounding down through the ages. Tetzel wrote a reply for which he was honored with the title of Doctor of Divinity, but the dispute continued and the contention spread. The Pope, busy with his work of art, thought the whole thing a little squabble among monks until it had reached great proportions; then, at the earnest solicitation of the Roman Catholic Theologians, he summoned Luther to Rome to answer to the charge of heresy.

The Elector objected to Luther going to Rome for two reasons. First, he as well as the rest of the German Princes, was jealous of the interference of a foreign

Potentate with German affairs; and, second, he feared for the safety of Luther, whom he had learned to love and respect. It was finally arranged that the Roman Legate Cajetan should represent the Pope and that Luther should appear before him at Augsburg. Luther went before the Legate hoping most earnestly, that a fair presentation of his cause might change the attitude of the Pope toward him. But Cajetan received him with cold disdain. He refused to discuss the questions at issue with Luther, and to every utterance of the Reformer, he simply replied with the repeated demand: "Retract." This Luther could not, would not, do. The Legate returned to Rome in anger; and, in an agony of suspense, Luther and his friends awaited the Papal anathema. Luther was ready for flight or banishment. Many counselled immediate flight into France. The Elector hesitated. Luther waited.

In the meantime, there came to Saxony from Rome, Carl Von Miltitz, the Papal Chamberlain, who was himself a Saxon and skilled in diplomacy. His object was to remove the one obstacle to Luther's citation to Rome. He came offering the Elector the Papal honor of the "golden rose," the implied condition of receiving this honor being the surrender of Luther to the Papal authority. Von Miltitz met both the Elector and Luther but failed to move either. However, as a result of his visit, a meeting or disputation was arranged to take place at Leipsic between the Papal Theologian, Eck, Professor in the University at Ingolstadt, on the one hand, and Carlstadt and Luther, both Professors in the University at Wittenberg, on the other.

It may be well to stop here and give a short catalogue of Luther's friends without whom the Reformation could never have been carried to a successful conclusion. No man, be he ever so great, has ever carried a great work

to success without the aid of strong friends. Luther had the support of a powerful and influential Prince, Frederick the Wise, the Elector of Saxony. To this Prince the Electors at one time offered the Imperial crown. In 1525, he was succeeded by his brother, John the Constant, who followed closely in the footsteps of his illustrious brother. Among princes of lesser merit and power were such men as Ulrich Van Hutten and Franz Von Sickingen. Both of these men came to grief as a result of excesses due to a false interpretation of the new Gospel of liberty preached by the Reformers. Other staunch friends were such men as John Bugenhagen of Pomerania, Professor at Wittenberg, the noble Chancellor Brück, Justus Jonas, Professor at Wittenberg, George Spalatin, court preacher and private secretary of Frederick the Wise, Carlstadt, an enthusiastic but misguided Professor at Wittenberg, and Philip Melancthon, the young scholar and theologian who was destined to play a large part in the Reformation as author, scribe, rhetorician, diplomatist, and apologist. If we add to these the many lesser princes and the hundreds of humanists, scholars of no mean ability, who by their writings held up the extremes of the Papacy to ridicule and scorn, we have a fair roster of the men who stood shoulder to shoulder with Martin Luther in the great work of the Reformation. But, perhaps, of more importance than all these, were the thousands of the common people, men and women in the ordinary walks of life, artisans and peasants, who received Luther's message gladly and learned to love him and supported him with heart and voice and life.

The Leipsic Disputation took place in 1519. Although Carlstadt was the original object of attack, the disputation soon turned into a debate between Eck, the Papal Legate, and Luther. The subject upon which the debate

turned was *the Divine right and authority of the Pope*. Eck skilfully drew Luther out so that he was led to declare that the Pope, being human, might err, and that even a general Church Council, being composed of men of human clay, might make mistakes. When finally Eck pointed out that some of the truths for which Luther stood were those of the "heretic," John Huss, who was condemned and burned by the Council of Constance on July 6, 1415, Luther admitted that some of the articles of faith for which Huss was condemned and burned were eminently right and Christian. This was enough; it was all that Eck sought. What need had he of further witness? Luther was a Hussite! a self-accused and condemned heretic! He was worthy of burning fires of persecution and death. Duke George of Saxony, who sat in the disputation, was much disappointed with Luther's utterances. He was heard to say: "Plague take it!" From that day forth, Duke George and many others who had inclined toward Luther forsook his standard, and many of them became his bitter foes.

Events now moved rapidly. The Pope promptly issued a Bull or Proclamation of excommunication in which he condemned forty-one articles of Luther's faith. The thirty-third article of the Bull expressly condemns Luther for saying that it is not the will of the Holy Ghost that heretics should be burned. Beware! ye who now dare to differ with Rome; for, according to the doctrine of the Roman Church, heretics may yet be burned. The only cause which operates to prevent it is the shield of the civil authority working under the principle of civil and religious liberty and the more liberal intelligence of the modern world.

To show his contempt for Rome, on December 10, 1520, Luther led a large procession of students and pro-

fessors outside the gates of Wittenberg and publicly burned the Papal Bull. Thus Luther literally burned his bridges behind him. Retreat was, henceforth, impossible; there was nothing to do but to press forward. The sign of the family of Huss was the goose. When about to be burned at the stake, Huss exclaimed: "They may burn the goose, but the swan will come to plague and overthrow Rome." Luther was to be the swan whose mission it was to overturn the ancient tyranny, and free men, whom Rome had bound in body and soul.

Luther's pen now worked with incessant and powerful activity. To the Anathema of the Pope he replied with words that were heavy blows. In his tract entitled, "Address to the German Nobility," he called the attention of the Princes to the constant interference of Rome with the well-being and happiness of their subjects and the burdensome tax which Rome laid upon the shoulders of the poor. He urged them to reduce the begging Monasteries to about one-tenth of their number, and bade them command the marriage of the Clergy.

This practical booklet was followed by one on the doctrinal phases of the controversy entitled: "The Babylonian Captivity of the Church." In this pamphlet Luther attacked the Romish idea of the sacraments, declaring that there are but three: baptism, the Holy Communion, and penance, and that penance itself is but a phase or part of the Holy Communion. He also condemned the Roman doctrine of transubstantiation and the sacrifice of the Mass in the strongest terms. Both these books called forth vigorous replies from the Roman Catholic Theologians.

On June 28, 1519, Charles of Spain, the grandson of Maximilian, the former ruler, was elected Emperor. In addition to this honor, Charles was King of Spain, a



country which, at that time, was the possessor of the greatest colonial Empire in the world. He was also ruler of the Netherlands (now Belgium and Holland), Archduke of Austria, and he had extensive possessions in Italy. Although but a youth of nineteen years, he was the ruler of the greatest Empire in the world.

The Emperor owed his election to the German Princes. They made as a condition of his election, that he would reside in Germany, that he would not interfere with their hereditary dominions, and that he would make no important change in Germany without the consent of the German Diet or Congress. Charles agreed to these conditions; but the German Princes soon discovered that he was to be a cause of bitter disappointment to them. They thought that they had elected a German Emperor, but soon found that he was a Spaniard, shrewd, wily, and intensely bigoted. Charles was, throughout his whole life, devoutly attached to the Roman Church, and his one aim and object was to serve her. He consecrated his life to the stamping out of the so-called Lutheran heresy. When we remember that, at this moment, Church and State were practically one, and that heresy was also treason, we see in what grave peril the Wittenberg Reformers stood. Charles appointed his brother, Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria, to rule over Germany during his absence and spent most of his time in Spain.

In the year 1520, Charles made a journey to Germany. He was crowned King of the Romans at Aix-La-Chapelle, and then moved on up the Rhine to take part in an Imperial Diet at the city of Worms, where he had arranged to confer with the German Princes and deal with the troublesome Lutheran heresy.

Much to the disgust of Luther's opponents, Charles, who sought to conciliate his German subjects, sent a cour-

teous summons to Luther and bade him make public answer to his accusers before the Imperial Diet at Worms. There were many dangers. Friends urged Luther not to go, but to every importunity, he replied: "I will go to Worms if there are as many devils there as there are tiles on the roofs of the houses." Luther's journey from Wittenberg to Worms, a distance of about four hundred miles, was like a triumphal procession. Everywhere along the way, prince and peasant came out to give him honor and cheer. At Erfurt, the students of the University and the citizens of the town met him without the city gates and conducted him through the town. At Worms, the watchman on the steeple of the cathedral blew his trumpet when he saw the procession approaching, and thousands rushed out to see the monk who dared to defy the power of the Pope. A crowd of five thousand of the first men of the realm were gathered at the Diet when Luther entered the hall. General George Von Frudsburg tapped him on the shoulder and said: "My dear little monk, you are taking a step, the like of which neither I nor many a commander in our fiercest battles would take."

Luther's calmness, under the circumstances, was disconcerting to his enemies. It was remarked as a point against him that he carried a rose in his hand at which he kept smelling in a suspicious manner. The books which Luther had written were piled up before him, and he was asked two questions. First, whether he would acknowledge the authorship of these books; second, whether he would recant the declarations therein made against the church of Rome. He answered, in a low tone, that the books were his. As to the second question, he desired more time for consideration. The next day, upon his return to the Diet, Luther agreed that as to certain personal

strictures, he might have been too severe; for this he was sorry; but as to the books containing doctrinal and evangelical truth, and those which attacked the pernicious doctrines and corrupt practices of the Papacy, these he could not, nor would not, retract. In reply to the taunts of Eck, the Papal lawyer, Luther said: "Unless I can be convinced by the evidence of Holy Scripture, or by sound reason, I cannot and I will not recant; Here I stand; I cannot do otherwise: God help me, Amen!"

On the morning of the 19th of April, the Emperor announced that he had determined to return Luther to Wittenberg and to treat him as a heretic. On the 8th day of May, the Imperial ban, known in history as the *Édict* of the Diet of Worms, was pronounced against Luther through the Papal Legate Aleander and Luther, the fearless champion of the old, new faith with his few friends stood alone, but with God. He was now without the protection of the State, exposed to the pitiless hail of hate and calumny, his life a pawn for any venturesome person who could come near enough to carry out the last decree of hate—murder!

While passing through the Thuringian forest, on his way home to Wittenberg, Luther was seized by a company of his friends, disguised as Knights, and forcibly carried to the Wartburg Castle, where he was detained for eleven months. At the Wartburg, Luther occupied himself with the translation of the Bible into the language of the German people. There were already a dozen translations of the old Vulgate copy of the Scriptures extant, but none of these could rise far above the weakness of the original from which they were copied. Luther now began a translation from the original Hebrew and Greek. Such was the excellence of Luther's finished work that, to this day, it is a model of purity for the

German language. Oh happy and thrice-blessed decree of tyranny which shut up the scholar in the fastnesses of the Wartburg, that far away from the grinding grist of daily toil, and the madness of the World's whirl, he might give to the world this matchless translation of the Word of God!

In the "Edict," Charles commanded Luther's friends to deliver him over to the authorities, and forbade them, on pain of death, to give him food or shelter. The Edict, however, was quietly ignored by the German Princes for more than a score of years. The question naturally arises: "How could Germany afford to do this?" "How could the German Princes persistently refuse to carry out the orders of such a powerful Monarch?" The answer, in brief, is this: Charles was so hampered by political conditions and so threatened by dangers in other parts of his realm that, for more than twenty years, he was unable to move against his heretical German subjects. The Pope himself, fearing the growth of Charles' power in Italy, from time to time made alliance with Charles' arch enemy, Francis I of France. At times he even encouraged the Protestant subjects of Charles to make war against him.

For many years, Charles and Francis I, King of France, were rivals for the possession of Milan, a city of Northern Italy, and for Burgundy, a section of Southern France. On this account they waged no less than four wars against each other, viz: from 1521 to 1526; from 1527 to 1529; from 1536 to 1538; and from 1542 to 1544.

Whenever the Emperor came to terms with his rival, Francis I, then there was danger from the Turk on the East. In 1453, the city of Constantinople, the ancient capital of the Eastern Empire, fell before the advance of the Turks, and, from that moment until 1683, the Turk

was an ever-present danger and a menace to the peace of Europe. Time and again it became necessary for all parties in the Empire to lay aside every difference and unite in prayers and arms against the steady onrush of the infidel Turk. It so happened, for instance, about the year 1531, that during a temporary lull in the fighting between the Emperor and Francis I, the Emperor was free to turn his attention to his German troubles. Protestant and Catholic, united in protective leagues against each other, stood armed ready for combat, and civil war seemed inevitable. But just at this juncture, an army of Turks began to devastate the eastern border and Charles had to come to an agreement with his Protestant subjects in order to unite the country against the common enemy. As a result of this incident, by the Peace of Nuremberg (1532), Charles agreed to defer his measures against his Protestant subjects until after a general Council had settled the points in dispute.

After Charles returned from fighting the Turk in the East, the Mohammedan pirates, with strongholds in Tunis and Tripoli, kept him busy for two years more. Then followed the third war with Francis I (1536-1538). Thus did an allwise Providence use the Infidel Turk, on the one hand, and the ambitions of Francis I on the other, to protect the growing Protestantism and make the wrath of men to praise Him.

Luther was forced to come out from his retreat at the Wartburg in order to put an end to the so-called "Iconoclastic Fury," set on foot by Carlstadt. As has before been shown, Carlstadt was a Professor who, in his latter days began to teach heresies bordering on Pantheism. Filled with a fanatical hatred of all things Roman, he began to urge the destruction of the last remnant of Romanism. Fired by his instructions, his followers entered

the churches, broke the stained glass windows, overthrew crucifixes and images, wrecked the altars and turned the most costly treasures of art to destruction. Thus was the Reformation put in greatest danger in the house of its friends. Luther, hearing of the disturbance, left the Wartburg and suddenly appeared in Wittenberg. He mounted the pulpit of the University church and so boldly and fiercely denounced the "Image Breakers," as to discourage and stay them. At the same time, this strong champion of good order gave heart to those who were opposed to such ridiculous extremes, and the riotous excesses came to an end.

While not so spectacular, henceforth, the Reformation made even more rapid progress. The period from 1520 to 1530 was for Luther a season of busy labors and much writing. He published as many as one hundred and eighty-three pamphlets in one year. Many of them were printed by hundreds of thousands, while several of them ran through as many as a hundred editions. Mass was abolished in all the Evangelical churches after the years 1523-1524. In the year 1524, Luther composed or adapted for church use from other sources no less than twenty-four hymns. A new order of service designed for popular worship was also compiled from the old "Agenda" or Orders of the Church.

Luther himself was married on June 13, 1524, to a former Nun, Catherine Von Bora. The marriage of an "Apostate Priest" and a "Runaway Nun," was an occasion of great scandal in the Roman Church. For a while it was a source of embarrassment to many of Luther's friends, inasmuch as it gave rise to many most shameful and scandalous stories, falsely circulated by the enemies of the Reformation. The purpose of Luther's marriage was, evidently, twofold: first, that he might

practice what he had been preaching for years; second, that he might enjoy the comforts of the domestic life. Luther had five children, four sons and one daughter; and there is no brighter nor more fascinating chapter in his life than the sweet story of love and content from within the bosom of his happy family.

As in every good work and movement, so in the Reformation; there were occasions when the clouds hung low. There were seasons of discouragement and darkness. After the first burst of enthusiasm, there was a crystallization of sentiment, a drawing of party lines, and then, as neutrality became impossible, a rapid falling away of the unstable. So even was it with Christ, when after the year of popularity, opposition developed, many of those who at first praised Him loudest, forsook Him and went over to the Jews who opposed Him.

Henry VIII of England, wrote a bitter attack against Luther. To him the Reformer replied in rash and intemperate language for which, in the hope of peace, he was afterward constrained to make a most humble apology.

Erasmus, the great Dutch scholar of the later Renaissance, at first applauded, then hesitated, and finally decided to remain in the Roman Church. He wrote an attack against Luther and his Theology in a lengthy article entitled, "The Free Will," which called forth from the pen of the Reformer, a caustic reply entitled: "The Servile Will." After a rather fierce exchange of pamphlets, Luther suffered Erasmus to have the last word, and gravely invited him to be a spectator of the magnificent tragedy in which he was not fitted to be an actor.

One of the most serious dangers which the Reformation encountered was the Peasants' Revolt of 1523-1524. One Thomas Münzer, a pastor at Allstedt, preached the most

absurd and fanatical extremes. The peasants misunderstood and misinterpreted Luther's burning words against the unjust and cruel landlords of the time. From Luther's fierce denunciation of these legal robbers, the peasants took heart and, mistaking religious liberty for civil license, they rose in open rebellion against their rulers. The Swabians, in the southwest portion of the Black Forest, presented to their rulers twelve articles of complaint. Some of these seem reasonable enough when viewed in the light of these modern days. But, when the peasants raised an army, and proceeded to enforce their demands by fire, pillage, murder, and anarchy, it looked very much as if the Reformation were to be consumed in the fiery blast of revolution and pass away in smoke. Never was there greater peril for the Evangelical truth. Luther was quick to see the danger. At first, he preached moderation; but as the trouble spread, he finally urged the Princes to put down the revolution without mercy and save the poor people from themselves by strong measures. "Dear Sirs," he wrote, "Come save! Come help! Have mercy upon the poor people. Come, pierce, smite, slay, whoever can!" The Nobles were not slow to heed the advice. Münzer and thousands of his followers were put to the sword. As a consequence of Luther's position with respect to the "Revolt," many of the peasants turned against him. They called him "Dr. Lügner" (Dr. Liar), and, to this day, Luther and the Lutheran Church are held in contempt and are despised by all Anarchists and social extremists.

In view of the dangers then threatening the Empire, the decision of the Diet of Spires, in 1526, gave to the Protestants certain rights and privileges. They were permitted to act as they pleased in regard to carrying out the Edict of Worms and each Prince was privileged to



regulate religious affairs in his own realm. At the second Diet of Spire in 1529, an Edict was passed which virtually forbade any further progress of the Reformation by shutting the Reformed churches out of all new territory. At the same time the Roman Catholics were given unlimited privilege to enter and worship in the Protestant states. The protest and appeal of the Reforming party against this unjust decree gave to them the name of "Protestant," which has clung to all Non-Romanists ever since that day. The term, like the name Lutheran, applied as a term of reproach, in these latter days, has become a badge of honor, a sign of progress, and a banner of faith and freedom of conscience.

Many times dangers of every kind threatened the life of the Reformation. In 1525, Charles V so completely overwhelmed his rival, Francis I, at the battle of Pavia that, for once, he was free to prosecute his designs against the Reformers. He began to put on foot strong measures to compel them to submit once more to the Roman discipline. In this hour of danger, Philip, the Landgrave of Hesse, and the Elector of Saxony, formed a defensive alliance which was known as "The League of Torgau." Luther never sanctioned this official "preparedness" and constantly preached moderation and submission to the powers that be.

Luther himself was not without the severest struggles of soul. But as the clouds lowered over the heads of the devoted heroes of the Reformation, Luther preached faith and optimism. He prayed three hours every day, and, the darker the night, the brighter shone his light of faith. It was in 1527, probably during an hour of gravest danger, that he composed the immortal hymn: "A Mighty Stronghold Is Our God." At one time during the Diet of Augsburg, he wrote to Chancellor Brück: "I have

lately seen two wonders: first, I looked out of the window, I saw the stars in the heavens and the entire beautiful vault which God has raised; yet the heavens fell not and the vault still stands firm. Now some would be glad to find the pillars that sustain it and grasp and feel them. The other was: I saw great thick clouds hanging above us with such weight that they might be compared to a great sea; and yet I saw no ground on which they rested and no vessel wherein they were contained; yet, they did not fall upon us, but saluted us with a harsh look and fled away."

This cheering message was sent to the discouraged party at Augsburg in 1530. The Reformers had been summoned to Augsburg by the Emperor to give an account of themselves and present a statement of their doctrines before an assembled Diet of the States. This was the famous Diet of Augsburg which is the great turning point of Church History. It was this Diet which furnished the occasion for that immortal document, the Augsburg Confession, which for Protestants is the foundation rock, the life and the soul, and the bond of union for Lutherans of every land and of every age. The Emperor's own Chancellor, Mercurius, persuaded him to petition the Pope to call a general Council of the Church to settle the vexing problems of the day. This the Pope refused to do, and the only thing left for Charles was to call together the Diet of the German States. Ten years before, at the Diet of Worms, Charles V, in speaking of his determination to crush the Reformation, had said: "I have resolved to stake upon this cause all my dominions, my friends, my body and my blood, my life and my soul." Small wonder, indeed, that when the Emperor crossed the German border on his way to Augsburg, the Roman Catholics cried: "The saviour comes!" The Em-

peror had commanded the Princes to make a statement as to their beliefs. The Elector John, of Saxony, bade the Theologians to draw up such a document. Luther, Jonas, Pomeranus, and Melancthon then gathered together all available statements and began to elaborate them into an "Apology" for the Reformer's lack of agreement with the Theologians of Rome. This "Apology" was also to act as a working basis for a discussion of the points at issue between the two parties.

On April 3d, the Protestant party left Wittenberg. On April 15th, they arrived at Coburg, a town on the borders of the Saxon Electorate. At this place the Prince Frederick received a note from the Magistrate of Nuremberg refusing to guarantee a safe conduct to the party if Luther was to go with them. The Elector deemed it unwise to take the risk of proceeding on his way without the safe conduct. So Luther was left at Coburg, "like a bird in a darkened cage," in the rooms of that mighty Castle, virtually a prisoner, for about two months, while the great and momentous events at Augsburg were making history. There he would at least enjoy protection while he chafed at the gloomy silence of the castle and the intense loneliness of his situation.

The party of the Reformers arrived at Augsburg on the 2d of May, but the Emperor delayed at Innsbruck, and he did not arrive at Augsburg until the 15th of June. In the meantime, the Reformers kept in close touch with Luther by correspondence, while they were busy enlarging and perfecting their statement. The Saxon party came to Augsburg intending at first, to offer an apology for the Elector alone, but the necessities of the hour drove them together and forced them to cooperate with all the others. By the time they were ready to present the document before the Diet, therefore, it was revised and en-

larged and perfected so that it was, in the fullest sense, a Confession of Faith for all the German Protestants.

The first ten days of the Emperor's presence at Augsburg were occupied in vain attempts to settle the matters in dispute, "out of court," without the formality of a Diet. Finally, after much discussion and debate, on June 25, 1530, the "Confession" was presented, in a small chapel, chosen purposely by the Emperor so that as few as possible might hear. The Emperor's precaution defeated its own purpose, for a great crowd stood without and heard the Confession through the open windows.

The Confession was read in the German language. The reading consumed about two hours. When it was through, the Reformers had witnessed a good confession before many witnesses. The Bishop of the city said: "What has here been read is the pure and unadulterated truth. We cannot gainsay it." This was our own Augsburg Confession with its twenty-one articles of positive doctrine and its seven articles concerning abuses. It is the same Confession which has stood the test of time for, lo! these three hundred and eighty-seven years, the only Confession of any Church which has needed neither change nor redaction. The Reformation was fairly launched! Its fundamental principles were no longer a matter of informal tradition, but of documentary record. The good ship Reform had for her guide and compass a shining star, a standard set up in the midst of the years which was to serve the Lutheran Church through the storms of the centuries to the present time. The longer we know it, the better we love it; and the better we love it, the stauncher Christians we are. It still abides in the Church of Christ called "Lutheran"; the unaltered, priceless treasure of the ages; our incomparable Augsburg Confession!

Luther's later life, for the next sixteen years, was filled with the weighty cares of contest and of conquest. His was the busy life of the Teacher, Pastor, and Writer. His sermons and correspondence fill many volumes. When the time came for his eventful life to close, Luther was ready. Though old and infirm, bowed with the weight of years, and weary of a life filled with multiplied anxieties, Luther undertook a journey from Wittenberg to Mansfield to settle a fierce dispute between two brothers, the Counts Mansfield. The dispute amicably adjusted, Luther set out for home. When he arrived at the little town of Eisleben, he took violently ill from an old malady. And there it was, in the humble village which gave him birth and cradled him, that the soul of the great Reformer passed out from the shores of time on the shoreless sea of eternity, to the haven where he who, with the eye of faith so clearly saw the face of his Master, should see his "Pilot, face to face."

#### THE LATTER DAYS OF THE REFORMATION; THE SMALKALD WAR.

It remains only for us, briefly, to describe the later progress and trials of the Reformation which have to do, principally with the men who were prominent on the scenes of action after the great pioneers like Luther and the Elector of Saxony had passed to the Great Beyond.

Alarmed by the grave dangers which threatened them, the Protestant Princes organized an alliance called The Smalkald League, in 1531. The Roman Catholics, in 1530, organized a similar union called "The Holy League." This league was succeeded by the Holy Alliance of 1538.

As we have seen before, Charles V, at the Peace of Nuremberg (1532), had committed himself to a settle-

ment of the dispute between the rival leagues by means of a general Council of the Church. The Pope, always loath to submit any cause to the decision of others, delayed the calling of such a Council as long as possible. When finally, in 1545, the Council of Trent was called together, it was too late. The two parties had walked in separate ways too long to be reconciled now. Charles V was an old man but, in order to carry out his purpose to which he had pledged himself twenty-five years before, he made war on his Protestant subjects.

The Protestant party under the leadership of John Frederick of Saxony and the aged Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, was poorly organized and worked without a definite plan. Charles, advancing with a well organized force, settled the war with one stroke. At Muhlberg, in 1547, the Lutherans were utterly defeated and their leaders taken prisoner. The Emperor, however, was aided in his triumph by the treachery of a Protestant relative of the Elector of Saxony, Maurice, Duke of Saxony.

To the defeated Protestants the Emperor now held out the olive branch of peace in the shape of a temporary arrangement called the Interim. This pact, while granting certain concessions, by forbidding all Missionary effort, looked forward to the final extermination of Protestantism. The Protestants looked upon the Interim as the beginning of the end and hated it most cordially.

But the Emperor had reckoned without his host. He failed to keep his agreement with his Protestant ally, Duke Maurice of Saxony. Contrary to his agreement, he quartered large numbers of Spanish troops within Maurice's domains, and, contrary to promise also, he kept the aged Elector, the uncle of Maurice, in prison. Maurice, alarmed at this treachery, and the strict measures of the Interim, began secretly to plan a surprise. Under

cover of the siege of Magdeburg, Maurice gathered a large army and great quantities of stores and supplies. At the moment when the Emperor least expected it, Maurice attacked and severely defeated him in 1552. The Emperor fled without soldiers to Innsbruck and afterward made his way across the mountains to Spain a broken-hearted and disappointed old man. The affairs of the Empire were put into the hands of his younger brother the Archduke of Austria, who treated with the Protestants and came to terms with them.

The Emperor, we are told, spent the few remaining years of his life in dotage, playing at the game of jack-straws like a child. His was a wasted life, indeed. Never did Prince have such great opportunity or such brilliant prospect; and never did Prince make so little of his opportunities. The life of Charles V is a sad and powerful commentary on all who set up human traditions, vows and prejudices against the un-alterable Word of God. Verily; "upon whomsoever this stone shall fall, it will grind him to powder."

Out of the victory of Maurice over Charles V grew "The Religious Peace of Augsburg" in 1555. This treaty effected a settlement of the religious difficulties for a little more than sixty years. Among other provisions it contained two very important principles which were destined, later, to overthrow the peace of Europe. They were: first, that each Prince should decide for himself the religion of his realm, and that the Lutherans alone were to have religious freedom in their own lands. Thus, boldly to set within the constitution of the land a principle which gives the civil authority power over the consciences of men is to set to work an idea which is as hard to carry out as to bottle up the torrent of Niagara. Second, it was agreed that if any Bishop should turn

from Rome to Protestantism, he was to forfeit his civil powers and the rights to his lands. This rule is known as the celebrated "Ecclesiastical Reservation." In the course of time, there were many such defections from Rome. But when they took place in a Protestant realm, it was almost impossible that the Protestant rulers of these countries should enforce or even approve of the confiscation of property which the "Reservation" demanded. Moreover the, protection of this "Peace," as we have seen, applied only to the Lutherans, while the religion of other Protestants was practically outlawed.

Thus we see that the unjust and galling remnants of Roman bigotry and intolerance became the seed of dire trouble and confusion, the fruits of this seed were allowed to ripen until they were gathered in the awful horrors of the Thirty Years War, 1618-1648.

In the Lutheran Church, there were certain mooted or unsettled points which were left as open questions for discussion. Men were not agreed, also, in regard to the interpretation of some features of the Augsburg Confession. However, after prolonged and bitter strife, these questions were definitely settled to the satisfaction of the great majority of Lutherans by the document known as The Formula of Concord. This "Formula" is a most thorough and valuable supplement to the Augsburg Confession. It was adopted by the Lutheran Conferences of the "Fatherland" in 1577. From the stand point of doctrine, our Church has, since that day occupied herself with the development and application of the teachings contained in our Confessions without any attempt to change a faith founded on the vigor and life of the ever living Word of God. Amen.



## CHAPTER V.

### BROKEN RANKS: ULRICH ZWINGLI AND JOHN CALVIN.

“The contention was so sharp between them that they departed asunder one from the other.” Acts 15: 39.

#### SWITZERLAND.

Switzerland is one of the smaller states of Europe and the oldest Republic in the world. Its area of little more than fifteen thousand square miles is broken by mountains and cleft by swift rivers which flow out of many mountain lakes, whose clear waters of great depth are the natural mirrors of the most famous scenery in the world.

Its people from earliest times have been a mixed race. There were the Helvetii of the West, a Celtic race; and the Allemani, the Burgundians, and the Ostrogoths, people of Germanic origin. They breathed the spirit of independence and liberty with the air of their native heath in the Tyrolean Alps. These people were converted from the pagan to the Christian religion in the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries. During the eleventh century, they became, for a time, a part of the German Empire. In 1291, they organized a “League of Perpetual Union,” which has remained in some form or other until this day. With the organization of this union began the Swiss struggle for liberty against the House of Hapsburg. In the year 1315, the raw troops of the Confederation, with scythes and axes, met and utterly defeated the well disciplined army of Frederick of Hapsburg, at Morgarten. It was this period of struggle for liberty which has given to us

the romantic story of William Tell. In 1477, the Swiss defeated Charles the Bold at Nancy, and forever dispelled the dream of the Dukes of Burgundy that they might carve out an Empire between Germany and France.

Within the bounds of Switzerland lie two famous lakes, Lake Zurich and Lake Geneva; the one, emptying by way of the Rhine, pours its current into the North Sea; the other, sending its waters by way of the Rhone, empties into the Mediterranean Sea. By each of these lakes there nestles a town of the same name. Each of these cities was destined to become the cradle of a system of Theology and the birth place of a Church. Like the lakes by which they were born, though so near in source and nature, yet these churches were destined to follow separate channels, to minister to different tastes, and to exert influence in different ways. These two religions are those founded by Ulrich Zwingli and John Calvin and the Churches through which they have influenced the ages are the German Reformed and Presbyterian Churches respectively.

#### THE PHILOSOPHY OF DIVISION.

We often hear it said: "What a pity that the Protestant Church should be divided." Such words are spoken, usually, by one on the other party to the division in tones of blame or pity for the other side. It is true, also that those who deplore our separation in this manner usually know not what they speak. They have very narrow and restricted ideas as to the principles which opened a breach between the two parties and of the forces which have, since that day, kept them apart.

It is also worthy of note that, as in the case of Paul and Barnabas, cited in our text above, the very separa-

tion, may have been most fruitful to the glory of God. When, in the light of a better day, we see eye to eye, and know as we are known, it is more than likely that the disposition to chide the Reformers will give way to the praise of God and fervent thanksgiving for what He, through His power and grace, has accomplished in spite of—yea, by means of our apparently unfortunate separation.

This fact, however, need not close our eyes to the truth that Protestantism is sadly broken up into many camps in which many diverse views and practices prevail. When we set these facts in contrast with what is, at least, an outward union of organization in the church of Rome, we are the more constrained to lament that, in the course of events, there should have appeared in our churches forces which resulted in such sadly "broken ranks."

Believing that nothing is to be gained by an attempt to conceal differences, but that rather the way to unity of action is by way of a frank understanding of unlikes, I propose honestly and candidly to set forth the major causes which have sent the Reformation in two divergent streams, namely, the Lutheran and the Reformed. The object hereby indicated can best be presented to the lay mind by means of concrete examples as shown in the lives of men. The two most prominent Theologians in the "Reformed" movement of the early days are Ulrich Zwingli and John Calvin. It would be difficult to explain, in bare outline, the abstract principles wherein Calvin and Zwingli differed from Martin Luther and his co-laborers; but the story of their lives and labors makes it easy for us to comprehend the principles which animated and inspired them.

## ULRICH ZWINGLI.

Ulrich Zwingli, in strong contrast with Luther, was born in comfortable circumstances. His father was Chief Magistrate in the town of Wildhaus, in the valley of Toggenberg, where Zwingli was born January 1, 1484. His uncle, Bartholomew, was a Catholic Priest, who, together with many of his fellow priests in Switzerland, was in sympathy with the so-called "New Learning." His father and his uncle were instrumental in having him sent to the best schools. So that Zwingli was given all the advantages which ample means and abundant opportunity could afford. He was graduated at Basel in 1504, with the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and received his Master's degree in 1506 from the same Institution.

In 1506, at the age of 22, we find the brilliant young scholar established as Pastor and Priest at the town of Glarus near Zurich. While laboring here, Zwingli became acquainted with the writings of Martin Luther and, being a progressive young man, he was soon in thorough sympathy with the measures advocated by the great Reformer.

Zwingli was constrained by conscience to oppose the employment of Swiss mercenaries, i. e. hired soldiers from his own town and country, who, for a price, went over the Alps to fight for either Francis I of France or for the Pope at Rome. Inasmuch as there was considerable profit by way of brokerage connected with the hiring of these soldiers, Zwingli came into serious conflict with both the civil and ecclesiastical authorities whom he found engaged in the sinful traffic. Glarus became so unpleasant for him that he was glad to accept a call to the village of Einsiedeln, which was a famous resort for pilgrims. Here Zwingli came in contact with men

and scholars from other lands from whom he gained some of that breadth of vision that comes with travel. It seems strange to us that the historian should count it worthy of note that Zwingli began to put the Bible forth as the sole basis for his texts and sermons. Alas! in those days, tradition was wont to be the chief source of material for many sermons! Even in these latter days, we are not far removed from another danger, namely, that topics of the day and local questions may crowd out the Word of God to such an extent that Bible texts are apt to become only pretexts for deliverances on the civic, political, and economic issues of the times.

In 1518, Zwingli was called to the Church of the Great Minster in the city of Zurich which lies at the head of the lake of that name. Here, however there was a difficulty. Zwingli was constrained to confess that his life in the priesthood had, hitherto, not been a model of personal purity. But, in view of the standard of morals then prevalent among the clergy, the church authorities did not regard this as an insurmountable obstacle, and Zwingli was elected. During his pastorate at Zurich, he entered into doubtful relations with a rich widow named Anna Reinhart whom he married in 1524. After his marriage, no shadow of stain or suspicion clings to the name of Zwingli. His former conduct was a reflection of the characteristic habits and the tone of morals of the Priesthood of that day.

Zwingli now began to preach that the practice of abstaining from meat during Lent was not necessary to salvation, and, that the tithes demanded by Rome were extortionate taxes which became grievous burdens on the shoulders of the poor. To many who desired to eat meats all through the year, and to those who already felt overburdened by the exactions of the Roman tax system,

this was a most welcome message. The Roman Church offered him a rich living if he would abstain from preaching these doctrines, but he turned a deaf ear to every plea and was unmoved by any offer of bribe.

Zwingli shone pre-eminently as a teacher, a fact which is attested by the great number of students who came to hear his lectures and sermons as well as by his great success in argument with Rome.

In January and in October of 1523, he engaged in disputations with the Roman Theologians, which made him famous as a debater and logician. During the progress of the October disputation, the Vicar from Constance, while answering Zwingli's attack on the customs and practices of Rome, put forth the claim that "Such matters should be brought before the Universities of Paris, Cologne, or Louvain." At this juncture all laughed, for Zwingli interrupted with: "How about Erfurt? Would not Wittenberg do?" The Vicar replied: "No, Luther is too near," and, "all bad things come from the North."

Zwingli was quite victorious in his disputation, and, in the course of a few months, the congregation at Zurich began to put into practice his preaching against images and the Mass. All images were withdrawn from the church, the frescoes were cut away, and the walls were whitewashed. Organ playing and bell ringing were forbidden as superstitions. Thus we see how, in the fervor of the moment, men were led into most ridiculous extremes; so that they wantonly sacrificed the most precious treasures of art, and put away from their religious life those powerful forces which become the active agents of the Holy Spirit, namely, the things which appeal to the eye and the ear. Zwingli followed these acts of iconoclasm with a wanton act which meant a complete break between him and Rome. On April 13,

1525, the congregation gathered in the Zurich church at a long table. They partook of the Lord's Supper by passing the bread on wooden platters and drinking out of wooden beakers. About four years earlier Luther had definitely cut himself off from Rome, by burning the Papal Bull, in defense of a great principle of the inner life of faith. Zwingli now opened wide the breach between himself and Rome by a wanton and useless act as touching an outward form and observance. The two acts very clearly illustrate the difference between the conceptions of Reform as held by the two men.

Troubles soon multiplied in Zurich. The Anabaptists with an ancient heresy, arose within the church to disturb her, and Zwingli had to put them out. The Anabaptists get their name from the fact that they re-baptize those who have already been baptized in infancy. Their teaching despises infant baptism to the extent that they do not recognize it as baptism at all. To a sincere Lutheran the idea of re-baptism is not only repugnant, but sinful. For, in our view, the covenant grace that is conferred in baptism, whether in infancy or in adult life, is the work of the Holy Spirit, and therefore, the doing of Almighty God. Man may fail and fall away from that grace through the frailty of the flesh, but the work of God's grace abides even as the rock when the house built upon it is consumed by fire. Therefore, to re-baptize is for human hands to cast reproach on the work of God; whereas the reproach belongs to the sinner who rather should return to the abiding grace of baptism. Re-baptism is the attempt of humans to revise the handiwork and grace of God. Therefore, we reject it as both sinful and heretical.

In addition to this sinful practice of re-baptism, the Anabaptists of Zwingli's time were social and political

agitators who sought a reconstruction of Society along very radical lines of reform. Their doctrines were spread in some form or other all over Central Europe and their descendants appear under the forms and names of numerous sects of the present day.

The course of the Zurich Reform is a good illustration of the doctrine which Luther constantly preached: "They that take the sword shall perish by the sword." Luther did not oppose the civil authority taking up arms in defense of home and liberty, but he did most emphatically oppose any political union to further religious ends. Zwingli's conduct was directly opposite to Luther's teaching.

Switzerland was divided, politically, into thirteen Cantons or semi-independent states. Among them there had been a loose confederation or union since 1291. The Reformation prevailed in the eight lowland Cantons where the large cities were located. But the five forest Cantons, in the uplands, where the population was rural, remained strongly Roman Catholic. The upland or forest Cantons made an alliance with Catholic Austria, and forbade the introduction of the Protestant faith within their borders. Zwingli and his followers, on the other hand, sought to bring all the Swiss Cantons into a religious unity which was hardly consistent with their loose political organization. In 1529, the eight lowland Cantons led by Zwingli went to war with the five forest Cantons. After a short struggle, the forest Cantons were overwhelmed, and, in the first treaty of Cappel, they agreed to give up the Austrian alliance. It was also agreed that a majority of the citizens should decide the faith of each Canton.

During the next two years, the forest Cantons refused to live up to their agreement. The rest of the Cantons



sought to constrain them by refusing to let them trade across the border. This meant that the five forest Cantons were cut off from the supplies of wheat, salt, iron, and steel, etc., etc., which were essential to their very life. They faced the alternatives of submission, war, or famine. They chose war and quietly gathered an army. So sudden was their descent on the plains that their enemies were not prepared for them. When they had approached within twelve miles of Zurich, with an army of eight thousand, the citizens of Zurich hastily gathered an ill organized force of two thousand and went out to meet them. The second battle of Cappel took place on October 11, 1531. The Zurich army was completely cut to pieces and Zwingli, who came with his army as chaplain, was killed. When his identity became known, Zwingli's body was quartered and burnt and the ashes were scattered to the winds.

#### THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN ZWINGLI AND LUTHER.

The chief importance of Ulrich Zwingli and the Zurich Reformation lies in the fact that his theology forms the confessional basis for a large and aggressive Communion and, therefore, profoundly affects the course of church history. Inasmuch as the personal contact of Luther and Zwingli well illustrates the differences in belief, practice, and principle between the Lutheran and Reformed churches, it will be profitable to compare Zwingli and Luther.

First: there was a difference in the character of the two Reformations. The Reformation brought about by Zwingli was a change in political, moral, and formal conditions, with the social element largely predominating. The change in Zurich was formally voted by the Zurich

Council, after the disputation of 1523, in which Zwingli succeeded in convincing them that he had the better of the argument. The Lutheran Reformation was religious and personal. The social and political effects were purely incidental. Luther himself was of a rather sober cast of mind. He was a man of deep thought and strong conviction whose conscience would bear no compromise of the truth. He was the heroic path-breaker whose task required the rugged courage of one who leads in dangerous places where many others fear to follow. His soul was deeply impressed with the transcendent mysteries of faith; and in such cases where his reason could not see the light, Luther was willing to follow the Word of God through an obedient faith which yielded all to its authority.

Zwingli, on the other hand, was a man of cheerful and light hearted disposition. He came to his convictions, not through any soul conflict, as Luther did. He was not oppressed with doubt at any time. He arrived at his convictions through an enlightened study of the Classics, (Greek and Latin literature and philosophy) and the Hebrew and Greek Testaments.

Zwingli labored in a country which was virtually independent, while Luther had ever hanging over him the sword of the Empire. While Zwingli was sincere in his beliefs, he did not take his religion as seriously as did Luther. Martin Luther, working in the glaring light of Imperial investigation, held the center of the world stage, while Zwingli was suffered to work out his plans quietly without any marked interference. In 1521, while Luther was excommunicate and under the ban of the Empire, Zwingli was pastor of the Cathedral church and was still enjoying a pension from the Pope.

## THE LUTHERAN AND REFORMED THEOLOGIES.

Men still ask: "What differences between the Reformed and Lutheran teachings operate so powerfully as to keep them apart through all the centuries?" It is hard to give an answer to this question in a word, because, like two roads which follow different directions, what at first appear to be but slight differences, in the end, have very far reaching effects. If we class together the Lutherans as one and all other Protestant Churches as Reformed, we shall have a line of distinction which, with minor changes in doctrine and greater differences in practice, broadly distinguish the two lines of thinking and belief.

In the first place, the Lutheran Reformation was a conservative Reformation. It sought not to destroy, but to improve and change. As we have noted before, Luther sought to keep and hold everything in doctrine and practice which was not forbidden by the Word of God. On this account, all that treasure and wealth of art, of painting, of sculpture, of music and of handiwork of all kinds which men had wrought and gathered throughout the ages, was conserved and saved in the Lutheran Church. The ancient literature of the Church and the forms of service hallowed by the use made of them by the Fathers through the centuries, were not cast aside as so much rubbish, but, shot through with a new life and interpreted by the new principle, they were used in the Lutheran churches to edification. These ancient and valued treasures were made to serve the purpose of the Lutheran Reformers in the preparation of a responsive church service wherein *the people* could pour out their hearts to God in sacrifice, in prayer, praise, and thanksgiving.

The Reformed Theologians, on the other hand, rejected all that the Scriptures do not command. As a result of this view, their church walls, stripped bare of all ornament, and the service, devoid of all embellishment, were as barren and austere as the sermons, which were usually based on Old Testament texts, were lacking in the assurances of the Gospel. For centuries, the Reformed congregations worshipped in churches as barren of external adornment as the average factory or warehouse, and the house of God fell far below the standard of the home in beauty and attractiveness. It has been only through the influence of the more conservative Lutheran, Anglican, and Roman Catholic churches that, in these latter days, there has been a return to a more acceptable form of worship and ornament within the Reformed churches.

In the Lutheran Reformation, the greater emphasis was laid on the "Material" principle of faith; in the Reformed churches, the emphasis was laid on the formal principle, or the Word.

The great importance of this distinction becomes evident when we observe the fact that the Lutheran idea of the faith is balanced by what we may call a certain "*objectivity*" with respect to the Word of God. This is a term, much in use in the language of psychology and philosophy to describe a certain habitual attitude of the mind. A person who is "objective" in his mental attitude is ruled by a fixed belief that externals, that is, the objects of sense, namely the things which we see and hear, are such as they are without reference to the perceiving, hearing, seeing or feeling person or subject. In other words, things (objects) are what they are *per se*, that is in themselves, no matter what you as subject may think or believe of them.

Now the Reformed Theologians, especially Zwingli, were affected by a markedly "subjective" cast of mind. By the "subjective" mind we mean that philosophical attitude of mind which believes that the natures of substances or things (objects) are profoundly affected by the perceiving, believing, seeing, feeling, and hearing subject. In other words, things (objects) are, to a large extent, what you as subject think them to be.

We can readily see what a deep and far reaching effect such a difference of attitude would have in the realm of religion. Luther looked upon the Word of God as an *objective* Word with authority in itself that he could not, dare not, question. He was ready, in all cases where he did not understand, to bring "into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ." 2 Cor. 10: 5.

The difference between the two classes of Reformers is clearly illustrated in the difference concerning the nature of the Sacraments which they held. Luther believed that the Holy Ghost—in fact, the entire Trinity—is with the Word of God and the Sacraments really and *objectively* present. Zwingli believed that the Holy Spirit is given "subjectively" by an immediate inner illumination, and, that the Holy Spirit is present in the Word and Sacrament only to him who has this immediate inner illumination to perceive and know Him. In view of Zwingli's beliefs on this subject, it was often a question in Luther's mind whether Zwingli himself or the Word of God was to be counted as authority and judge in matters of faith.

We can understand now, why Zwingli was radical, immoderate, and, at times, violent. We can see how, that centering all authority in his own "illuminated" spirit Zwingli sought to make the Scripture conform to his own reason, so that he would not accept as an article of faith

that which transcended or went beyond the powers of his mind and reason.

We understand, also, how Luther, bowing in submission to the *objective* authority of the Word of God, was willing to walk by faith where he could not walk by sight. We see how his soul, constrained by the conviction of Divine authority and the belief in the direct Providence of God, was pervaded by such a deep spirit of Mysticism. Luther was a profound Mystic; that is, he believed in the direct intervention of God in human affairs. He believed firmly, in a direct communion and walk with God. In the darkest hours of his trial, he prayed constantly every day. And, when the clouds hung lowest, he retired beneath the shadows to have, "a little talk with God." Our mysticism is reflected in such hymns as:

"Thou Shepherd of Israel Divine,  
Thou joy and desire of my heart,  
For closer communion I pine,  
I long to reside where thou art."

As we shall see, the difference in cast of mind profoundly affected the whole scheme of Theology and tinged every act and step in the development of the Reformed and Lutheran Churches. To Zwingli, the Sacraments, baptism and the Lord's Supper, were mere memorials of the atoning sacrifice of our Lord; or, at most, the signs of an inward grace. For their nature as well as for their efficacy, they were dependent on the will and faith of the subject or party who received them.

To Luther the Sacraments were real in themselves. Baptism and the Lord's Supper brought to the subject or person who received them a real grace; for, with them were given the blessings of the Holy Spirit and the presence of the Triune God. For their nature, neither

the Word nor the Sacraments depended one whit on the faith or disposition of man. But, for their efficacy, they *do* depend on the faith of the subject who receives them. Therefore he who receives these Sacraments receives with them the infinite grace of God—even the presence of God Himself. Now, if he receives these gifts without faith, he ignores and despises the presence and blessing of God's grace and is guilty of awful sin and condemnation.

On the other hand, inasmuch as to Zwingli and his followers there was no "real presence" or grace without faith, the guilt of those who partook of them "unworthily" appeared far less serious. For this reason, the Reformed people are not as careful as the followers of Luther to see to it that only worthy persons are admitted to the Sacrament of the Altar. Luther held firmly to the Word of God: "Whosoever shall eat of this bread, and drink of this cup of the Lord, unworthily, shall be *guilty of the body and blood of the Lord.*" I Cor. II: 27, and carefully guarded the approach to the Holy Sacraments.

It has been well said of the difference between the various views of the Sacrament of the Altar, that: the Romanist wants to *see* Christ in the Sacrament; therefore the doctrine of transubstantiation; the Reformed wants to *know and understand* Christ in the Sacrament, therefore the doctrine of the sign of an inward grace and dependence on the element of the human mind; the Lutheran wants to believe Him present; and, therefore, the doctrine of the mysterious, real presence, and the simple faith. It is also said with reference to the contrasts in the Lord's Supper that: the Roman Catholic Church has a sacrifice; the Reformed Church has a memorial, while the Lutheran Church has a Sacrament.

The difference in regard to the views of the Sacraments stands in close relation to a difference in the respective doctrines as touching the person of Christ. Here again the Lutheran Church stops at the threshold of a transcendent mystery, utterly beyond the reach of the human mind; while the Reformed seeks to penetrate where angels fear to tread, into the "Holy of Holies." In the Lutheran view there is in the "glorious body" of Christ a communion of properties between the human and the Divine natures which is called the doctrine of the "*Communicatio idiomata*," or "communion of peculiarities," whereby the properties of the Divine nature of Christ are communicated to and participated in by the human nature. So that, if the Divine is omnipresent, so is also the glorified human nature; if the Divine is omnipotent and omniscient so now, also, is the glorified human. In fact, when we speak of the presence of Christ, we mean the whole Christ; the same who lived on earth, suffered and died, and arose from the grave and ascended on high for our salvation. As He himself has declared: "Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world." Matt. 28: 20.

All this both Zwingli and Calvin deny. Zwingli held fast by his proposition that a human body must have locality and, therefore, can be locally present only in heaven—"by the right hand of God." Luther maintained that "the right hand of God" is wherever His power is exercised, felt, and known, that is, everywhere. He clung fast to the Word: "He that descended is the same also that ascended up far above all heavens, that He might fill all things," (Eph. 4: 10), and steadfastly refused to be moved by his inability to explain this mystery in terms of the human understanding.



As to the doctrine of election, Luther, Calvin, and Zwingli each held different views. Calvin, on the basis of an apparently faultless logic, held that men are elected equally to salvation and to condemnation. His creed is quite logical, though, as we believe unscriptural and abhorrent to the religious sense. Zwingli held that men are elected "in view of faith" which is to be counted as a good work. His creed makes man, virtually the initiator of his own salvation. Luther accused him of holding Pelagian views, that is, that man has the principle part in working out his own salvation which, according to this interpretation, is not all of grace but of grace *and* of good works.

Luther held that men are elected to faith but not to damnation; that saving faith is offered to all; that this faith is the gift of God's grace, and therefore not a good work in the ordinary sense. If men are lost, says he, it is their own fault because they refuse the proffered grace of God. When confronted with the accusation that this creed is illogical, he replies: "Quite true, but it is Scriptural, and Holy Scripture, which comes from the secret, infinite depth of the Divine mind, has a higher and deeper logic than any man hath yet devised."

One cannot help but mark the paradox in the statement that the Lutheran Church and Reformation were based more on the "Material" principle of faith, while the Reformed Church emphasized more the "Formal" principle, which is the Word of God. How then, does the Reformed Church make so much of the personal disposition which, certainly seems to correspond to faith? And why does Luther place such implicit confidence in the objective authority of the Word of God? The answer lies in the fact that the Word is both author and finisher of our faith. Faith is really the manner and disposition

with which we receive the Word. It is not a man-made disposition but itself is a work of grace. Faith not only profoundly affects our view of the Word but is itself derived therefrom and strengthened thereby. It depends, therefore, altogether whether faith has that quality of submission which subjects the human mind to the authority of the Word of God or whether it is moved and guided by the prejudices of the mind which exercises it. If faith has too much of the personal quality, it is so vitiated that the light of the soul is apt to be the tallow tip of the human reason rather than the immeasurable light of the wisdom of the Most High God.

The differences of faith as between the Reformed and Lutheran Theologians had serious political effects. At first Luther and his friends were much rejoiced to know of the sympathetic movement in Switzerland, but, with the publication of Zwingli's opinions, there came a lack of confidence and a growing suspicion, which finally amounted to a conviction that these new Reformers, as Luther said, had "another spirit."

In 1529 when the danger that the Emperor would use force in imposing his will upon the consciences of the Reformers was imminent, Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, one of the leading Lutheran Princes, conceived the idea of organizing a confederation of the Protestant states. The plan for the confederation included all the Lutheran states as well as the Swiss Cantons and the states of South Western Germany where the doctrines of Zwingli and Calvin prevailed. The union would have proved most formidable, indeed; but, alas! for "the best laid plans o' mice and men!" Luther opposed it and the Elector of Saxony was indifferent. In his letter to Philip, Luther wrote: "Federation is impossible, because a true federation must ground itself on the conscience or faith

of those who bind themselves to believe with one heart." Luther claimed, furthermore, that the plan for union savored too much of a reliance upon the arm of flesh rather than on the mighty arm of God.

Bitterly disappointed at the failure of his ambitious project, Philip determined to bring the two parties together to effect an agreement as to the doctrinal points wherein they differed. He accordingly arranged a meeting for conference in his own castle at Marburg in 1529. Knowing the somewhat severe tempers of Zwingli and Luther, the Landgrave contrived at first to keep them apart. So it was arranged that Melanchthon should meet Zwingli, and Oecolampadius, a scholar and Theologian from the University of Basel, should confer with Luther. The disputants came to an agreement on a number of controverted points. It was found that the Lutherans and the Reformed agreed on fourteen articles of faith, but when it came to the doctrine of the Sacraments, neither would yield.

The two parties were gotten together at a long table in the castle hall to discuss the matter at length. Zwingli insisted that a body must have locality and that, therefore, it is "*unreasonable*" to suppose that the body of Christ could be present in Heaven and at the Supper at the same time. Luther wrote on the table in Latin: "*Hoc est meum corpus,*" (This is my body), and insisted on standing by the literal interpretation of the Word wherein he could find no hint of a figurative meaning. At the conclusion of the "Colloquy" Zwingli offered to shake hands over the difference, but Luther refused to compromise. He said: "I am willing to give the hand of peace and love but not of brotherhood." For this refusal, Luther has been severely censured by many who have a wrong conception of the spirit which animated

him. It is not so difficult to stand by a conviction in the face of the determined opposition of enemies, but when compromise is offered with the hand of friendship, it requires a hero of faith, indeed, who dares to stand up for his principles in the face of the criticism for a supposedly ungenerous act.

In the course of time many of the provinces of Southern Germany embraced the Reformed conception; while in general, the states and free cities of Northern Germany stood firmly by the Lutheran faith.

John Calvin taught a modification of the Lutheran idea which he called a "spiritual conception" of the Lord's Supper. "The body and blood of Christ," says he, "are truly present in the Sacrament, but in a spiritual manner; that is, the faith of the communicant, as it were, goes to Heaven and thus apprehends Christ." To this Luther replied, as before, that the nature of the Sacrament does not depend on the faith of the communicant, but that only the benefits of eating and drinking in the Lord's Supper depend on a correct faith. "We do not put Christ in the Sacrament by our faith, but find him there." That is, Christ is not "subjectively" but "objectively" present. We see here how the fundamental difference as touching the "subjective" apprehension of truth on the part of the Reformed Churches and the "objective" apprehension of the truth on the part of the Lutheran Church works out in practical application in the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. If we admit the idea that the human mind and will can affect the quality of the Divine truth here, there is no telling where speculation will end.

The differences outlined above, profoundly affected the whole life and destiny of the Protestant movement. It has turned the course of the mighty stream of church history and introduced a schism in the Church which has

often been widened by extremes on the part of champions of both sides. The distinction and difference still abides, apparently irreconcilable, a gap which cannot be closed, dividing the Protestant hosts, roughly, into two camps; the more or less conservative Lutheran and the more or less radical Reformed.

#### JOHN CALVIN.

We have spoken of the Theology of Ulrich Zwingli and John Calvin together because, while there are marked differences between them, these differences are not essential. While it is true that the ramifications or variations of the two Theologies differ in many respects, yet there is a common trend in the direction which they take. If one travel by the way of Calvinism or by the way of Zwingliism, his journey on either road will land him near the same spot at any point along the route. There is no reason why Presbyterian and German Reformed should not co-operate in closest harmony and fullest sympathy. On the other hand, there are grave reasons why it is, to say the least, difficult for the Lutheran to co-operate in spirit with these Reformed communions.

In all matters of civil, political, and moral affairs, our Church can and does stand ready to bear her full share of responsibility for the advancement of the common life. But, when we come to stand before the same altar, to enter that Holy of Holies of Divine worship where faith bears full fruitage in the joy of the Holy Communion, the union is, to say the least, embarrassing and can hardly be of any particular pleasure to either party. Therefore, we say quite honestly, that like as the family enjoys its evening meal best alone, so the two Church families of whom we speak are happier if they do not attempt an undue intimacy and fellowship here at the Table of the

Lord. The fellowship is best reserved for the place and circumstance where we can really be one, namely, as we have shown above; in the realm of civic, political, social, and moral life and uplift. Nothing is to be gained by a pulpit and altar fellowship which compels both parties, out of courtesy, to make hypocritical concealment of differences.

John Calvin was born of patrician parents in Noyon, Department of Picardy, now the Oise, in the northern part of France on July 10, 1509. His father was solicitor in the ecclesiastical court of the County, and Public Registrar, and held many other important offices. Calvin was one of the younger generation of Reformers. When he arrived, on the stage of action, the Reformation was an accomplished fact. Luther had broken the path and shown the way. It remained for John Calvin, the incomparable logician and scholar of the Reformation, to gather and frame together the material which was scattered about in such a great abundance in the literature and discussions of the day.

His father intended him for the Priesthood, and sent his son, who in early life gave great promise of a brilliant career, to the University of Paris to complete his education. Calvin went to Paris in 1523. While there he early came in contact with Melchoir Womar, a German scholar and Theologian who, doubtless, profoundly affected the mind and character of his young pupil and awoke within him a suspicion as to the character and efficiency of the Papacy.

In 1528, his father quarreled with the church authorities and determined that his son should become a lawyer. Calvin obediently complied with the wishes of his father and was sent at once to Orleans. But in 1531, his father died, and we find Calvin once more at Paris with the

Classics and Hebrew studies which he loved so well. The climax to his University career came when a friend of his, Nicholas Cop, was elected Rector of the University at Paris. It is said that Calvin, then a young man of twenty-four years, wrote Cop's inaugural address on the subject: "The Christian Philosophy" in which he made bold to attack the abuses of the times and made slighting references to the practice of the Mass. As a result Cop was compelled to flee from Paris and, shortly thereafter, Calvin himself thought it safer to leave town and native country.

Calvin was converted by a sudden revelation of the light of truth, and changed the whole course of his life within the short space of one month. In this respect, his experience differs in a marked degree from Luther's experience in conversion. For Luther, through long days of struggle and "nights devoid of ease" came up through darkness and uncertainty of soul to the full light of the day of hope. Calvin's conversion occurred at some time between August and October, 1533.

After he left Paris, Calvin wandered about from place to place for two and a half years. It was while returning from Italy by way of Geneva that the whole course of his career was abruptly changed. He stopped over night in Geneva and was met there by William Farel who urged him to remain and consecrate himself to the task of reforming and governing the city of Geneva. Calvin refused. He, a timid, shrinking scholar, had no taste for the activities of political life. What he desired most of all was to be let alone to pursue his studies and literary labors in peace. But Farel would not be denied. When Calvin persisted in his refusal, Farel told him that the curse of God would rest upon him if he did not heed the

call. John Calvin was convinced that the hand of God was laid upon him and he remained.

It was just an accidental stay over night on the part of a young scholar who had gone out of his way to return home; but it changed the course of the scholar's career and thereby deeply affected the course of the whole Church. For, at Geneva, John Calvin found opportunity not as he hoped, to write more, but to bring that which he did write before the eyes of the whole world. Had he remained in the study, Calvin might have lived and died in the comparative obscurity which his timid nature craved. Thus, again we see how, "the steps of a good man are ordered by the Lord," and how God, who marks a path on the trackless sea, points in strange manner the way that His children should go.

We will understand John Calvin better if we know something of the physical characteristics and daily habit of the man. For, after all, our lives are profoundly affected by this temple of the body in which we live and have our being.

Calvin was a man of middle stature and, through feeble health, of meager and emaciated frame. He had a thin pale, finely chiseled face and well formed mouth; a long pointed beard, black hair, a prominent nose and flaming eyes. He was modest, plain, neat and orderly in dress, temperate in his habits to the point of abstemiousness.

While at college, owing to the peculiarities of his temperament, he was called "the accusative case." Calvin was possessed of a legal cast of mind. His stern and austere nature clung to the idea of law. Most of the texts for his sermons were taken from the Old Testament. He was a patrician, that is, his nature and manner classed him among the Aristocracy. In his dealings



with men Calvin was intensely practical. He was possessed of an almost uncontrollable temper which was heightened by a natural bitterness of speech and spirit. It was a common saying among his acquaintances: "Better with Beza (his Theological companion), in hell than with Calvin in heaven."

Throughout his life, and in all his writing, Calvin bore the deep impress of his idea of the sovereignty of God. To him, God rules, wills, and ordains all things. The sovereignty of God was the center and core of his whole Theological teaching. He carried it to the extent of what is known as the extreme supra-lapsarian tenet. The word "supra-lapsarian" is a long Latin term which means, literally, "before the Fall." It conveys the idea that, even before the Fall of man, the will of God predestined men to condemnation or to salvation. Therefore, He must have prearranged all things both good and bad, even the Fall of our first parents being but a part of that great scheme which carries out His sovereign will. We can understand how this philosophy would naturally lead to that unyielding exercise of the force of law which characterized Calvin's dealings with all men and often led him to ridiculous and indefensible extremes. His was a system, foreordained, prearranged, unbending. It knew no mercy nor grace save that within an arbitrary predestinating will.

In strong contrast with this extreme legalism was Luther's so-called Christo-centric or Christ-centered system of Theology, which made the love and grace of God in Jesus Christ the center and sun of the whole Universe of God in time and eternity. Luther's system was reflected in the joyous moods of his whole life. Luther wrote a volume of hymns to which he composed much of the music himself. Calvin never sang. When virtually

an anxious prisoner for months at Coburg, Luther wrote to his friends and headed his letter: "From the Kingdom of the Birds." To several of them he described how the blackbirds were holding a Diet under his window.

When in disagreement with his friends, Calvin had long periods of gloomy temper. Perhaps his life is the best illustration of the strength of the old argument that men who would preach the Gospel of hope and joy should be especially sound and healthy in body and should put forth every possible endeavor to keep themselves so. It is well indeed for all the world that its life and Theology are tempered by the clear conviction of Lutheranism that the love of God in Jesus Christ is the core and center of our religious life rather than the barren and unrestrained legalism which places the sovereign decree at the heart of all religious thinking. What an age-long blessing for us all that the Christo-Centric Theology of the Lutheran Church places the flaming cross of Jesus Christ in the midst of the years! For, from it ever streams the love of God which passes all understanding; cheering the sad and heart-broken, uplifting the fallen, and forever warming the cold, hard heart of the world with the tender rays of God's love and pity.

To this end we interpret even the authority and sovereignty of God who was forever, from all eternity, reconciling the world unto himself through Jesus Christ. Thus we preach the drawing power of the Divine love rather than the driving force of Divine wrath. For, love itself is the fulfilling of the law, yes, even *the sovereign law of God*. And this love is the love of Jesus Christ which passeth all understanding, the love of Him who is the same sovereign yesterday, to-day, and forever. Give us the Christo-Centric Theology of Luther rather than the stern, Theo-Centric, legalism of John Calvin.

Calvin had a wonderful mind. He knew Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French, English, and German. At the age of twenty-seven, he finished "The Institutes of the Christian Religion," a work which has been enlarged into two bulky volumes. This work has for centuries been the corner stone of the Presbyterian Theology. It formed the doctrinal basis for the celebrated "Westminster Confession" (1643-47), of the Presbyterian Church. Calvin began this work as an apology for his fellow Protestants in France. He addressed it to King Francis I in order that he might prove to him that the persecuted Protestants were not guilty of teaching and practicing the heresies of which they were accused. But, under the trenchant pen and flaming spirit of a young man of twenty-five or twenty-six years, it became the standard and system of Theology for a great Church.

As we have already seen, this young refugee and Theologian was called to Geneva through Farel. William Farel had done quite a work in this city of 20,000 inhabitants as preacher and Reformer. In 1535, under his leadership, the people had expelled their Bishop and adopted the Protestant religion. When the clergy with their severe strictures were gone, many of the people began to give themselves over to unrestrained license and crime. The city of Geneva was, at that time a refuge and gathering place for men of every nation. There were refugees from Holland, France, Italy, England, and Spain. This condition is explained by the fact that religious freedom was, at that time, practically unknown in Europe. So that men of every faith or non-faith flocked to Geneva where the arm of the Roman Church was not only restrained but practically paralyzed. The city was torn by factions. The Libertines desired more license and chafed at the slight restraints which the government im-

posed. The prostitutes of the town were thoroughly organized and had elected a queen to whom were assigned certain definite political and practical functions. The Old Catholics wanted the Bishop to return; the Anabaptists pushed their peculiar religious and political ideas; while the new Protestant government sought in vain to bring order out of chaos. All was confusion.

Into the thick of this condition came John Calvin. Like most men of timid nature who are forced into leadership, he soon became more or less of a tyrant, ruling with an iron hand. He organized the city in a twofold way: civil and ecclesiastical. Calvin's idea of Church and State was that the two should coöperate. This was no new theory, for, at that time, no one gave serious thought to a separation of Church and State. It was the duty of the Church, Calvin believed, to watch over the morals of the city and call upon the civil power to enforce the will of the guardian. As Calvin finally controlled the course of legislation through the power of the Church, we have at Geneva the spectacle of the union of Church and State from a different point of view than that of Rome, and a new Pope, who, in the name of Protestantism, enforced the rigors of the law in a manner as strict as the most tyrannical of them.

The city government consisted of a Council of two hundred, and a Little Council or Senate of sixty. Under Calvin's regime, these two bodies were little more than advisory, while the government of the city was practically turned over to the Consistory, a body composed of six clergymen and six elders of the Church. These men were located in various parts of the city. It was their duty to "keep an eye on everything," and guard, guide and regulate the moral conduct of men, even to the minutest detail. Among the rules of the town, it was provided that

every one had to go to church on Sundays and on week days, "unless there be some good excuse." Any one who came after the sermon had begun was to be warned and, on a second offense, should be fined about three cents. The churches were to be closed except during the service so that no one could "enter them at other hours from superstitious motives." Any one found with the Rosary or any other charm was to be sent to the Consistory and the Council.

The new rule of Calvin was too severe for such a licentious, pleasure-loving town. Calvin and his friends went to such extremes in their sumptuary legislation that within two years, they were banished from Geneva. In 1538, Calvin, glad to escape the burdens of his position, fled to Strassburg with the conviction that he was forever done with Geneva. Farel fled to Basel.

But conditions in Geneva soon went from bad to worse. The city had been under the influence of a strong moral stimulus for about two years and it needed stronger doses of the same stuff to keep it morally sound. Of the four Syndics or city governors who voted Calvin's banishment, one had his neck broken, one was exiled and two were banished. Finally, by vote of the Council, Calvin was recalled. The people thought God was visiting judgment upon them for their sins, and they invoked the strong arm of Calvin to return to its power and save them from themselves. He was voted a salary of 500 florins (about \$250.00), twelve measures of wheat and two tubs of wine per year. Calvin, after repeated refusals, finally reluctantly consented to return. He came to exercise a closer watch and a greater tyranny than before, and to multiplied labors and many sorrows. He immediately started on a labor of reconstruction in which he virtually

eliminated the Council and Senate and ruled practically alone through the Consistory of twelve churchmen.

The government of the city was carried on with the utmost rigor and severity. The case of Michael Servetus is cited as an extreme instance of the moral rigor of the government. Servetus came to Geneva as a refugee from Vienne, France. He fled from the ecclesiastical court at Vienne where he had been accused of writing a heretical book, "The Mistakes of the Trinity." After a prolonged trial, during which he steadfastly refused to change his religious convictions or to recant, Servetus was condemned to death. He was burned at the stake on October 27, 1553. Thus the Genevan Protestants became guilty of the same intolerance of which they had accused Rome. The event has been a sorry stain upon the memory and work of John Calvin. There are many explanations, excuses, and apologies, but the stubborn fact of intolerance remains. The burning of Servetus is only an extreme result of an ecclesiastical system which turns aside from the preaching of the Gospel of grace and tries to drive men into the kingdom of God by means of the rigors of the law and the lash of civil authority.

It was the natural result of a false theory of legalism and an unwise and unholy combination of Church and State. The State or city had no more right to fine people for not going to church or to whip them with rods for swearing than they had to burn Servetus for denying the Trinity. The attempt to fasten upon the State the clutches of a church which preached law enforcement in the realm of conscience was a dismal failure. It reacted for ill upon the Church itself because men gradually lost sight of the Gospel and preached only the law. Duty was first, last, and every time and the word "grace" dropped from their language.

The same dismal failure of legalism and forced moral restraint has been evident in every attempt to legislate men into the Kingdom of Heaven, from the burning of witches at Salem to fanatical and abortive sumptuary laws in every city. It is the business of the Church to transform men by the Gospel of God in Jesus Christ, leaving the regulation of civic affairs for the temporal welfare of the community with the State where it belongs. In other words, we ought to "give unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things which are God's." Mat. 22: 21.

Calvin's two great errors were his false idea of the jurisdiction of the Church in the private affairs of men, and the invoking of the powers of the State to compel the consciences of men. From these two errors many of the followers of Calvin are not yet freed to this day, and the curse of legalism has often obscured the Gospel of grace throughout the progress of the centuries.

As a direct fruit of this barren legalism, the Consistory in 1568, beheaded a child for striking its parents, and a woman was beaten with rods for singing secular songs to the melodies of the Psalms. Dancing and card playing were followed with heavy penalties.

The strictures of the Consistory made Calvin and the members of that body the most hated men in Geneva. Calvin met with curses everywhere. People named their dogs after him. His house was stoned and as many as fifty shots were fired under his window in one evening. But all this failed to deter him from his set purpose and Calvin and his friends persisted in their efforts to purge the city of its crimes. They finally succeeded in establishing good order, and the power of the Consistory and Council was recognized as a force for righteousness and peace. Calvin declared that he himself had been instru-

mental in preventing more than a hundred riots. At one time, he rushed in among a crowd of roughs and bared his bosom to their daggers.

In passing judgment on his acts, it is well to remember the views and conditions of the times. The intolerance at Geneva was simply a piece in harmony with all the legislation of the times. The tolerance and submission of Luther was a doctrine new and strange and out of harmony with the opinions and traditions of his age. As far as Calvin personally is concerned, it will help us to a charitable judgment, if we remember that there was set for him a superhuman task. Many of his gravest errors arise from the fact that he was attempting the impossible, namely to combine the office of preacher and pastor with that of governor of a turbulent city.

But the government of Geneva was simply an incident in a greater work which Calvin did, though doubtless unconscious of his own influence. Calvin's greatest work was that of a teacher of men. When not too busy with the affairs of the city to which he had been called, he spent his time in lecturing and preaching. Inasmuch as Geneva was the gathering place for travellers from every land in Europe, Calvin attracted to himself the scholars of every nation. Hither came John Knox from Scotland, and thence returned to light the fires of religious revolt in his native land. Here came the scholars and Theologians of France; and the French Huguenots, lighting the torch of faith at the altar of Geneva, bore it aloft as the light of France. Calvin was in constant correspondence with scholars of all lands. He wrote a treatise on Isaiah for King Edward VI of England, and helped to shape the policy and doctrine of his Archbishop, Cranmer.

In general terms, it may be said, that Luther and the Scholars of Wittenberg influenced and won for their faith all the Teutonic races, except England. These include a



large portion of Germany, Norway, Sweden, Denmark and part of Holland. Calvinism and the other branches of the Reformed Church won for their ideas the Romanic and Celtic races, France and Scotland, and secured a strong foothold in Teutonic England and Holland.

These two streams of Theological ideals and beliefs have been flowing in divergent channels throughout the centuries since the days of Calvin and Luther. The Reformed stream has broken and divided into a great number of Denominations or Sects, all of which we class together as "Reformed." The Lutheran stream of thought, however, has in the main, come down through the years as the one undivided Church, varying more or less in detail but still, the one Church of the Augsburg Confession.

It remains but to tell of the death of John Calvin, which occurred after he had passed little beyond the mark of middle life. He died on May 27, 1564, being just a little less than fifty-five years old. Always feeble in frame, he suffered a gradual weakness and decline. In the last few days of his life, he called the members of the Consistory to his bedside and craved pardon of them for hasty words and temper. He earnestly admonished them to be steadfast. To the members of the Senate he said: "I know you well, there is much wanting in the best of you." Whatever we may think of the judgment of Calvin, we must think of him as sincere in all that he did. And, in spite of the errors of judgment in connection with the government of Geneva, we know that it was efficient. Calvin succeeded in purifying the city, and he has won for himself the respect of the world as "the most righteous man of his generation." When he passed away, his work was done. He had stamped the image of himself, his ideals and convictions indelibly on the heart of the race. His, therefore, was a life to live on in the pulse beats of human history.

## CHAPTER VI.

### THE BOLDNESS OF CONVICTION—JOHN KNOX AND THE SCOTCH REFORMATION.

“Now when they saw the boldness of Peter and John, \* \* \* they marvelled; and they took *knowledge* of them, that they have been with Jesus.” Ac. 4: 13.

#### SCOTLAND.

Since the year 1707, Scotland, the land of Douglas, of Bruce, of Robert Burns, and of Sir Walter Scott, has been a constituent part of the British Empire. The area of this country is a little less than 30,000 square miles, yet this small territory has a coast line of about 23,000 miles. The character of the country and its people is very much like the rough and jagged edges of the shore as indicated by this great extent of coast line.

Geologically, the land of Scotland is among the oldest formations in the earth. The whole region is broken up by hills and low mountains. In the North and Center there are many projecting eminences of solid, archaic rock that have stood as sentinels since the dawn of time. The Southern part of Scotland is rich and fertile and within its area is gathered the greater number of the population. The North and Central portions of the high and rocky tableland are rough and comparatively barren. Here but a small portion of Scotland's people wins a scanty subsistence.

The people of Scotland are the descendants of two branches of the Celtic race, a people which, in the great migration of the nations, was among the first to sweep over Europe, up along the Danube River, and on to the

West Coast. The Celts found a fixed destiny in a mixture with Roman and Germanic Peoples in Western France. They found homes on land remaining for them in the then remote corners of the Earth: Ireland and Caledonia (Scotland), and in England, where they are known as Bretons or Britains. Here they either exterminated or assimilated the savages who held the land before them.

Of the two tribes mentioned, the Picts were the first to inhabit Scotland. They were followed by the Scots, a hardy tribe from the North of Ireland. The Scots brought with them a higher form of civilization than that which they were destined to supplant, and a crude form of Christianity which somewhat resembled the faith of Rome. Their religion differed from that of the Roman Church in that the festival seasons were not the same, the mass and other forms of worship did not follow the ancient order, and, chief of all, they did not acknowledge the rule of the hierarchy, or the Pope as the head of the Church.

The Scots were a hardy, rugged race whose open manner was marked by uncouth—almost crude habits of speech and life. As then, so to-day, the typical Scot is frank, stern, and shrewd; not without a strong touch of humor. He conceals beneath his open geniality a canny mind of which it is well for all who attempt to take advantage of his disposition to beware.

The period from the sixth to the ninth century of the Christian Era was marked, in Scotland, by a long struggle for supremacy between the Pict and the Scot. Of the details of this struggle, little has seeped down to us through the sifting sands of time; but we do know that from 843 to 860 one Kenneth MacAlpin is called, for the first time, King of the Picts and Scots. MacAlpin was

a Scot, and, after the year 900, the whole country is called the land of the Scots. Having subdued their immediate neighbors, there still remained for the Scottish Crown one hundred and fifty years of struggle to subdue the Moray Chiefs of the North and to bring the possessions of the rulers up to the standard of a united whole. King Constantine II, in 904, had himself crowned as King on the celebrated Stone of Scone near the Firth of Tay. For almost four hundred years thereafter, the coronation of the Scotch Kings took place on this stone, until it was carried away by King Edward I of England in 1296.

About the middle of the eleventh century, during the reign of King Malcolm III, it may be said that Scotland definitely steps forth from her ancient seclusion into the great company of nations, in which even to the present day, she plays a part, by no means unimportant.

After the conquest of England by William of Normandy in 1066, many Danish Knights found a refuge and a welcome on the soil of Scotland. Among them were such powerful leaders as Lords Bruce and Baliol. The wit and heroism of these exiles from England contributed much toward the elevation of the Scotch race and life. St. Margaret, of England, a daughter of Edward Atheling, married King Malcolm III about 1067. It is said that she introduced the principles and practices of the Roman Church into the crude Western Christianity of the Scots.

The Kings of Scotland, for centuries, dwelt in a palace hard by Edinburgh called "The Palace of the Holy Rood." The "Holy Rood" from which the palace got its name was kept as a sacred relic in the house of this same Saint Margaret. It was a cross shaped casket of gold said to contain a fragment of the true cross, or "rood."

The relic was taken to England by Edward I, afterward returned, and then retaken. It subsequently disappeared.

The period from 1290 to 1603 was marked by the long, long, struggle with England. In 1290, Edward I of England (1272-1307), was called to Scotland to settle a dispute between rival claimants for the Scotch throne, Bruce and Baliol. He agreed to act as umpire on the condition that the victor would acknowledge him as feudal superior. He awarded the crown to Baliol. But Edward made the mistake of treating his new fief like a conquered province, and the Scotch rose in rebellion against him. Edward's life came to a close after he had conquered and laid waste a goodly part of Southern Scotland.

During the period of Edward's conquest the Scotch national hero, Wallace, was captured and cruelly put to death. After the death of Edward I, the bitter contest was renewed against his son Edward II, by the Scotch under Robert Bruce. Edward II and his army suffered a crushing and humiliating defeat at the great battle of Bannockburn in 1314. Even to this day, the Scots love to lower the pride of the so-called "Ruler of the Waves" by twitting her subjects with the by-word, "Bannockburn."

In 1328, England acknowledged Scotch independence. The struggle between England and Scotland did not end with the peace of 1328, but continued, with intermissions, until 1603. At that time, a Scotch King, James VI, mounted the throne of England as the heir to the British crown and this put an end to the long period of deadly wars.

The wars with England have an important bearing on the Scotch Reformation on account of the alliance of Catholic France with Protestant Scotland which continued more or less intimate from 1295 to 1560. Time and again,

this alliance threatened the stability of Western Europe. It was repeatedly the pawn and deciding factor in the "Diplomacy of Kings" during the latter half of the Middle Ages. The strange union was definitely broken up by the progress of the Reformation.

After the battle of Bannockburn and the peace of 1328, England had too many troubles of her own in "The Hundred Years War," and in her own civil "Wars of the Roses" to meddle in Scotland for the next two hundred years. During this time, the rich and powerful Nobles of Scotland were in control, and the history of the Realm from 1329 to 1546 is that of the three-handed struggle of King and Noble and Bishop. In almost every reign, the King was a child when crowned, and the Regent, or Prime Minister, who ruled for him, was forced to keep up a constant struggle with jealous Nobles and the Bishops of the established Church, to maintain his authority.

#### THE SCOTCH REFORMATION.

The Reformation in Scotland had its beginning among the lower orders of the Clergy. The books and papers of Martin Luther were widely circulated among them and, inasmuch as many ordinances of the Church had, for a long time, been loosely observed by the Scotch Church, the new doctrines found a ready and fruitful soil.

As in other European countries, so in Scotland; it is impossible to consider the Reformation without regard to its political setting. Owing to the complications of the political setting, the Reformation of Scotland is one very much involved and hard to unravel. Henry VII (Tudor) of England was a shrewd and far-seeing King. By astute diplomacy he succeeded in marrying his daughter Margaret to James IV, one of the Stuart Kings of Scotland. His successor, Henry VIII, became involved

in a war with France, and the Scotch King went to war against his brother-in-law on the side of France. The result was the disastrous defeat of the Scotch arms at Flodden Field in 1513, with the loss of eight thousand men and the life of the King himself.

After this, the English Margaret became Regent to the young King, James V, but found it most difficult to maintain any form of order. The Nobles were jealous of the powers of the King or Regent. They also craved the rich lands of the Clergy, and looked upon them with covetous eye. In the long struggle between the Royal House and the Clergy, on the one hand, and the Nobles who, for the most part, inclined toward Protestantism, on the other, first one and then the other party would succeed in gaining the upper hand. There was no royal army, and the King had to seek support among his feudal retainers and among the few loyal Nobles who were willing to furnish him arms.

The Earl of Angus virtually imprisoned the young King, James V, and after his release in 1528, the King never forgot the indignity on the part of a Noble who represented the growing Protestant party. When he finally took up the reins of the Kingdom, King James V put the Nobles out of his cabinet and substituted all Roman Churchmen.

Henry VIII called upon his nephew to help him in the work of the English Reformation. James V not only refused, but he married Mary of Guise, a French lady, who was a fanatical Catholic, a member of the chief family of Lorraine, who at that time dominated in the affairs of France. This brought on a war with Henry VIII, in which the Scotch were defeated at Solway Moss. As a result of this defeat King James fell into a decline and died on December 14, 1542.

From the union of Mary of Guise and James V was born one child, who is known in history as Mary Stuart or Mary Queen of Scots. She was but seven days old when her father died. It was the will of the King that the the Archbishop of Edinburg, the Roman Catholic Cardinal Beaton, should be the Regent; but the Nobles who styled themselves, "The Lords of the Congregation" took away the Regency from Beaton and gave it to a Protestant, the Earl of Arran. Henry VIII now saw a chance to unite the thrones of England and Scotland, and arranged a betrothal between his son, Edward, and the child Queen, Mary. But the mother, Mary of Guise, in order to circumvent Henry, ousted Arran from the Regency and took the reins of government herself. Henry now went to war to enforce the bargain, and Scotland and France renewed their alliance against him. Henry carried fire and sword into Scotland, but it availed him nothing, as the young queen was sent to France for her education and religious training. In the meanwhile, persecutions broke out against the Protestants in Scotland and many met death by fire and sword.

#### THE ECCLESIASTICAL SETTING.

As early as 1525, the circulation of Luther's books was forbidden by the government, and, in 1535 there was a general order that all heretical books should be burned. In 1528, the first martyr, Patrick Hamilton, a disciple of Luther, was publicly burned as a heretic.

The Clergy of the time were rich, possessing much of the best land in Scotland. Moreover, they were extravagant among a people naturally frugal. They lived luxuriously, and continually brought the Church into shame and disrepute by their dissipations. The people too, were not of a high grade of intelligence. There had been



three universities established: one at Glasgow, one at St. Andrews, Edinburgh, and one at Aberdeen. But the task of raising the standard of intelligence among the masses against the gross ignorance and corruption of the Clergy was enormous, and these institutions had not, as yet, made much progress along the line of educational reform.

During the reign of James V, from 1513 to 1542, Cardinal Beaton, the Prime Minister of the King, was virtually at the head of the government. It was he who instigated and carried forward the persecution of the Protestants. In 1546, he caused to be burned at the stake George Wishart, a popular Reformed preacher. The burning was not long to go unavenged, and within two months of the death of Wishart, Cardinal Beaton was assassinated in the castle of St. Andrews by sixteen conspirators. The death of the Cardinal put an end to the Old Catholic Regime in Scotland, and opened up the new day of the Reformation.

The authorities at once laid siege to the castle of St. Andrews with the determination to avenge the murder of Cardinal Beaton. The small garrison at St. Andrews managed to hold the castle for almost a year. They were aided by the presence of English ships, but finally, the French allies of the Catholic authorities appeared and the garrison surrendered. They were conveyed to France, and the leaders, among whom was John Knox, were sent to the galleys. As an example of the rigors of the Scotch persecution at this time it is related how that one Adam Wallace, a layman of Ayrshire, was accused of heresy before the Council of State. When asked what he thought about the Mass, he replied: "That which is in greatest estimation before men is abomination before God." Whereupon they all cried out, "Heresy! heresy!" Wal-

lace was promptly condemned and burned on the castle hill at Edinburgh.

After the death of King James in 1542, the affairs of Scotland were managed for the young Queen Mary by Cardinal Beaton until his assassination in 1546. The years following the death of the Cardinal were marked by the struggle for supremacy between the two religious factions. The Protestants were aided by the interference of England, and the power of the Catholic party gradually waned. The long struggle came to an end with the Treaty of Edinburgh in 1560.

In 1554, Mary of Guise, the mother of Mary Stuart, became the Regent of Scotland. She was a woman of marked ability who, though she had to struggle against strong odds, ruled with remarkable tact, wisdom, and moderation. And yet, such was her training and conviction that she could not forbear persecuting the Protestants. That feature of Protestantism which most grievously offended her was the prominent part which the laymen were allowed to take in the work and worship and government of the Church. In 1558, the last martyr for the truth, Walter Mill, was convicted of heresy and burned. In 1559, a proclamation was issued forbidding any one to preach without authority from the Bishops, and ordering the observance of the rites of the Roman Catholic Church. Such arbitrary proceedings in matters of conscience are bound to provoke reaction and revolt. It soon became apparent to liberty loving men that religious freedom could come only by the sword.

Four of the chief preachers of the Reformed party were now summoned before the State Court to be tried for heresy. The Lords of the Congregation resolved to defend them, and soon all Scotland burst out in the flames of revolt. The Protestants appealed to England to help

them expel the hated French allies of the Papacy from the soil of Scotland. After long hesitation, Elizabeth of England consented to send help. The siege of Leith forced the treaty of Edinburgh, July 6, 1560. It was during the siege of Edinburgh and Leith that the Queen Mother, Mary of Guise, weary of life and its many disappointments, retired to the Castle of Edinburgh. She died there on July 10, 1560.

The new Scotch Parliament for which the Edinburgh treaty provided assembled at once and set to work on the principles of Reform. John Knox became the spiritual leader of the Parliament. Mary Stuart was summoned from France as the natural heir to the throne as the ruler of Scotland. With the entrance of these two on the stage of action, the first great period of the Scotch Reformation closes, and the remainder of the story is closely identified with the history of the bold life and preaching of John Knox and the pathetic struggles of Mary Queen of Scots. We shall take up the two in order.

#### JOHN KNOX.

John Knox was born at Haddington, sixteen miles southeast of Edinburgh, in 1505. Little is known of his parents or early youth. His early education was somewhat limited. This he atoned for by hard study and close application in later life. In 1540, he was ordained a Priest of the Roman Catholic Church, but was converted to the Reformed doctrine in 1546. In 1547, he was called to be the preacher of the Edinburgh conspirators who disposed of Cardinal Beaton, at the chapel of St. Andrews. While on duty there, Knox was captured by the French. He, together with some other leaders of the party, was sent to the French galleys and made to work as a slave for two years.

It is related by his biographer that at one time, "lying betwixt Dundee and St. Andrews, the said John Knox being so extremely sick that few hoped for his life, one of his fellow prisoners, James Balfour, willed him to look at the land and asked him if he knew it. Who answered: 'Yes, I know it well, for I see the steeple of that place where God first in public opened my mouth to His glory; and I am fully persuaded, howsoever weak I now appear, that I shall not depart this life till that my tongue shall glorify his godly name in that same place.'" Knox was a stern Puritan, and this conversation shows how his great soul always rose in triumph over the weakness of the flesh and defied all limitations of his circumstances. By reason of the intervention of the English King, he was released from the galleys after he had served two years. He then spent five years preaching in England. During this period, he declined the offer of an English 'Bishopric' because he was opposed to certain forms of the Church of England which he considered relics of Romanism. In 1553, the fanatical Roman Catholic, Mary Tudor, mounted the throne of England, and for the remainder of her five years' reign it was healthier outside the borders of England than within for extremists like Knox. Knox spent most of the following five years on the Continent, returning to Scotland for but a brief period in 1555. He preached for a while at Frankfort, and then was called to take charge of a congregation of English refugees at Geneva. Here his contact with Calvin for the next four years schooled him in that rigid Presbyterianism of the Covenanter type which, for centuries, has distinguished the spiritual life of the Church of Scotland. Knox's sojourn at Geneva in close contact with Calvin was responsible for the fact that he himself and the Ref-

ormation which he fostered were thoroughly and strictly Presbyterian.

While at Geneva, he wrote a book entitled, "The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regimen of Women." It was directed against the rule of Mary and of Elizabeth of England. Knox never retracted the severe words of this book. The word "retract" had been stricken from his lexicon; and, years afterward, when he and his fellow Protestants needed and earnestly called for the help of Queen Elizabeth, the extreme views of this book remained to plague him and throw obstacles in the way of his progress. The lesson we draw from this incident is one involved in the trite old adage: "Think twice before you speak," for oftentimes words, the shadow of our hasty thought, uttered in an ill-starred moment, may prove the insurmountable obstacles which block the path of our success.

Knox was fifty-four years old when, in 1559, he returned to his dear old Scotland well schooled and trained for the leadership of the Church which was to fall into his hands. Knox took up the work of preaching at Perth. He preached there a strong sermon against the Mass and against images. After Knox had finished a Priest came forward, lifted the cover off the altar, and prepared to celebrate the Mass. A youth in the congregation cried out: "This is intolerable that when God by His Word hath plainly damned Idolatry, we shall stand and see it used in despite." These words were the signal for the beginning of an iconoclastic or image breaking "fury" the like of which has seldom been seen. What Knox himself called "the rascal multitude" began to tear out images, cut down frescoes from the walls, break the stained glass windows and break in pieces the altars, not sparing even those made of stone. The image of the

patron saint of the church of St. Giles was taken and drowned in the sea, and after the Regent, the Archbishop, and the Royal family had finished a procession at the head of a borrowed image, the crowd broke the figure in pieces. The figure of St. Giles as patron saint of Edinburgh, was taken from the standard and the thistle put in its place. The "fury" swept through all Scotland until there was scarcely an image or ornament left in all the Kingdom. Thus, like the small stone which sends an avalanche thundering on its destructive way down from an Alpine summit, so a word from John Knox had set forces of ruin in motion which went far beyond both the bounds of reason and the best intents of its author. But we must ask the question whether, after all, the "multitude" was wrong in carrying out to its legitimate conclusion a deep seated conviction that church adornment was idolatry and that in destroying these objects of superstition, they were doing the service of God. In a word, was it right for John Knox to preach a principle which laid upon the consciences of the people the burden of ungodliness? However sincere he may have been, there remains in the minds of many of those who view the affair from the standpoint of the present day, a conviction that Knox was rash in his judgment and intemperate in his utterances.

The civil war which arose as a result of these Protestant extremes on the one hand, and Catholic intolerance and bigotry on the other, was settled by the peace of July 6, 1560, with victory resting on the standard of the Protestant Nobles. The states assembled in a national Parliament or Assembly to settle the religious dispute once and for all, and in one day, most sweeping changes were made. On the morning of August 25, 1560, the sun rose upon a Scotland legally and nominally Roman Catholic;

at eventide, it set on a kingdom nominally and legally Protestant. The whole system of a thousand years was swept away and the Presbyterian Confession, called the "Scotch Confession," which was modelled closely after the creed of John Calvin, was put in its place. "The First Book of Discipline," composed by Knox, which provides a strictly Puritan order of worship, was introduced. From that day Scotland has been a stronghold of Presbyterianism; rigidly, consistently, and uncompromisingly Protestant and Calvinistic.

#### MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS.

It was just about a year later than the events narrated above that Mary, Queen of Scots, landed in Scotland and began her sad and stormy career as ruler of a people who were passing through the midst of a great change which amounted to a momentous crisis in the national career.

Queen Mary landed at Leith on August 19, 1561. The heart of the present generation cannot but go out in sympathy for the beautiful young queen of nineteen years of age. Her pathetic and tragic career, like that of Marie Antoinette of France of a later day, is that of a weak soul beset with many temptations and trials. She was born in the palace of Linlithgow on December 7, 1542. From the year 1548 she had spent her life in France. For one brief year she had been Queen of France as the wife of Francis II, who died in his youth. From the mild climate and gay court life of France she now came to the rugged conditions of her Scotland home.

It is hard to imagine a greater contrast. In France she had lived in the midst of the magnificent but false splendors of court life. She had been flattered by its courtesies and graced with its gentilities without ever penetrating behind the veil to see its shams and hollow

pretensions, its deceits and baneful intrigues. For Mary had not yet had experience enough to teach her not to take the flatteries of court life seriously. Such disillusion is the part of every life near its middle or toward its close. To youth such as Mary's belong the constant illusions of hope and innocent trust.

Mary now came from the gaiety and chivalry of French court life into this new life among rugged and uncouth subjects who were famed for their honest but brutal frankness. From those who had made it a study to conceal from her the slightest feeling or motion of disapproval, she now came to live among men who "wore their hearts on their sleeves" and did not hesitate to exhibit their feelings even to the point of contempt bordering on insolence. Mary never understood the rudeness of her subjects which shocked and grieved her sensitive soul. On the other hand, the Scots never learned to know the fine nature which lay beneath the polish of the lady who they thought was "spoiled by Popery."

Mary wept all the way of her five days' course to Scotland, and the circumstances of her landing did not add to her comfort. A heavy fog lay for three days on the land along the shore at Leith and the first glimpse of her new home was through the dull grey of its forbidding aspect. At the Edinburgh castle, whither she was taken for her reception, a boy presented her with the keys of the fortress, a Bible and a Psalter. The last was to prove an ill omen of her contact with a people whose worship was regulated strictly by the simplicity of the Psalms set to music. We are told that Mary wept when she saw the horses and carriages, bare of all trappings or adornment, which her subjects sent to bring her from the seaport town of Leith to Edinburgh. Poor Queen! for weeping



was to be her portion for much of her time during the stormy scenes of the next twenty-five years.

Mary brought with her the religious convictions which had been nurtured in France as a result of living in a most strict and bigoted Roman Catholic environment. The Earl of Murray was her half-brother who was destined to share much of the burden of government with her. Murray was a Protestant of liberal turn of mind, who was willing to have his sister follow out her own religious convictions and preferences as long as they did not interfere with his own political aims or with his conception of the best interests of the kingdom.

From the very beginning of her reign, Mary was under suspicion. Her uncles, the Guises of Lorraine, were not only bigoted, but bloodthirsty Catholics, who did not hesitate to plunge all France into bloodshed to accomplish their selfish and fanatical designs. The Scotch Covenanters feared that the Guises would employ force of arms to restore the Catholic religion in Scotland. Some of the letters which Mary wrote gave strong grounds for suspicion that she was quite willing to take part in any movement looking toward this end. There were strong efforts made to have her unite in marriage with Don Carlos, of Austria, and Philip, of Spain, who were both bigoted princes and rulers zealous for the Roman Catholic faith.

Mary had her own private chapel at Edinburgh where she craved the privilege of worshipping according to the dictates of her own conscience. But, when the first Mass was said, the people were horrified at what they believed to be idolatry and would have broken in to stop the service had not Murray placed a strong guard by the chapel door. The next day, Knox preached a stirring sermon against the idolatry of the Mass, and the people were

more than ever excited against her. A few months later, Knox, shocked by some of the dances held at the royal palace, preached a sermon on "The Vices of Princes," in which Mary came in for her full share of blame and condemnation.

Queen Mary sent for Knox on five separate occasions and, at each interview, sought to reason with him, and, if possible, win him over to a more conciliatory attitude. Knox was firm and unyielding: alike callous to her pleadings and tears and indifferent to her threats. It is the opinion of those who now look back upon the past with sober judgment that Knox was unnecessarily severe, harsh, violent, and intolerant. He paid Mary back with the same coin of intolerance that had been dealt to him by the Catholics years before. Mary claimed the right and freedom to worship God as she pleased with the understanding that her Protestant subjects were to be given the same freedom. In the prevailing spirit of sixteenth century intolerance, Knox would not allow this, and his position as spiritual leader of a people aroused to the highest pitch of resentment against Rome easily enabled him to make the worship of the queen bitterly unpleasant for her.

In one of the above-mentioned interviews, Mary chided Knox for preaching disobedience to her subjects and reminded him that God commands subjects to be obedient to their princes. To this Knox replied by citing the instances of Israel and Daniel. "Yet," said Mary, "none of them ever raised the sword against their Princes." To this Knox replied in words which have, from the beginning, set bounds between Knox and Luther and between the Lutheran and Reformed Churches, as far as civil authority is concerned. "If," said he, "their Princes exceed their bounds, Madam, and do against that where-

fore they should be obeyed (conscience), it is no doubt but they may be resisted, even by power." "Well, then," said the Queen, "I perceive that my subjects shall obey you, and not me." Knox replied: "My travail is that both Princes and subjects obey God." But Mary had put the case correctly as far as she was concerned. She was to be subject to the rule of her people and the voice of the people found its expression in the severe utterances of John Knox. The day of the royal autocracy had passed, and the day of a rule under a leadership more or less ignorant of the principles of government had come. Knox through his hold on the people was, henceforth, to rule as with a rod of iron.

As I have before intimated, it is this difference in regard to the view of constituted authorities that differentiates Calvin and Knox from Luther. This theory of government lies at the bottom of the greater freedom of action and comparatively loose efficiency of the Western nations such as England, France and Italy, to-day. It is the opposing theory of submission to authority preached by Luther which is the secret of the greater bondage and comparative unity and efficiency and thoroughness of organization in the Germany and Sweden of the present day. We are almost tempted to say: "Pay your money and take your choice": whether of independence, struggle, weakness and comparative poverty on the one hand, or of regulation and submission with the greater efficiency and prosperity on the other.

Mary was married on July 29, 1565, to her cousin, Lord Darnley, a bigoted Catholic and a conceited fop whom she admired for the sake of his fine appearance. The marriage proved a bitter disappointment to her and Mary was, throughout the two years of her connection with him, the unhappy wife of a man utterly unworthy of

love or respect. The marriage was opposed by her half-brother Murray and the Protestants in general, while it was encouraged and fostered by the Catholic party. Here, then, there was another opportunity to open up a schism between the Queen and the great majority of her subjects.

On March 9, 1566, the crime of murder stained the walls of the palace and the private apartments of the Queen herself. She had chosen as her private secretary and confidant, one Rizzio, an Italian. The Protestant Nobles blamed him for inciting a number of measures against Protestants, and Darnley was jealous of the confidence reposed in him by the Queen. Moreover, the Scotch Parliament was to meet very soon and Mary proposed to have the property of those Nobles who were engaged in the latest plot against her confiscated by an act of the Assembly. In order to prevent this, and to wreak vengeance on Rizzio, the Nobles entered the Queen's private chamber, seized Rizzio, and dragged him out into the hall where they finished the work of execution begun in the Queen's private apartment. Mary was made a prisoner in her own house, but, that very night, she succeeded in winning over to her side her husband who had been one of the plotters, and together they escaped to Dunbar Castle.

Mary now raised an army and returned to Edinburgh, and those who were implicated in the plot were compelled to flee. The ex-Regent, Murray, who had returned during the confusion, was pardoned and restored, but the Regent, Morton, who headed the plot, remained unforgiven. Fifteen years thereafter, in 1581, Morton confessed his part in the murder of Rizzio and he was beheaded for his crimes. His case is one of the great multitude of examples in history which are proof that the

Word of God speaks true when it declares: "Be sure your sin will find you out." Num. 32: 23.

Mary was disgusted with her dissolute husband, Lord Darnley. The leading men of the nations were incensed at his clumsy interference with the affairs of State and several of them planned to get rid of at least this much of the Catholic menace. On the 9th of January, 1567, therefore, while he lay sick in a small house near the city walls of Edinburgh, the house was blown up with gunpowder, and Darnley and his attendant were found dead in the adjoining garden. They had apparently made an attempt to escape and were strangled to death. By whom the deed was done no one could say. Suspicion fell on a certain Lord Bothwell for whom the Queen had shown a growing fondness. Bothwell and his friend Huntley were brought to trial. As he was influential in government circles, Bothwell was careful to see that four thousand troops paraded the streets of the city that day, and through fear of vengeance, no one dared to appear against him. Of course, under such circumstances, the culprits were acquitted. On May 7th of that same year, Bothwell secured a divorce from his wife, and eight days thereafter, he and the Queen were married. The somewhat indecent haste of this marriage aroused suspicion and anger all over the Kingdom and, within a month, the whole of Scotland was in the throes of a revolt. Mary was defeated and made a prisoner at Loch Leven Castle, while Bothwell fled to Denmark, where he ended his life in abject poverty and misery.

At Loch Leven Castle, on June 23d, a company of Lords came in to the Queen fully armed. They came to compel her to sign two documents. By the one, she renounced her claim to the throne of Scotland forever, in favor of her infant son, James VI, who was then only a

year old. By the other, she appointed her half-brother, Earl Murray, Regent, or Prime Minister to the infant King James, thus making Murray, for the time being, virtually Lord of the Realm. The signing of these two documents marked the end of all Catholic rule in Scotland. Henceforth, her kings, like those of England, were to be men of the Protestant faith. But the years to come were to be marked by a struggle of equal, or greater intensity between those who sought to make Scotland Episcopalian and those who were determined that she should remain Presbyterian.

About the first of May, 1568, Mary succeeded in escaping from Loch Leven Castle and raised a small army to move against her rebellious subjects. She was utterly defeated on May 13, 1568. She chose between flight and capture, and resolved to throw herself on the mercy of Elizabeth, Queen of England. She would just as well have appealed to the sea which beat with its proud waves upon the inhospitable shores of her native heath. For the next nineteen years, hers was a living death as prisoner of the English Queen.

The presence of the Scotch Queen within her dominions was a constant source of embarrassment to Elizabeth. For, according to the version of the Catholic Church of Europe, Elizabeth, being a daughter of Anne Boleyn, whom the Pope had refused to recognize as Henry's second wife, was considered illegitimate and, therefore, not entitled to the English throne. Moreover, this same Mary Stuart was a lawful descendant of the English King Henry VII, who was the grandfather of Elizabeth. Here, then, was a critical situation. With France and all the Roman Catholic world pushing to crowd her off and put Elizabeth's rival on the throne, what was she to do with that rival in her power? If she suffered Mary to live

and risked the chance of her escape, she herself would be to blame if Mary ever led a revolt against her. Elizabeth temporized by keeping Mary in prison. But Elizabeth's throne seemed to be undermined with plots to destroy her, and to the minds of her advisers, the fuse of every one of them led straight to the prison of Mary Queen of Scots. Finally, Mary was accused of being implicated in a plot to place her on the throne of England. In this plot, the King of Spain himself and the government of France were supposed to be the leaders and there is some documentary proof of Mary's complicity. Elizabeth reluctantly signed the warrant for the execution of Mary and she was beheaded at Fotheringay Castle in 1587. Mary was only forty-five years old, but she had lived long enough to see all of life's illusions vanish like the vain and fleeting shadows of a dream. Broken, prematurely old, weary of life, and disappointed in all her hopes, the mother of a proud line of English Kings held out her arms to the embrace of death like a tired child to be gathered to the bosom of its mother.\*

It may seem but the irony of fate or the spirit of vengeance which descended from her sons; but the Stuart Kings were left to plague England for more than a hundred years. It was their unhappy controversy over the so-called "Divine Right of Kings" which plunged England into the horrors of one of the bloodiest of civil wars. Those who believe in a Divine law of compensation and retributive justice can find at least a show of proof in the history of Mary Stuart and her sons.

The remaining history of Scotland as a Kingdom has to do more with civil affairs than with religion. Its chief

\*Hume, the English historian, inclines to the belief that the so-called "Casket Letters" furnish a strong presumption of Mary's guilt in the case of the murder of Lord Darnley.

characteristic is the story of confusion and turmoil among the Nobles and Princes. The great Regent, Murray, was assassinated in 1570. In the struggle which followed, John Knox fought on the King's side with all the force and vehemence of his nature. In October, 1570, he suffered a stroke of apoplexy which impaired his speech. His mind, however, continued vigorous to the last. On Sunday, November 9, 1572, he officiated at the installation of James Lawson, as his colleague and successor at Edinburgh. In his enfeebled condition, he was a familiar figure going about leaning on the arm of his trusted servant, Richard Ballantyne. His biographer, Melville, writes of him that he saw him helped into the pulpit by Ballantyne and another servant. In the pulpit "he be-hooved to lean at his first entry; but ere he had done with his sermon, he was so active and vigorous that he was like to ding that pulpit in blads (pieces) and fly out of it."

Knox died on the 24th day of November, in the sixty-seventh year of his age, and his remains were interred in the church yard at St. Giles. The grave is characteristic of the simplicity of the great man's life. The only mark is the simple inscription on the tiles above his grave: "J. K. 1572." His was a life long fight wherein he struggled against the mass of legend and tradition and of rites and ceremonies which had enslaved the minds of men. If we are constrained to criticize the undue severity and violence of his methods, we also cannot fail to admire the great soul, which was characterized by a deep and undying devotion to candor and truth and purity. As his body lay in state, a great concourse gathered to do him honor. Lord Morton, at that time Regent of the Kingdom, said of him: "There lies the man who never feared the face of clay." Let us honor him for what he



was and praise him for the work he accomplished. Let us take example of his boldness and courage; for his was not the boldness bred of ambition, or lust, or greed, or lack of modesty. His was the sort of courage which evermore batters down the brazen gates of sin and makes way for the coming of the King—*The Boldness of Conviction.*

#### LATER YEARS OF THE SCOTCH CHURCH.

In the Parliament of 1567, the Presbyterian Confession of 1560, from which the government had for a long time withheld its consent, was finally and definitely confirmed. During the course of the later controversy with the Church of England, the rights of the Presbyterians were taken away from them by giving into the hands of the King supreme authority within the Realm over all matters both of Church and State. These rights, however, were fully restored by the Parliament of 1592, and Scotland became finally and definitely Presbyterian.

In 1588, the great Catholic Armada of Philip II, of Spain, which was the concrete expression of the great, threatening cloud of Roman Catholic interference and overlordship that had been arising from the Continent since the first movement of the Reformation, was utterly destroyed, and, henceforth, England and the Reformation in Scotland were safe.

In 1603, James VI, of Scotland, was called amidst universal rejoicing, to the throne of England as James I, of England. His enthronement gave to England a Scotch King and united the two Realms under the personal leadership of the King. But Scotland still goes on with an economic, and religious and industrial life all her own. And, chief of all her characteristics, is that peculiarity of religious life and conviction bred in her by that fearless and intrepid hero of conscience, John Knox. Amen.

## CHAPTER VII.

### A NATION IN A DAY: ENGLAND.

“Blessed is the nation whose God is the Lord.” Ps.  
33: 12.

#### ENGLAND.

England is a great nation. To a country like England a prominent place in the Councils of Nations cannot be denied. The British Empire to-day covers one-fifth of the earth. The Island of Great Britain is just one hundredth the size of the Empire. It was just about three hundred years ago that England began her triumphal march of expansion. The organization of the East India Company in 1600 was the first act in the organized attempt to gain possession of the commerce and markets of the world. In 1601, Sir James Lancaster landed his expedition on the Island of Java in the Indian Seas and brought back to Liverpool the wonderful cargo of spices which fired the imagination of the English people, and opened up to men's eyes the marvelous possibilities of foreign trade. This discovery was a prelude to a struggle of one hundred and fifty years with Holland and France for the commercial and political predominance of the world. It was a contest which reshaped maritime and political power in Europe.

To-day the flag of the British Empire waves over approximately twelve million square miles of the earth's surface, and, at this very moment, England is engaged in a life and death struggle to maintain her power. The issue of the present conflict may determine whether the ancient dream of Universal Empire is to be realized or,

whether this modern phase of it also is destined to pass away like a shadow.

The religion of such a people, being virtually the source and spring of the nation's life and conduct, is well worth the closest study on the part of the students of history and of religion as well.

England, "Merrie England," has been peculiarly favored by Providence in her geographical location. The Strait of Dover, at its narrowest point, is only eighteen miles wide, but that narrow belt of water, separating her from the continent, has again and again saved England's shores from being drenched with blood, and has often turned the whole course of the stream of history. Even the mighty Cæsar feared those eighteen miles or more of water separating his invading forces from the legions on the mainland. Napoleon, at one time, gathered an immense army at Boulogne, France, for the purpose of invading England, but the perils of the sea bade him begone to leave an unconquerable foe hanging on at flank and rear. Even at this day, the obstruction of the English Channel is, doubtless the reason why the faultless military machine of the German Kaiser is not thundering at the very gates of London.

The elements that have entered into the composition of English life are many and varied. America has been poetically called "The Melting Pot of the Nations," but here in America we speak a common, ready-made language and yield allegiance to a developed and prepared standard of State and life, namely, the Constitution of the United States. Not only was the land of Old England such "a melting pot" of nations, but her language and institutions, her laws and her national character were also an amalgamation or intimate mixture of many diverse and strange elements.

The English language to-day bears the stamp of Roman, Saxon, Dane, Norman-French or Italian, and the ancient Celt. Her laws are a composite of the laws which the successive generations and peoples who overran her soil brought with them and handed down to posterity. To say, "I am an Englishman," is, therefore, to say: "I am indebted to all these: Celt, Saxon, Dane, French, and Italian, for my blood, my language, my laws, my religion, my all."

The earliest people of England within the memory of man were the ancient Celts of the two tribes, the Picts and the Scots. These ancient peoples poured all over the British Isles and left the stamp of their crude civilization on language and country. They occupied England while the Romans were conquering and ruling the world. In religious things, they were ministered unto by the Pagan rites of Druid priests, whose shrine was under the mighty oak and whose temples seem to have been the open forests.

After he had swept over Gaul with his victorious legions, Cæsar invaded England in the year 55 B. C. Cæsar came twice, but in the year 53 B. C. he left never to return. A hundred years later, the Romans came back with fire and pillage. Lured on by the hope of plunder, they overran practically all of England. It is related of Caractacus, a brave chief of the Britons, that when he was carried in chains to Rome, he refused to beg for his life or liberty. As he looked around on the splendor and magnificence of Rome, he exclaimed: "Can it be possible that men who live in such palaces as these envy us our wretched hovels?" The Romans finally released him through admiration for his splendid courage.

The miserable greed and cruelty of the Romans failed to accomplish the very object of government, namely, the building of an enduring State on the basis of willingness

and obedience on the part of the subjects of government. Therefore, although Rome remained in England for about four hundred years, she left no enduring mark of her rule, save the physical remains of hard roads and walls thrown up here and there for fortifications. In 410 A. D., when the Roman Empire in the West was hastening to its fall, Rome recalled her soldiers from England to take up the more pressing duty of defense at home. Even in this day, men digging twenty feet below the present site of London, discover fragments and relics of the old Roman conquest and civilization.

The chief sources of our information as to the events following the occupation by the Romans, are the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, begun about the time of Alfred the Great, about 870 A. D., and Bede's "Ecclesiastical History of the English People," composed at some time between 673 and 735 A. D.

They tell of the invasions by the Angles, the Saxons, and the Jutes, who were fierce and warlike peoples who lived across the North Sea, in what is now Denmark, Schleswig-Holstein, and the North West Province of Hamburg. These lands lie near the sea between the mouths of the Elbe and the Weser. The invaders were little more than marauding bands of sea robbers who came to conquer and to spread death and desolation. They began their incursions about 449 A. D., and continued until they had occupied the whole country. The terrified Britons found a refuge in the mountain fastnesses of Wales and Cornwall. The descendants of the ancient Britons still live in Wales and stamp the civilization of the day with the peculiarities of their racial character.

The next four hundred years have left a record of bloodshed and struggle between the various tribes of the conquering Teutons. The names: Sussex, Wessex, and

Essex still remain to mark the early homes of South Saxon, West Saxon, and East Saxon, respectively, in the land of their adoption. Near the end of this period (829), one Egbert, King of Wessex, became Overlord of East Anglia and established himself as ruler over the whole land to which was given the name of one of the old tribes, the Angles, therefore the name, Angle-Land or England.

About the year 597, England was invaded with a different object in view than that of plunder, as before. It has already been related how the Monk Gregory resolved upon a campaign of missions for England while looking upon some fair-haired Saxon youth exposed for sale in the slave marts of Rome.

After the conversion of the King of Kent by Gregory's missionary, St. Augustine, the country or County of Kent became the center for the preaching of the cross, and, since that day, Canterbury, the capital of the county, has been recognized as the official religious center of England.

However, the Irish Missionaries had spread their peculiar form of the Catholic faith throughout Northern and Western England, and, in due course of time the two forms of faith and practice came in conflict with one another. After a prolonged dispute, the vexing question was finally referred to a great religious conclave or council at Whitby, held in 662. The case was decided by the King in favor of the Roman form of Catholicism which recognized the supremacy and authority of the Pope of Rome the more strictly.

The Anglo-Saxon supremacy in England, torn and weakened as it was by continued factional wars, now lay open for an attack from any strong foe. Such an one appeared in the hardy Danes who, during the 9th, 10th

and 11th centuries, came with wave after wave of conquering armies and, in the course of their invasions, engulfed the greater part of the Saxon civilization of the previous four centuries. This is the period of Alfred the Great, which has given to us the story of his heroic and successful battle against the fierce enemies of his country. Sweyn was the first Danish king of renown who established himself and his authority. The greatest and best of them all was Canute, who appears to have been a great and good king, who was much beloved by all his people.

The Danes were of Teutonic stock, of the same race as the Anglo-Saxons whom they conquered. There is a similar tragic paradox in the international situation of the present day. For we behold the sad spectacle of the two leading Teutonic nations the respective heads of the most cruel, bloody and fratricidal war of all the ages.

The English people became dissatisfied with the rule of the sons of Canute and called to the throne Edward, a descendant of the old English kings. For his deep piety and earnest Christian faith, he is known in history as Edward the Confessor.

When Edward died without heirs, he named Harold Earl of Wessex, as his successor to the throne. Edward's cousin, William, Duke of Normandy, laid claim to the throne on the ground that Edward had promised it to him. In 1066, William, with the consent and blessing of the Pope, came with a large army to enforce his claim. At the great battle of Senlac or Hastings, William utterly defeated his rival, and seized the throne without further opposition. Then began the long process of welding together the two elements of English life. The Normans, like the Saxons whom they had conquered, were "North" men too. But on the Continent in North-

ern France, both their blood and their habits of life had received a large admixture of the French element. The French were a combination of the Latin, Celt, and German elements of racial life. The two predominant elements in England, the Saxon and the Norman, in the course and growth of centuries, combined to form the English race and character. The Saxon was stolid, slow, safe, and sure. The Norman was quick, original, and venturesome. These complementary elements, blended in one race and nature produced the progressive people who have been the leaders and teachers of the world in so many things. William the Conqueror, as he is known in history, became the forceful tyrant who was needed to weld the two peoples into one. Among other things he did was to erect the tower of London as the place for the detention of the prisoners of state. Since that day, throughout the long centuries of English history, its dark dungeons have been the graveyard of hope for many thousands, and its massive doors have dismally clanked the knell of doom as they closed behind the final step in many a bright career.

From 1154 to 1399 there was a long line of eight Kings called the Plantagenets or Angevin, from Anjou, now in Northern France, which was the original home of this line of Nobles. They began what is known as the "Hundred Years' War" with France. The King needed money and troops to carry on his foreign war, and, from time to time, he had to make concessions to his subjects in order to secure their coöperation and assistance. Out of the conditions and necessities of the King which resulted from this long war the people gradually won a larger measure of liberty and freedom from the restraint and tyranny of Kings. They secured such civil blessings as the self-governing Houses of Parliament, the right of



trial by jury, and the right to have a voice in the levying of taxes.

One of the Plantagenets, King John (1199-1216), became involved with Pope Innocent III, in a serious quarrel in regard to the appointment of the Archbishop of Canterbury. In a desperate attempt to compel the King to yield, the Pope finally put all England under the Interdict or suspension of religious services. For two years the churches were hung in mourning, the bells did not ring, and the doors were shut fast. The Priests refused the Gospel and sacraments for the living and prayers for the dead. Under pressure of this terrible ban, John finally submitted, and so far humbled himself as to receive his Kingdom as a fief or gift from the Pope. Out of the shame and indignation which the English people suffered on account of the base submission of their King arose the occasion for the Magna Carta or Great Charter of England, celebrated in law and tradition and song.

The Great Charter was signed by King John in 1215. It guaranteed to the English Barons as representatives of the people, certain natural rights against interference on the part of the King. This charter became the foundation of the English Constitution, and out of it as a seed, there flowered the modern ideas of popular and Democratic government. Throughout the long years of English history, it gradually became more and more the guarantee of both civil and religious liberty.

The "War of the Roses" (1455-1483), grew out of a defective claim to the royal title. This struggle was so called because one side, the House of Lancaster, had for its emblem, a red rose; while the opposing side, the House of York, adopted the white rose as its sign and bond of union. There was a measure of religious significance in the War of the Roses. The people of the

North of England and the Roman Church, generally, fought on the side of the House of Lancaster for the Royal prerogatives and the supremacy of the Church; while the House of York and the South, in general, contended for a greater measure of both civil and religious freedom.

The terrible civil war thoroughly devastated England and stripped her of her best and ablest men. The two factions flew at each other and fought almost to extermination; all for the sake of a royal title! for the vain honors of this world; even for the bauble of a crown! Most of England's bloody wars have been fought to decide the question whether this or that man should sit upon the throne of England; a question in which the average Englishman could have only the slightest and remotest interest. What is here said of England is true of most of the wars which have deluged the whole world with the blood of the strong and brave. Now and then we learn of a war being fought to settle some great principle, but, in the main, the world's wars grow out of a godless avarice or a vain ambition. O, vain and foolish men! For the glory of this world, even though we grasp it, passes away like the shadow of a dream! After twenty years of struggle, the war ended with the terrible defeat of the Yorkist leader, Richard III, on Bosworth Field (1485). Richard, it is said, wore his crown on the battlefield. After Richard had been slain, a soldier of the army of Lancaster found it hanging on a hawthorne bush and placed it on the head of Henry Tudor. This act of fealty was soon confirmed by all the people of England who were weary of the long strife and longed for peace. Henry ascended the throne as Henry VII.

Bosworth Field was not only the end of the civil war but it was the end of feudalism in England. Most of

the great feudal Barons had lost their lives on the battle-fields of the civil wars. The few who remained were easily controlled by the King. For this reason, the Tudor line of sovereigns who descended from Henry VII had almost absolute power. The strong Barons who had brought King John and his successors to terms were now no more. The King had to deal only with the common people whose confidence and friendship he was usually careful to cultivate. This fact is very important in explaining just why the Reformation in England took the peculiar course that it did. The King having no powerful Nobles to fetter his will was able to make of the governing Parliament of England a mere instrument for recording and carrying out his will and purpose.

During the progress of the civil wars, one William Caxton presented King Edward IV with a copy of the first book printed in England (1477). Kings and princes have powerfully moulded and guided the destinies of men and the course of history. However, kings come and go, but William Caxton with his printing press was the real king of his age whose power, passing into the hands of an ever multiplying army of successors, has proved the most mighty instrument in the hand of man for spreading the truth. Other kings spend much of their time and energy in drawing the sword. This king spends his energy in producing and spreading ideas, and, it is the idea, after all, which rules and guides the world.

While the absolutism of the Tudor Sovereigns, Henry VII, Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth, afforded opportunity for the exercise of tyranny, yet it was a good thing for the State. During this period, there was needed a strong and steady hand to guide the ship of State through the troubled waters of the times and, such a hand the Tudors, for the most part,

held to the helm throughout their reign. Democracy as a system of government is not always an unmixed blessing, for it too, has the defects of its good qualities. On the other hand, the absolute power of one man is not altogether evil; for out of this lion of strength, oftentimes comes the honeyed sweetness of national peace, unity, and efficiency.

The first of the Tudors, Henry VII, proceeded very wisely to strengthen the arm of the government and lay the foundations of an enduring peace. He succeeded in marrying his daughter, Margaret, to the King of Scotland, James V, thus paving the way for the end of the long strife between England and her Northern neighbor. Moreover, by means of fines, forfeitures, and special taxes, he amassed an immense private fortune of two million pounds Sterling, which to-day, would equal about ninety million dollars. He also set up, for the decision of special cases and made extensive use of the Privy Council of England, which had the power of all penalties but death. This Council became more and more a mighty instrument of the King's will and aided very materially to carry his son, Henry VIII, through the perilous changes of the Reformation.

#### THE PERIOD OF THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND.

When Henry VIII came to the throne in 1509, there was no cloud on either the political or the religious horizon. All bade fair for a happy and peaceable reign. Henry himself was only eighteen, young, handsome, and athletically built. He was rich and well educated, the friend and patron of the New Learning. Moreover, he held a decisive position of influence in the Councils of Kings, and the royal heads of Europe as well as the Pope of Rome sought his favor. As we have observed, early

in his reign, Henry took up his pen in defense of Rome against Luther and some very sharp language passed between them. For this gallant defense, the Pope conferred on him the title of the "Defender of the Faith."

The Pope, however, was soon to learn that Henry was a two-edged sword which could cut both ways and stab the vitals of Rome far more deeply than he ever wounded the cause of the Reformers.

It was this same Henry who meted out to the Scotch the awful and decisive defeat on Flodden Field, which cost them the life of their King, and so many years of suffering and humiliation at the hands of Cardinal Beaton, who as Regent to the young King, was in almost absolute authority.

For reasons of State, Henry had been married to his brother Arthur's widow, Catherine of Aragon, who was the aunt of the Emperor Charles V. Catherine was six years older than Henry, yet, in spite of the disparity of ages and the strange circumstances of the marriage, they seemed to have lived happily together for the first twenty years of their wedded life. As it is contrary to the rules of the Catholic Church for a man to marry his deceased brother's wife, the Pope had been persuaded to grant a special "dispensation" to permit the marriage.

During the first twenty years of Henry's reign, the affairs of State were largely guided and controlled by Cardinal Wolsey, Archbishop of York. Wolsey was an ambitious Prelate who looked forward to having himself seated on the throne of the Pope. To this end he sought earnestly to effect an alliance between France and England. Now, in course of time, Henry was sorely troubled by the fact that there had been born to this union with Catherine, no heir to the throne of England. Their daughter, Mary, was sickly and no woman had as yet sat

undisputed on the throne of England, while an old law in France positively forbade it. Moreover, Henry was smitten with the charms of a certain maid of honor to the Queen named Anne Boleyn. It appears that, about this time, Henry's conscience began to trouble him about the validity of his marriage to his brother's wife. So, in order to free himself from the bonds of this supposed "sinful union," he appealed to Cardinal Wolsey to have the Pope annul the marriage with Catherine. Whether the Pope was moved by conscientious scruples or by political consideration, or by both, it is hard to decide. There was abundant ground for either. Common justice was with the cause of the twenty years' Queen and mother. And, Charles V, upon whose favor the Pope relied very much, violently opposed the King's plan to divorce his aunt. At any rate, the divorce was delayed and withheld. The Pope finally sent his legate, Campeggio, to England to hold court with Wolsey and decide the vexing question. An ecclesiastical court was held at Blackfriars and Catherine and Henry were summoned before the court. Catherine, however, refused to be tried by this court for the honest life she had led and made her appeal directly to the Pope. So then, just when Henry expected his divorce, he learned that the Pope had withdrawn his legate and had taken the matter into his own hands.

Henry had a temper which would brook neither opposition nor delay. His wrath was extreme and fatal. He now was beside himself with rage. In his anger, he accused Wolsey of planning to marry him to a sister of the French King and deposed him from his office. All this took place in 1529. Poor Wolsey! Just when the prize he had sought so long and earnestly was about within his grasp, it fled farthest away and the mighty Prime

Minister, "feared by all and loved by few," had fallen. Wolsey bowed to the storm and, to save his life, gave up everything: riches, honor, pomp and power. How are the mighty fallen! Such is the fleeting grandeur of human greatness. Verily, the hand of clay was never fitted to hold lasting honors! Wolsey went into retirement to his See of York, but, within a year, he was accused of high treason and summoned to London. On the way thither, he became mortally ill, and turned aside to the Abbey at Leicester to die. "If I had served my God half as well as I have served my King," said he, "He would not have deserted me in my old age." "Sic transit gloria Mundi."—Thus passeth the glory of the world.

Henry now had the famous English churchman, Dr. Thomas Cranmer, for his political adviser, and Thomas Cromwell, private secretary to Wolsey, as his chief counsellor. Cranmer suggested that the question of divorce should be submitted to the Universities of Europe for decision. The King caught eagerly at the suggestion, and, by a liberal use of bribes abroad and threats at home, a majority of the Universities were induced to declare in favor of it. Henry was now ready for the next step. Lord Wolsey had been accused of violating the old statute of "Præmunire," which forbids the representative of any foreign power to exercise any authority in England. Wolsey was accused of acting in the interest of the Pope. Henry now gathered the representatives of all the Church together in solemn Convocation and gravely accused the whole Church of England of the same crime that had been laid to the charge of Wolsey. To save themselves from severe punishment the Bishops voted that Henry and not the Pope is head of the English Church. They added cautiously, "in so far as it is consistent with the law of Christ."

Henry now made Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury. Cranmer, a willing tool of the King, at once proclaimed the divorce from Catherine of Aragon. Henry's marriage with Anne Boleyn which had taken place secretly in 1533, was also declared valid. Thus was Catherine after twenty-three years of blameless wedded life, the mother of Henry's child, and faithful Queen of England, sent away. In a few years she died of a broken heart.

Now that he had secured the consent of the Church to his acts, Henry called upon Parliament for official sanction. In 1534, therefore, Parliament passed the celebrated "Act of Supremacy" in which it is declared that the King is supreme as head of both the Church and State, in all matters both temporal and spiritual. Since that day the Sovereign of England has been the recognized head of the English Church. Thus, in a single day, between the hours of sunrise and sunset, the whole political scheme of English church life was changed and the plan and relation which had been in vogue for almost a thousand years was swept away!

But this was a Reformation in form only. It was not the real Reformation of England. In so far as the Reformation in England was accomplished, the real work was done twenty years thereafter during the reign of Edward VI. The serious problems left by the half-way measures of Henry VIII were, for centuries, to be as festering wounds in the body of the Church. Even to this day, some of these problems await a full solution. Henry's Reformation was a change of head only and not of heart (doctrine) and members (practice). Henry sought to transfer the Papal crown to his own head and to retain the doctrines, forms, and practices of the Roman Church. As a consequence of such half-way and abortive measures, nowhere in the world were religious conflicts so



bitter and long drawn out as in England. There have been countries where the yoke of tyranny lay more heavily on the conscience and where bloodshed for conscience' sake was greater; but nowhere else was there such prolonged and bitter factional strife, a strife which tore households asunder and set man up against neighbor and friend with the flaming sword of hatred and bigotry. And, furthermore, as a result of a change in outward form, lacking a change of heart, never were there more transparent shams and more arrant hypocrisies than in England during the period of religious strife! The curse of formalism follows many sections of the English Church even to this day.

As noted before, the King made Thomas Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury. Cranmer had been on the Continent and was much influenced by his contact with the Reformers there. In the early part of his career, he was profoundly influenced by Luther's writings and, in the making of 'The Book of Common Prayer which he composed, there is abundant evidence of Luther's influence over the thinking of Cranmer. What a pity that Cranmer did not remain a Lutheran! Had this been the case, the English Reformation might have had a far different outcome.

Cranmer and his advisers sought a middle ground between Roman Catholicism and the Lutheran faith. Therefore, in their cultus, polity, and doctrine, they borrowed now from one source and now from another, and the result is a rich and varied mosaic which is not, at all times, consistent with itself. In the composition of the Book of Common Prayer, Cranmer gleaned very largely from Lutheran sources, and the "Thirty-nine Articles" of the faith of the Church of England, in most particulars, are like enough the Augsburg Confession to be copied

therefrom. Cranmer married a niece of Osiander, a German Reformer, who tried to hold a middle ground between Luther and the Swiss Reformers. He conducted an extensive correspondence with the Swiss Reformers with the view of uniting the Protestant Church of Europe. He also brought a number of the Continental Reformers to England and placed them in important positions in connection with the English Universities. Thus we see that the spiritual leader of the English Reformation drew his inspiration from various and widely differing sources. All these varying elements entered into the making of the Reformation. The polity and cultus of the Church of England were influenced very largely by the Roman Catholic ideals, while the doctrines of the Church were inspired from Calvinistic, Zwinglian, and Lutheran sources. In his effort to carry out this program of reform and compromise, Cranmer was consistently and constantly opposed by two powerful Catholic leaders who were strict churchmen and opposed every innovation, Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and Bonner, Bishop of London.

In addition to the half-hearted way with which he went about his reform, Henry cast a further shadow of suspicion on his motives as a Reformer by his confiscation of the property of the Monasteries. The Church owned about one-fourth of the land of the Kingdom, which proved a tempting bait for the extravagant and greedy Henry. Between the years 1536 and 1539, three hundred and seventy-six of these institutions were despoiled. Thomas Becket, former Archbishop of Canterbury, who had been dead since 1170, was tried and found guilty of treason. His bones were taken from the tomb and burned, and the costly jewels and offerings, which pilgrims had brought to his shrine throughout the centuries, were confiscated.

Henry ruled in Church and State by means of "Proclamations" issued by the King and his Council, and matters were carried with a high hand. Thomas Cromwell, chief Counsellor of the King, made persecution systematic and reduced bloodshed and cruelty to a science. In 1535, the enlightened Sir Thomas More, who had been Lord Chancellor of the Realm, and the aged Bishop Fisher, were executed. It is related of More that he preserved his keen wit and genial humor to the end. When he went to the scaffold, the structure trembled. More leaned on the arm of his jailor and said: "Do you see me safe up. I will make shift to get down by myself." Henry seemed at one time Protestant and at another Catholic and he persecuted the adherents of both faiths alike. Ofttimes Protestant and Catholic were put to death on the same scaffold.

In 1539, a set of laws were passed which are famous in history as "The Six Articles." The articles were Roman Catholic in every respect. It was made a crime worthy of death to deny transubstantiation, private Masses and auricular confession, or to give communion in both kinds. The vows of chastity and celibacy of the Clergy were commanded. Whenever these harsh laws were disobeyed, furious persecution followed. Such contradictory measures and all this inconsistent conduct on the part of Henry and his advisers are but repeated proofs of the argument that the reform of religion is as the Word of God declares: "Not by might nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord." For, as to accomplishing any thing like a true reform, they were abortive failures which brought about only agony and confusion, both of conscience and of political life.

The closing days of the career of Henry VIII are a sad commentary on the vanity of human pomp and grand-

eur. Drunk with the sense of political power, and restless of all restraint, he went on from one excess to another. In a few short years, he tired of Anne Boleyn. She fell under suspicion of unfaithfulness and was beheaded. Short as were the years of her favor, she profoundly influenced the course of the world's history in that she became the mother of Queen Elizabeth. The very next day after the execution of Anne Boleyn, Henry married Jane Seymour. After giving birth to a son, who afterward became King Edward VI, Jane Seymour died within a year of her marriage. Henry was next married to Anne, of Cleves, whom Cromwell had represented as a woman of great beauty. Henry was disappointed to find her ugly and in that she could, as he phrased it, "talk nothing but Dutch." Anne of Cleves was divorced in a month. Cromwell's mistake with respect to this marriage cost him his life in 1540. The next wife was Catherine Howard, who also was brought to execution under the charge of unfaithfulness. The last of Henry's six wives, Catherine Parr, escaped the executioner's block on account of the death of the tyrant.

Henry VIII died in 1547 at the age of fifty-six, "a loathsome, unwieldy, and helpless mass of corruption." He left large sums for perpetual prayers for his soul. His end was not to be envied by king or peasant. His personal life is probably best summed up in the reflection that he was the unworthy instrument in the hands of God in accomplishing a part of His Divine plan. In like manner, Pharaoh, King of Egypt, even by his resistance of the Divine mandate, became the instrument in the hands of God for releasing his people from civil and spiritual bondage and thus prepared the way for the Commonwealth of Israel and the Kingdom of Jesus Christ.

With the consent of Parliament, Henry had arranged the order of succession in his will. The crown was first to fall to his son Edward, then to Mary, and lastly to Elizabeth. This order was carefully observed by the English people.

Edward VI was but a boy of ten years when called to the throne, and his uncle, Lord Somerset, became Protector and virtual ruler of the country. Edward was an enthusiastic Protestant and he gave himself earnestly to the task of completing the Reformation. During his short reign of six years, the Reformation became an accomplished fact and thereafter it remained only to straighten out the tangle of difficulties in which the half-way measures of Henry VIII had involved the Church. The next hundred years were to see at least a partial reformation of the Church in heart and members as well as in head.

Under the rule of Somerset, the odious Six Articles were repealed. The first "Book of Common Prayer," composed by Cranmer on the basis of old Roman Catholic forms and the Lutheran "Agenda," or orders, was adopted as the guide for worship in 1549. The "Act of Uniformity" by Parliament which followed, made it obligatory upon all churches to use the new Prayer Book and made non-conformity a crime. In 1552, the Forty-two Articles of Faith were formally adopted as the Creed of the Church of England. In 1563, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the forty-two articles were reduced to thirty-nine, and they remain to this day as the famous "Thirty-nine Articles" of the Episcopal Church.

The gates of the Monasteries were again closed and their properties were confiscated. Throughout all England, the sacrifice and observance of the Mass was abolished from the service.

Edward VI, however, died at the age of sixteen while in the very midst of his reforms, and Mary, his half sister, known in history by the unfortunate title of "Bloody Mary," became the Queen of England. During the brief interim after the death of Edward, Lord Northumberland, in his blind zeal for the Protestant cause, made an attempt to have Mary's cousin, Lady Jane Grey, seated on the throne. But the people were at heart still largely Catholic, and Parliament and the will of Henry VIII prevailed. Mary was crowned Queen, and Lady Jane and her husband, Lord Dudley, were cast into the Tower of London. After a few months' imprisonment, the unhappy nine days' Queen was taken from prison and beheaded. The only mark of her wretched experience is the single word, "Jane," scratched on the walls of the dungeon where she was confined.

It seems as if the people of England were to learn the value of following the course of the golden mean through their experiments with extreme measures. For, in her zealous endeavor to bring England back to the fold of the Catholic Church, Mary now went to the opposite extreme from that followed by Edward VI. Mary mounted the throne in 1553. In that same year, the Act of Supremacy was abolished and the Catholic Mass was restored in the churches. The next year, 1554, Cardinal Reginald Pole was invited to England to receive the whole realm back into the fold of the Roman Catholic Church. The Cardinal publicly absolved Parliament and all the churches, and, to all external appearances, England was again Roman Catholic. But the past could not be undone. The people of England had a taste of freedom from Rome, and the property and power of the monks and churchmen could never be restored. The wise and capable Somerset had been beheaded in the previous reign for expressing

sympathy for the peasants of Northern England who had rebelled against the unjust exactions of Parliament. His was a protest against the extremes of the Protestant Reformation. Mary, on her part, was now to set up a persecution which went to the extreme limit of cruelty. Laws were now passed forbidding any one to possess a copy of the Scriptures or any heretical books, or to utter a Protestant prayer on pain of death. Benjamin Franklin relates the story that, during this period, a devout ancestor of his possessed a copy of the Scriptures which was fastened with strips to the bottom of a stool. While some one stood guard at the door, the stool was turned upside down and the reading proceeded, but on the approach of danger, the stool was hastily placed right side up.

The learned and pious Bishops Latimer and Ridley were publicly burned in London. As they were led to the stake, Latimer said: "Be of good cheer, Master Ridley; play the man, for we shall this day, light such a candle in England as in God's grace, shall not be put out." Archbishop Cranmer, deposed from his place and thrown into the tower, was constrained in hope of reprieve to sign a humiliating retraction of his faith and life. But his submission availed him nothing, and, when the flames leaped up for his life, he held his right hand into the flames till it fell off, saying: "The hand which signed the confession shall be first to perish." In all, two hundred and eighty persons were put to death for their religious convictions. Just as the dying Latimer had predicted, the scenes which were enacted at the executions had the effect of provoking among the people of England a strong reaction against the Church which fostered such methods.

Mary had married the cold-hearted Philip II, of Spain. He remained in England but a year and then deserted his

bride to return to Spain. Mary loved him passionately and was heart broken at the loss of her husband. To crown her sorrows, she was pushed into a war with France and as a result lost the city of Calais in the North of France. This city had been a cherished possession of the English crown for two hundred years. Mary said to her courtiers: "When I die, you will find Calais written on my heart." She died in 1558, a broken-hearted and disappointed Queen. Her temper and conviction had become such a scourge to her people that there was a general feeling of relief when she was gone.

Mary was followed by Queen Elizabeth, who became the real founder of the Church of England. It remained for her and her advisers to mould and fashion and develop the English Church in its own peculiar way. Her difficulties were many and varied. She found Protestant England and Catholic Spain contending against Rome and Catholic France and Protestant Scotland for a doubtful political supremacy. The Pope declared her to be the illegitimate offspring of a forbidden union (Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn), and, therefore, not entitled to the throne of England. Mary, Queen of Scots, was declared to be the legitimate heir to the throne, and the Catholic powers united against Elizabeth in favor of Mary. Northern England was strongly Catholic and her Catholic subjects in Ireland were constantly on the verge of open revolt. She found her strongest support in the South of England, where the people were for the most part Protestant. Moreover, Elizabeth found that sentiment in regard to religious matters had crystallized into the set views of three parties: The Jesuit or Roman Catholic, the Church of England, and The Puritan. Each of these three parties was intolerant of the other two, and they constantly maintained a three-cornered fight among one an-



other. Such a thing as religious toleration—the idea that a man need not follow the faith of his ruler to be a loyal subject—was practically unknown. Only in the Scandinavian countries, Norway and Sweden, in Denmark, and in Protestant Germany, was there any measure of religious toleration shown. In other countries, it was considered the duty of the ruler to force his religious convictions on the minds and hearts of his subjects by laws which were backed up by the terror of fire and sword.

At first, Queen Elizabeth was more Catholic than Protestant. She kept a candle burning on the altar of her chapel and prayed earnestly to the Virgin Mary. Early in her reign, a petition was presented to her praying for the release of certain Saints who had long been kept prisoners, namely, the Evangelists: Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, together with the Apostle Paul.

So earnest was the demand for reform that in 1559, the Book of Prayer was restored and the Act of Uniformity enacted the same year provided that only the established Liturgy should be used in worship. The Act also provided for imprisonment for every violation of this rule and a fine of one shilling for absence from church on Sunday or on a holiday. A "Court of High Commission," composed largely of Bishops of the established Church, was set up. This odious court had the power to inquire into all classes of violation of the laws of Supremacy, or the Act of Uniformity, and into all cases of adultery, incest, or immorality.

The Pope at first admonished Elizabeth to cease from her measures of reform; then he threatened her. Finally, after prolonged and fruitless negotiations, in 1570, he excommunicated her, and the breach between Rome and England was complete, final, and irremediable.

With the sanction and blessing of the Pope, Philip of Spain now fitted out the Great Armada to crush, once for all, the political power of Protestantism. The fleet consisted of a formidable array of 130 vessels, 8,000 sailors and 19,000 soldiers. All the Protestant world trembled with fear for the outcome of the struggle. But the great fleet was assailed in the English Channel by the swift English cruisers under such men as Howard, Drake, and Raleigh, and put to flight. It was driven about by wind and wave in the unusual climate of the North Sea. It was harassed by British sailors and marines and finally, driven to destruction. Only a battered remnant of 53 ships returned to Cadiz to tell the sad story of rout and failure. The sending of the Great Armada was the occasion of a great crisis in the affairs of Europe. Whatever our thought or prejudices may be concerning England, we should not forget, that, in the hour of great peril and crisis; at the moment when the Huguenot Reformation in France, the Reformation in the Netherlands, the movement in Scotland, and even the Lutheran Reformation in Germany, were threatened by the hand of destruction; it was England who, whether from political necessity or religious conviction, or both, saved the day and rendered the Protestant religion safe from the terrors of extinction.

The reign of Queen Elizabeth was famous not only for the establishment of the Church of England but as the golden age of literature as well. It was the age of the Poet Spenser, of Ben Johnson, of Bacon and of the immortal Shakespeare. It was the day dawn of science and discovery and its halo is reflected in the progress of art and invention even in the present day.

Elizabeth died in the year 1603 a broken-hearted and disappointed old woman. It is related by historians that

shortly before her death, she had put an end to an old favorite of hers, the Duke of Essex. During the days when fortune and the Queen smiled upon the Duke, she had given him a ring and signet with the assurance that if he ever got into trouble, she would remember mercy if he sent her the ring. After his trial and conviction, the Duke committed the ring to the Countess of Nottingham and asked her to deliver it to the Queen. But the enemies of the Duke prevailed upon the Countess not to deliver the ring. Elizabeth waited and waited this final token of appeal, but all in vain. Finally, she reluctantly signed her name to the death warrant. Soon afterward, the Countess of Nottingham became sick unto death and sent for the Queen. She handed Elizabeth the ring and confessed her fault. The Queen broke out in a great rage. She shook the dying Countess in her bed and returned to the royal palace to pour forth her flood of grief in loneliness and moody silence. From that moment, Elizabeth would neither eat nor drink. She sank into a decline from which she never rallied. Thus passed away the "Good Queen Bess," as the English People loved to call her and the record of her days became a part of the history of the Great.

#### LUTHERANISM AND EPISCOPALIANISM.

It may not be amiss, at this point, to refer to the difference between the Lutheran Reformation and the Episcopal System which Queen Elizabeth established and, between the Augsburg Confession and the Book of Common Prayer with the Thirty-nine Articles which are the credal form of that Church's life.

When Thomas Cranmer, who was the official head of the Episcopalian Reformation, began his career as a Reformer, he believed in the Lutheran doctrine of the

Lord's Supper and Baptism, but by the time he came to write the "First Book of Common Prayer" and the Confessions of the Church of England, he had changed his views. During the days of the formation of these documents, he supported the teachings of John Calvin with respect to the Sacraments. His faith is expressed most clearly in the words of the great Hooker, the Theologian of the Protestant Episcopal Church. He declares that "the real presence of Christ's body is not in the Sacrament but in the worthy receiver." This doctrine was incorporated in the Thirty-nine Articles. Thus the great conservative Episcopalian Communion, with Calvin and other radical Reformers, rejects the doctrine of the real, objective presence and grace and makes both the *nature* and efficiency of the Sacrament depend on the faith of the communicant alone. We have already made it quite plain that the Lutheran Church believes and teaches that, as to its nature, the Sacrament whether Baptism or the Lord's Supper, depends not upon the will or the faith of man but upon the institution and Word of God. As to its efficacy, that is the benefits to be derived therefrom, it does depend altogether on the disposition and faith of the person who receives them.

Again, the Thirty-nine Articles teach that "the English Sovereign is supreme both as spiritual and temporal ruler of men," and the King of England is still crowned as head of the Church. The Lutheran Reformation and creed can find no warrant in Holy Writ for such a yoking together of the spiritual and temporal power. As civil powers, rulers are to be respected and obeyed but they are neither to dictate nor lead in matters of conscience. We see that the Episcopalian creed was not adapted for an oecumenical or world wide church by the fact that her institutions had to be radically changed in this

respect before the Church could be transplanted to the United States.

But the gulf which most deeply and widely separates the Church of England from all other Protestant communions is her doctrine of the Apostolic Succession of the Priesthood. In the beginning, the English Clergy acknowledged the parity or equality of ministers. Even Hooker, in his great work on "The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity," acknowledged the validity of Presbyterian ordination. Cranmer, as we have seen, affiliated with the other Reformers and encouraged them to minister in the English Sanctuaries. But all this is changed now, and so called "High Church" authorities claim that no ordination is valid except that which has come by way of the laying on of hands and consecration in unbroken succession since the time of the Apostles. That is why to an Episcopalian, a Lutheran pastor is no minister at all but only a lay reader. That is why the Episcopalian Church has its superior order of Bishops as compared with a lower order of Priests or Rectors; while, in the Lutheran Church, all pastors are on a common equality. This explains the fact also why the Episcopal Church publishes "Rules of Faith and Order," while the Lutheran Church has only her precious "Articles of Faith." In a word this is the reason why the Episcopalian Church has "Priests" and "Bishops," while the Lutheran Church is proud to call her ministering servants "Pastors"—that is Shepherds of souls and under-shepherds of the Lord Jesus Christ. It is most difficult, if not impossible, to prove that such an unbroken order and succession as is claimed by the Church of England actually exists; but if it could be proved, it would be even more difficult to prove *from Holy Scripture* that the necessity for any

such an order exists, or that, in any particular, it rests upon the commandments of God.

The foregoing hints at the real meaning of the phrase "High Church." There are some who mistake the meaning of this term to indicate a fondness for the use of forms and liturgical ceremonies etc. But a church may be "High Church," that is it may believe in a separate order of Bishops, without having any ceremonies, and it may encourage and foster a very elaborate ritual as in the case of many of our German and Swedish Lutheran Churches, and still be "Low Church" or "Broad Church."

#### AFTER THE REFORMATION.

It remains for us briefly to outline the development of the Church of England and the Episcopal forms and ideas in conflict with others. When James VI of Scotland, the first of the Stuarts, came to the throne in 1603, he pressed to the limit the silly idea of the Divine Right of Kings. This theory holds that the King has his authority and right direct from God without the mediation of the people and that to God alone is he responsible for his rule. The Episcopal idea of the Bishopric, resting as it did upon the claim that the King is the supreme head of the Church and State was entirely pleasing to him. James, who was more or less of a fop, adopted for his religious motto: "No Bishop; No King," and zealously supported this principle throughout his entire career. From the moment of his accession until the accession of Charles II in 1660, the Church was supreme in politics, either in the form of the Episcopacy or in the form of Puritanism. James made it a part of his settled policy to harry the Puritans out of his Kingdom. Strict laws were passed compelling all churches to accept the Thirty-nine Articles and the Book of Common Prayer.

Thousands of "non-conforming" clergymen, as they were called, lost their places, and many men left England for conscience' sake. The story of the Pilgrim Fathers led by Elders Brewster, Bradford and Carver in their long journey from Scrooby to Holland and from thence to Plymouth, Massachusetts in 1620 is familiar to us all.

The death of James I in 1625 put his son Charles I on the throne of England. During his reign, the whole vexing question of "conformity" to the Creed and practices of the Established Church and the question of the "Divine Right of Kings" were fought out in fratricidal wars. The dross of intolerance was purged from the minds and hearts of the English People by the dreadful fires of civil strife.

Charles I had for his Prime Minister Archbishop Laud of Canterbury, who was willing to sacrifice everything else to gratify his passion for ritual and splendor. The people of the kingdom were divided into three factions: the Episcopalians, the Presbyterians, and the Independents or Puritans. The Episcopalians supported the policies of Bishop Laud and desired a strong high church organization and elaborate ritual services. The Presbyterians thought that reform had not gone far enough in its movement away from Rome, but were content to leave matters as they were if only they were left free to worship in their own way. The Independents, however, looked upon the church ritual as idolatry and thought it should be abolished from the Kingdom by force of arms. Of such a thing as mutual toleration neither party ever dreamed. After a prolonged period of intolerance and high handed religious oppression the people of England finally rose in revolt against their King. The religious factions fought on for about twenty years, each one

striving for an impossible mastery and each one contending for an ideal which was impossible of realization. The Independents under Oliver Cromwell, finally secured the upper hand and attained to the military ascendancy. Cromwell and his "Ironsides" as they were called, administered crushing defeats to the King's army at Marston Moor and at Naseby in 1644 and 1645. The King, Charles I, fled to Scotland. But Charles was brought back and tried before a special court constituted by the so-called "Rump" Parliament. He was convicted of treason in planning to bring foreign troops into the Kingdom of England, and was executed in 1649.

The country now went from one extreme to another. The use of the English church service was forbidden. As Lord Protector of England, Cromwell ruled like a virtual dictator. The Puritan fanaticism caused all Catholic priests to be banished. No books or papers could be published without the consent of the government. It condemned mirth as ungodly and closed all places of amusement. It was a sin to dance around a May pole or to eat mince pie at Christmas. Bear baiting was forbidden, "not because it gave pain to the bear, but because it gave pleasure to the spectators." It was pre-eminently the day of "long faced" religion. Cromwell himself was a man of characteristic tolerance and moderation for such an intolerant age.

There is a law in Physics that action and reaction are equal. This law is illustrated by the pendulum which would keep on swinging from one side to the other forever, if it were not for the resistance of the friction in the air and of the mechanical parts. The same holds true in the moral and religious life of a people. One extreme begets another. It was so in England after the execution of Charles I. After the King had been put to



death, a cry of horror went up over all the civilized world. For the first time in the history of Europe, a people had publicly executed their king. So, shortly after the death of Cromwell, the reaction produced in the minds of men by the execution of the King and the Puritan extremes aroused a demand for the recall of Royalty. Charles II, son of the slain King, had fled for his life to France and had spent much of the intervening time in Holland. Now in 1660, after more than ten years of banishment, he returned triumphant as King of England.

Charles II had offered to all freedom of conscience and pardon for past offences. His proclamation marks a turning point in the history of the world. It was the first gleam of royal mercy and tolerance in the midst of the darkness of religious bigotry and political severity. But, if we may judge by the outcome, "freedom of conscience" did not mean what it does to-day. A man was free to think and worship as he pleased in private if only he did not preach his opinions or practice anything in public worship contrary to the rules of the Established Church. For, immediately after the "High Church" men came into power, they passed a series of Parliamentary acts restricting very much the freedom of conscience. The "Act of Uniformity" of 1661 obliged all clergymen to accept everything in the Book of Common Prayer, and another act compelled the officials of corporate towns to renounce the Covenant. Non-conformists were forbidden to hold meetings for public worship and "The Five Mile Act" forbade non-conforming clergymen to come within five miles of a corporate town! The Test Act of 1673 applied to all civil officers. The "Test" consisted in this, that any one to be elected to office must receive the Sacrament of the Altar according to the rites of the Church of England and he must

deny transubstantiation. The Parliamentary Test applied to all candidates for a seat in Parliament. The candidate must take the oath of allegiance and acknowledge the supremacy of the King in spiritual as well as in temporal affairs. He must also make a declaration against transubstantiation.

There were many who refused to comply with these harsh and bigoted measures, and, therefore, suffered the penalty of exclusion for their refusal. But one can readily see how men who lacked great depth of conviction or great strength of moral character, would be sorely tempted to hide their religious beliefs under a cloak of deceit and appear willing to "conform" for the sake of temporal advantage. So then, the great majority of the English People in this manner learned to change their religion outwardly with every change of government. And, as government was subject to frequent changes, religion became a convenience which could be made quite adjustable to be put on or to be thrown off at will, like a coat or a garment. Hume relates that out of nearly ten thousand parishes affected by the laws of Elizabeth, only 169 clergymen sacrificed their livings for the sake of their religious convictions. Now religious belief lies very close to the very fountain of national as well as personal life, for it is of the heart, and out of this are the issues of life. If that heart be not "kept with all diligence," but is made to dissemble and to deceive by reason of the restrictive laws of the Realm, we can understand how the issues of life springing from the very secrets of the soul, must be tainted by the poison of falsehood.

So then, this very rule of conformity which so long held sway in England during all of the Reformation Period (1531-1689), had a tendency to raise up hypocrites and to foster a religion of shams which spent itself in superficial observances.

During the reign of William of Orange, in 1689, the famous "Toleration Act" was passed. It permitted all Protestants except Unitarians to worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience. This law marks the real turning point in the religious history of the English People. The voice of religious liberty which, through the long centuries, strove to be heard through the discordant babel of bigotry and intolerance was, henceforth, to swell the dominant note. The Toleration Act was the first legal recognition of any diversity of religious belief and practice in all the history of England. The long night of the hated, destructive and damnable principle of "conformity" was ending in the dawn of the bright day of religious freedom.

But England was yet a long way off from the degree of religious freedom which she now enjoys. Non-conformists were still excluded from holding office and Catholics were not allowed to vote. All taxpayers, regardless of religious conviction, were obliged to support the Church of England through the payment of the odious "church rates" or taxes.

The period of one hundred and twenty five years following the Toleration Act of 1689, were years of political expansion and constitutional development. During this period, little progress was made by way of the extension of private rights or religious freedom. After many years of agitation, however, the so-called Sacramental Test was removed by the law of 1828. In 1829, "The Relief Bill" gave Catholics the right to vote. In 1868, after attending to other sweeping reforms, the Parliament abolished the payment of church rates. By the end of the nineteenth century, England enjoyed what Luther had set out to secure for Germany: *a full measure of religious freedom.*

## OTHER RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS IN ENGLAND.

Out of the peculiar conditions of the English Reformation, there arose two prominent types of non-conforming religious organization, namely, the Presbyterian and the Methodist. We shall refer to them briefly in the conclusion of our study of the English Reformation.

During the period 1645-1652, which were the troublous years of political upheaval and unrest attending the closing days of Charles I, the English Parliament summoned what is known as the Westminster Assembly, to formulate a statement and a Creed in conformity with the ideas and doctrines of the Puritans. This Assembly adopted the celebrated Westminster Confession, which is a revision of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Episcopalian Church in harmony with the teachings of John Calvin. This creed proved satisfactory as a basis of union of the Puritan branch of the English church and for all Presbyterians. The Westminster Symbols still remain in essential particulars, as the credal foundation of the Presbyterian churches throughout the world.

## METHODISM.

In the year 1729, four Oxford students gathered in private to study the New Testament in Greek. Out of this small gathering ultimately grew the great religious movement known as Methodism. In 1737, at a Moravian meeting in London, while listening to the reading of the preface of Luther's Exposition of the Epistle to the Romans, John Wesley was converted to a full realization of the meaning of justification by faith. It was then and there that he learned to trust in Christ alone for his salvation, and, to his tempest tossed soul, there came the blessed assurance of the forgiveness of all his sins. Wesley and his friends among whom were such men as the

great Whitgift began to go about in bands preaching this doctrine of "salvation free to all." The coldness and formality of the English Church which, undoubtedly, was in part the fruit of the insincere "conformity" of a century and a half of religious subjection, was such that, to many earnest souls, Methodism came as a welcome relief to such lifeless spiritual conditions. Thus, in very brief, came about the beginning of the great Methodist Episcopal Church which has so strongly gripped the hearts of a large portion of Protestantism.

In many respects the Lutheran Church and Methodism seem farthest apart among the Protestant communions. And yet between Methodism and Lutheranism there is a strong bond of sympathy. The Methodists go too far for us in their intense subjectivism and in the great emphasis they place on personal experience. But, in common with the old time Methodism, we Lutherans hold very tenaciously to a doctrine of individualism as over against the present day regard for the mass or crowd which is almost fatal to a personal faith. We believe emphatically in a personal conversion and all that goes with the mystical doctrine of a change of heart. While the Lutheran Church does not, like the Methodists, hold to an extreme and more or less vacillating type of liberalism, yet we sympathize actively with the principle of Methodism in its charitable tolerance and sympathy toward all phases of religious conviction other than our own.

Lutheranism and Methodism, therefore, while in many respects very far apart, are most alike in presenting in doctrine and practice, a standing protest against the doctrine of wholesale or "mass" conversion or, in other words, against the very serious error of trying to bring to one conscience and religious conviction—A Nation in a Day. Amen.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### THE TRAIL OF BLOOD: THE FRENCH REFORMATION.

“Fear none of those things which thou shalt suffer.  
\* \* \* \* Be thou faithful unto death and I will give thee  
a crown of life.” Rev. 2: 10.

#### FRANCE.

The first inhabitants of France of whom we have any knowledge were a mixed race. There were Iberians from the Spanish Peninsula who probably came by way of Northern Africa from the cradle of the race in the Caucasian Mountains. They apparently migrated to the West Coast many years before the dawn of history. There were Greeks and Phœnicians, who settled in the neighborhood of Marseilles more than a thousand years before the time of Christ. There were Celts, a people of various stocks, who spoke the same language, or dialects of the same. They had occupied the Western part of Europe from very early times.

An important branch of these Celts was known in history as the Gauls. Their name was given to all the country in which they lived, embracing most of the territory of modern France. They were a fierce and warlike people who moved restlessly about in search of conquest. About the year 390 B. C., these Gauls invaded Rome.

There was also a race of Kymbri, or Cymbrians, who, at a very early date, settled in Northern France and along the shores of the English Channel and the North Sea. A branch of these Kymbri was called by the name of Bolg, or Belgi. They became the ancestors of the

modern Belgians. The name, Belgium, still remains as the modern mark of this ancient people. Throughout all of Western Europe and especially in France, the names of rivers, towns, cities, and countries remain as the vestiges or marks where the feet of the ancient fathers of the race have trod.

During the days of Julius Cæsar, about fifty years before Christ, the Romans, who had carried on an intermittent warfare with the Gauls for hundreds of years, completely conquered all the territory of Europe West of the River Rhine. From that day until the break-up of the Roman Empire, Gaul was in complete subjection to Rome. Not only did Gaul pay tribute to Rome, but she received her governors and laws, her customs and part of her language from the world capital beyond the Alps. Thus, Gaul or France was a Roman state for over four hundred years. During that time, the language and laws, the customs and ideals, and even the racial stock of the Gauls was profoundly and fundamentally affected by Rome. During the four hundred years of Roman conquest and occupation, the Central and Southern portions of Gaul, or what is now France, became more Roman than Gaulish. The ancient Celt and his racial peculiarities gave way to the Roman. Old Gaul became half Italic; part Celt, part German, and there was laid in her language, laws, racial stock and peculiarities the foundation of modern France. In short, the Roman occupation was responsible for the fact that old Gaul in course of time became France, a country and a People which are rightly classed as Romanic. Fundamentally the French are more Italian than they are Celt or German. French history for over fifteen hundred years was shaped and guided by Roman ideals and laws of centralization. Only since the days of the French

Revolution have different influences been at work to affect great changes.

The name France is derived from a Germanic people called the Franks who lived in Northern and Eastern Gaul near the lower courses of the left bank of the Rhine hard by the North Sea. These people are a result of the commingling of German, Celt, and Roman blood. The name, Frank, appears first in history about 241 A. D. in the song of the soldiers of one of the Roman Generals, Marcus Aurelius. The name means "free man," and the characteristic freedom and independence of these people appear in the fact that we have in our English language the word "frank" as a synonym for free and open conduct and independence of speech. The Franks, or their ancestors, invaded Gaul during the years from about 350 to 500. At times they seem to have completely overrun the higher Gaulish civilization with their barbaric strength and crude discipline.

The first great leader among the Franks of whom we have authentic account was one Clovis, a name which has the softer modern form of Louis. Clovis was a descendant of a somewhat mythical hero named Merovius, and his family, therefore, appears in history as the Merovingian line or dynasty of kings. Clovis made the first recorded attempt to set up anything like a united kingdom among the Franks. There is a story that he was converted to Christianity in a peculiar way. His wife, who was a Christian, had long tried to convert him, but Clovis was suspicious of the new religion and even blamed it for some of his misfortunes. At one time, however, he was engaged in a fierce and rather uncertain battle against a savage people from East of the Rhine, called the Allemani. The tide of battle seemed to be turning against Clovis. At this juncture, Clovis made a



vow to the Christ that if He would give him the victory, he would henceforth renounce the Pagan gods who seemed to have deserted him and would serve the Christ. The victory did turn in his favor, and, the next day, Clovis and three thousand of his warriors were baptized in the Christian faith. We have no record as to how thorough this wholesale conversion was, but we do know that Clovis and the rest of the Franks became mighty instruments in the hands of orthodox Christianity. During the next five hundred years, they did much to establish the Roman Creed and form of worship in Western Europe. Time and again, when the Holy See was in danger from the inroads of un-orthodox barbarians, the Franks interfered and saved it from the perils of extinction.

Shortly after the time of the conversion of Clovis, the Visi-Goths (West Goths), under Athaulf, had penetrated with an army into Spain and had taken possession of a part of Southern Gaul, or France. They were now under the leadership of Alaric II. Now Alaric and his people believed in what is known as the Arian heresy, which teaches that Jesus Christ is first of all creatures, super man indeed, but after all, only man, rather than the only begotten Son of God, miraculously incarnate, God—man forever. In this view of the person of Christ, the Arians agree with Mohammedans and with doubters and infidels of all ages. This heresy takes away the kernel and leaves only the empty shell of Christianity. It robs it of vital doctrine and leaves only hollow precept. It makes of the New Testament the story of a great man and his influence, rather than the inspired record of a Divine Saviour and eternal Lord and God. It virtually takes God out of the Christian religion, and makes it the work of man.

So then, when Clovis and Alaric II came in conflict, their armies represented not only two opposite political conditions, but they stood for two opposing religions which could not live in the same house. In the year 507, Clovis utterly defeated Alaric and his hosts, and the danger that Western Europe would be dominated by the dread Arian heresy was a thing of the past.

Two hundred years later, when the house of Clovis had lost its former glory, Charles Martel met another wave of religious fanaticism in the shape of the army of the Mohammedans who had penetrated as far North as Tours, within a hundred and twenty-five miles of Paris. Here in 732, in bloody battle, Charles put to flight the Mohammedans. The onward march of Islam was stayed, and Tours is henceforth known as "the high water mark" of Mohammedanism in Europe.

The first successful attempt at Western Empire was made by a descendant of Charles Martel, named Charles the Great or Charlemagne (768-814). It was he who sought to restore the glory of the Ancient Roman Empire in the West by reviving the name and title of Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. The Empire was called "Roman" because it was supposed to be the successor of the Old Roman Power. It was called "Holy" because it had the support and sanction of the "Holy Roman Catholic Church." For centuries, the "Empire" was under the direct control of this same "Holy Roman Catholic Church." The Empire of Charlemagne stretched from the Mediterranean to the North Sea. It embraced all of what is now France, part of Italy, Belgium, Holland, a large part of Austria, and part of the present German Empire.

But the Empire of the great Charles was loosely organized, and the great power which he had gathered grad-

ually slipped through the hands of his weak kinsmen and successors. By the middle of the tenth century, all of Western Europe was broken up into bits of feudal territory, a condition which may be briefly described as the possession or control of certain ill-defined tracts of land by certain great "feudal" lords who were, to a large extent, among their feudal subjects and retainers, a law unto themselves.

The thirteenth and fourteenth centuries witnessed the breaking up of the power of feudalism in France and a gradual rise to power on the part of the King. Under great leaders and kings like Philip Augustus (1180-1223), the power of the feudal lords, which divided the strength of the realm, was broken down, and France became centralized, that is, under the control of one central power, the King. The power of the King gradually became absolute. The lawyers of France were under the influence of the Roman theory of law and government, which as we have seen, is the theory of absolutism. This theory holds that a state is best governed which recognizes the divine right of the King to rule absolutely, without restriction or interference.

About 1439, the King of France secured the consent of his people to a land tax, known as the "taille," for the support of a standing army against the English invaders. This tax enabled the King to live independently without calling together the Congress of the Realm, known in France as "The Estates General." There was, in consequence, no check on the King's authority, and gradually, the government of France became a sort of loose union under the absolute sway of the King.

This fact of the absolute control by the King is all-important in explaining the peculiar trend and character of the French Reformation as, more than any other, a

religious change shot through and permeated by political influences which finally overshadowed it. Owing to the solid, centralized form of the French government, it was necessary for the Reformation to win over to its side the heads of the French government if it would succeed. It must win a complete triumph or fail entirely.

At the beginning of the Reformation Era, France was, of all the nations of Europe, in best condition to take independent action based on religious conviction. Yet of all nations, the French, undoubtedly made the most sorry mess of their opportunities.

For upwards of two hundred years, France had been more or less independent of the Pope of Rome. Philip IV, the Fair (1285-1314) of France, in a bitter struggle with Pope Boniface VIII had strictly upheld the so-called "Gallican Liberties" over against the Ultra-Montane views of the Pope and his party. The Gallicans contended earnestly that the religion of France should be "Gallican," that is, of Gaul or France. Their theory was that the religious interests of the land should aim first and foremost at the up-building of the temporal and spiritual welfare of the home country. They were opposed by the Ultra-Montane (Beyond-the-Mountain) party who preached that in all things, the Church should be directed and influenced by the power "beyond the Alps," that is, Rome.

Philip forbade the payment of church taxes on the ground that they did not minister to any needs of the State and tried to tax the clergy for the benefit of the State. He resisted the influence of a foreign Pope in the political affairs of France. He called upon the citizens of France to aid him in his struggle with the Pope, and succeeded in enlisting their sympathy and help. Philip's victory over the Pope opened the way for the

so-called Babylonian Captivity and the official "Pragmatic Sanction" or compromise of July 7, 1438.

In this "Sanction," the Pope acknowledged to King Charles VII the superiority of a General Church Council to the decisions of the Pope. It also greatly restricted the revenues which were to go to Rome from France and conceded to the King the right to nominate or confirm church appointments. Up to the time of the Reformation, the French Kings continued to claim the protection of this "Sanction," which gave to them a unique advantage in their dealings with the wily power at Rome. After the battle and brilliant victory of Marignano in 1515, the King, Francis I, concluded a League and Concordat with the Pope which abrogated the "Sanction" of 1438 but gave to the King the power of all appointments. The concessions which the French kings were able to wring from the Pope gave them a unique advantage as touching matters of religious conviction and practice.

In view of the larger measure of religious liberty enjoyed in France under the "Gallican Liberties" of the Pragmatic Sanction, the need of reform and the demand for a change were not as keen and insistent as in the German States of the Old Empire, where the Church ruled with an iron hand. This was one of the principal reasons why the Reformation came comparatively late in France.

About the year 1534, all was anxiety in religious circles in Europe. All eyes were turned toward France. Northern Germany, England, Scotland, Norway and Sweden, Holland and Denmark were under the influence of the Reformation, and were largely Protestant. On the other hand, Italy, Spain and Portugal and the Hapsburg Austria were loyal to the Pope; while Southern Germany

was still debatable ground. France was the last of the Romanic nations to cast her lot. If she cast her lot with the Protestants, the course of the Reformation could not be stayed, and the whole Church might be constrained to a thorough-going change in head and heart and members. If France threw her lot with Rome, the Romanic nations would present a solid front against the onward sweep of the Reformation, and the Roman Catholic reaction would be assured. Which way would "the cat jump" in France?

The whole course of history was to be profoundly and vitally affected by the events of the next fifty years, for they were to decide whether the culture of France should be Protestant or Roman Catholic. We shall see that the course of events was such that France did not stand strongly for either side. France as a nation equivocated, that is, she dodged or evaded the issue. As a result, while France has led the intellectual and literary culture of the modern age, the religious leadership passed into other hands. Hence we have the sad spectacle of a world influenced by the strong initiative of France in thought and fashions while her religious influence was either of an indifferent or of a Godless character.

The forces which operated against reform in France were many. The Sorbonne, which is the name given to the Theological Faculty of the University of Paris, was strongly Catholic and opposed to every change. Headed by the Syndic Beda, the members of the Sorbonne fought against every innovation. Such was the rage and enmity of Beda and his associates that it was said: "The Reformation in Germany had to fight against the Pope; while the Reformation in France had to fight against the devil." The Jesuits whose organization we shall describe

later, also proved a mighty obstacle in the path of the French Reformers.

The Catholic counter Reformation, begun by the Council of Trent, which convened in 1542, 1545, and 1551 and 1562-63, did much to break the force of the wave of reform which swept over Western Europe, and, most especially, in France.

#### THE FRENCH REFORMATION.

The first beams of the dawn of reform in France came by way of the so-called Humanists. They were the patrons of the new arts and learning which had done so much to prepare the way of reform by lighting the pathway before it. A Humanist scholar named Jacques Lefevre, born at Etaples, France, in 1455, did a great deal to hasten the reform in France. As early as 1512, he had finished a translation of the Greek New Testament, and a series of expositions on the Pauline Epistles. In his expositions, he clearly set forth the doctrine of justification by faith alone. One of his pupils, Bricconnet, Bishop of Meaux, became quite famous as an expositor of the doctrine of justification by faith. As a zealous adherent of the New Learning, he gathered about himself a school of young men through whom his influence went abroad through all the realm of France. When the works of Luther with their ringing call to freedom from the galling yoke of Rome and their challenge to an awakened and enlightened conscience were circulated in France, they were greeted with great joy, and the scholars of the country were drawn into a warm sympathy with their teachings.

But about this time, 1534-1536, John Calvin began to be a prominent and influential figure among the Reformers. The speculative French mind with its Roman train-

ing naturally leaned more to the legalism of Calvin than to the doctrine of free grace as taught by Luther. As the strong and bold objectivism of Luther was an offense to the critical French mind, so the subtle subjectivism of John Calvin appealed to them. Thus the French Reformers naturally fell under the charm and spell of the Calvinistic teachings with which the whole course of the Reformation in France was thoroughly permeated and by which it was largely swayed.

The Reformation in France had scarcely gotten under way when it received a check which grew out of the intemperate extremes of its advocates. In 1534, Paris was placarded with notices condemning the Mass in bitter and intemperate language. This outbreak gave the members of the Sorbonne an excuse for persecuting the champions of the new doctrines, and many of the foremost Reformers were driven from France. Among the exiles was John Calvin. He, with others, fled to Geneva, and henceforth Geneva became the ready asylum of refuge for all who fled from France on account of religious persecution. It was also the center of the Reformed propaganda and missionary effort. From the printing presses at Geneva, Calvin sent forth a flood of literature all over France, and the Reformation was shaped by the rigid logic and stern morals of John Calvin. The French Reformation, like that of Scotland, became thoroughly Calvinistic.

#### PROGRESS AND PERSECUTION.

In view of the absolute power of the King, the attitude of the French King, Francis I, was all-important. Francis was Monarch of France during the critical days of the Reformation, his reign extending from 1515 to 1547. Francis himself was a good type of the French



gentleman. Elegant in dress and refined in manners, he was intelligent and well educated, and a patron of the "New Learning." He was especially devoted to art, and he brought to his court such celebrated Italian painters as Michael Angelo, Titian, Da Vinci, and Andrea Del Sarto. To Del Sarto, who is known in history as "The Faultless Painter," Francis granted a pension and entrusted him with a large sum of money for the purpose of bringing costly works of art from Italy to Paris. It is related that Del Sarto was so taken with the charms of a certain Venetian belle that he proved faithless to his trust and spent the money which Francis had given him by living with his new wife in dishonest luxury. Moreover, Francis was the friend of scholars, and, owing to his active interest in scientific studies, he was known as "The Father of Science."

Francis had inherited a war with Spain from his predecessor, Louis XII. He entered into a contest with Charles V for certain portions of Italy and, for this cause, waged no less than four wars. Francis had one ruling passion—to put down the power of the House of Hapsburg. To this purpose he bent every energy and subordinated every other interest, even to the extent of sacrificing his religious convictions. It was from this passion against the House of Hapsburg that the Reformation suffered most violence during the reign of Francis I. Francis usually came out on the losing side in his contests with Charles V, and as a result of necessities arising from his losses, he was compelled to seek alliance with the Catholic element who did not fail to make the Reformation suffer in consequence.

Moreover, owing to the fact that Francis had set his heart on his vengeance rather than on the principles of righteousness, he became of unstable and vacillating

frame of mind. "A double-minded man," says the Scripture, "is unstable in all his ways." Jas. 1:8. The career of Francis I is a fine example of the mischief which such a double-minded and unstable man can do. While the storm gathered and prepared to break within his dominions, Francis halted between two opinions. And so it happened that he who at first had prospect of handing down to the ages, a Kingdom built on the enduring foundations of righteousness and purged of evil and strife, failed to measure up to his great opportunity. Instead, he bequeathed to future generations a distracted and divided Kingdom which must be welded in blood and fire. He also handed down a policy of double-dealing and lack of religious conviction which remains, to this day, the wasting canker at the heart of France.

There were influential friends of the Reformation in France, many of whom were at the royal court. Among these was Margaret of Navarre, a sister of Francis I. She became the mother of Jean D'Albert, who in turn became the mother of Henry of Navarre, afterward Henry IV, King of France. Margaret conducted a correspondence with Melancthon, and, in many ways, showed a friendly spirit toward the Reformers. Although she never renounced the Catholic Church, her house became a center of sympathy for the new principles of reform, and in later years members of her family led the Reformed party through the long Huguenot Wars.

In the course of his war with Spain, Francis I was defeated and captured at Pavia in 1524. After his capture, his mother, Louisa of Savoy, became the Regent of France. In view of the desperate circumstances of the realm, Louisa sought to the utmost of her powers to enlist the Church and the Pope in her favor, to furnish men and means for the defense of France. The Pope and

the French Church, led by the Paris Sorbonne, seized the opportunity to urge the persecution of the Protestants. The first systematic persecution of the Protestants was, therefore, inaugurated during this Regency of Louisa of Savoy.

When Francis was released, he suffered the persecutions to continue on account of his political necessities. While the Church was not permitted to condemn any one to death for religious conviction, yet the Parliament, or royal courts of France, began to condemn and put to death heretics by a process which was little short of judicial murder. In October, 1534, after the placards against the Mass had been posted in Paris, Francis took part in a solemn procession in connection with exercises marked by the public burning of eighteen heretics. In the same year, there was a massacre of the Waldenses, a sect in Southern France which had cherished peculiar beliefs since the days of its founder, Peter Waldo, who devoted himself to religion about 1170. In the course of this slaughter, three thousand of these innocent people were put to death. Although the Waldenses were among the most faithful and loyal subjects in the Kingdom, Francis never made the least effort to interfere in their behalf. In the year 1542, the French Parliament published the first "Index Expurgatoris," which is a list of books marked as heretical. It was commanded that all books published by Luther, Calvin, or any other of the Reformers should be destroyed. The "Institutes" of John Calvin were publicly burned.

The last days of Francis I were days of cruel persecution of the Protestants, many of whom were put to death on account of their religious convictions. Francis, with all other crowned heads of Europe, believed in the essential unity of Church and State. "One King, One

Faith, One People," was his favorite motto, and even such a liberally educated person as he had no conception of what we to-day understand by freedom of conscience.

Francis died in 1547 and was succeeded by his son, Henry II (1547-1559). Henry inherited the old quarrel with Spain. He went to war with the fanatical Philip II of Spain (1556-1598), and was defeated in two great battles: one at St. Quentin in 1557, and the other at Gravelines in 1558. In these battles Philip was materially assisted by his Protestant subjects from the Netherlands (now Holland and Belgium), against whom he turned the savage force of his own army a few years later. The war with Spain was brought to an end by the Treaty of Cateau Cambreses in 1559. In this treaty, France definitely renounced her claim to certain portions of Italy; while Spain gave up her claim to portions of Southern France. For more than fifty years, the Piedmont section in the North of Italy had been the battle ground of Europe. From henceforth France looked toward the Rhine River, North and East for the enlargement of her territory, and Belgium became, as it is to-day, the battle ground of Europe. During the fifty years which followed the Treaty of Cateau Cambreses, Spain was busy with her problems in the Netherlands. France, on the other hand, was distracted by internal disturbances, so that, for a long period, the old enmity between France and Spain had rest.

Having made peace with his old enemy to the South, Henry now turned his attention to the rising and growing Protestant movement in France. The Protestants of France were called Huguenots. There is no commonly accepted explanation for this name, but one of the best we can find is that the word, Huguenot, is probably a

French perversion of the German word, "Eidgenossen," literally "Oath Companions." The name, therefore, is probably derived from the pledges or oaths which bound these people together. These Huguenots are the same people who settled our own state of South Carolina during the persecutions of Louis XIV in 1685. They are a frugal and industrious people who had a large part in the settlement and development of our Southland.

Francis I persecuted the Protestants from political necessity, but Henry II persecuted them from deliberate choice. Henry was a strict Roman Catholic, and is said to have vowed that he would "exterminate from the Kingdom all whom the Church denounced." During Henry's reign of twelve years, there were ninety-seven executions for heresy. But the martyrs died with such noble Christian fortitude, and their persecutors manifested such unfair and unholy rage that the persecution served to spread rather than to hinder the progress of the Reformation. Such was the courage and faith of the martyrs that many of those who witnessed their execution were converted. The executioner at Dijon himself was converted by the scenes which he witnessed at executions where he presided.

In spite of the persecutions, the Reformation grew until in 1558 there were two thousand places of worship and 400,000 persons of the Reformed faith in France. At the death of Henry II, the Protestants numbered about one-fourth of the population of France. Had the French people with their critical mind been suffered to follow their own bent, France would, doubtless, soon have become Protestant. But the course of repression which came with and followed the long and bloody Huguenot wars was such that the majority of the French people learned to conceal their dissent from the state

religion under the cloak of an outward or formal allegiance to the Church. Such a course must lead them to become hypocritical, then indifferent and, finally, openly irreligious and Godless.

Shortly after the treaty of Cateau Cambreses, Henry II married his daughter to the King of Spain, and the two entered into a covenant to root out heresy in all the domains of France and Spain. However, just as they were about to set their project on foot, Henry lost his life in a tournament. While he was engaged in a friendly bout with one of his Knights, a splinter from a broken spear, entered his eye and caused his death. Henry had vowed that "all Lutherans should be done to death," but Providence seems to have intervened in behalf of the distracted Protestants.

Henry's son, Francis II (1559-1560), became King in his stead. He was weak and sickly. Francis will be remembered as "the husband of Mary, Queen of Scots." As such, he was not the first, neither the last man who had his fame "in his wife's name." The control of affairs in France now fell into the hands of a powerful group of Nobles known as The House of Guise. There were six brothers in the family. One of them was Claude, Cardinal of Lorraine, who, although a churchman, was at the same time, as many churchmen of his time, a shrewd and able politician. His brother, Francis, Duke of Guise, was a soldier who had rendered King Henry valiant service in the capture of the cities of Metz and Calais. It was their sister, Mary, who had married James V, of Scotland. Their niece, Mary Stuart, married the young King of France, and through her influence, the Guises became predominant at the French court. The danger to the religious situation grew out

of the fact that they were exceedingly zealous Roman Catholics.

Opposed to the Guises were two other families of noble blood. The House of Navarre we remember as being descended from Margaret, the sister of Francis I, and its members were, therefore, of the blood royal. The elder of them was Anthony of Navarre, a weak and vacillating character. The younger was Louis, Prince of Condé, whose courage and boldness were in striking contrast with the indifference of his sluggish brother. Condé became the rash and impetuous leader of the Huguenots in their early struggles against the yoke of the House of Guise. It was this House of Navarre which we know as the family of Bourbon, a house which furnished a line of French Kings for two hundred years, from 1589 to 1793.

The third House was the family of Chatillon. This was a Protestant line which was headed by the great Prince Gaspar de Coligny. He was a great and good man of far-sighted perspective and nobility of purpose. Coligny was throughout his career, thoroughly devoted to the Protestant cause. Around these three families which we have described, gathers the religious and political history of France for the next fifty years. The fortunes of the Roman Church were for the most part bound up with the career of the Guises. The fortunes of the Protestants were connected with the career of the two Houses of Navarre and Chatillon, with whom they worked in close alliance. From the moment of the entrance of these three families into the political arena of France, the religious motive and the political aim cannot be strictly distinguished. There was such a commingling and confusion of the political ambitions of the time with religious convictions and motives that it is most difficult

to follow them clearly. At times we find Huguenot arrayed against Huguenot and Catholic against Catholic for purely political reasons, and, many times, religion was used only as a cloak to conceal political aims and pretensions.

The short reign of Francis II was characterized mainly by political intrigue in which the Catholic Guises had the upper hand. At the opening of the year 1560, a French gentleman named La Rénaudie headed a plot, known in history as the Conspiracy of Amboise. His purpose was to oust the House of Guise from their hold on the government and replace them by putting the House of Navarre in power. All that came of it was the fact that La Rénaudie and about twelve hundred of his friends lost their lives in the attempt.

The "Conspiracy," however, had the effect of showing the Cardinal into what grave dangers his severe policies against the Huguenots were bringing him and his family. Under pressure of necessity, he relented and called a meeting of the Estates General to convene at Orleans. There was an air of general suspicion, and the Guises used this occasion to direct a counter plot for the purpose of destroying their rivals. Anthony of Navarre and Louis of Condé were called to the meeting of the Estates General. As soon as they arrived, they were put under arrest. The delegates to the "Estates" had all been compelled to sign the Catholic Creed, and the Cardinal Guise of Lorraine was in full control. The Prince Condé was accused of treason and the charge against him was pushed with all possible speed. The date for Condé's execution was fixed for December 10th, but on the 5th of December the young King, upon whose life the plot depended, died. The Guises now had to look about for their own political safety, and all was changed. "When all was lost," said



Beza, "behold, the Lord our God awoke." The Huguenots naturally looked upon the opportune death of the King as a Providential deliverance of their cause.

#### RELIGION AND BLOODSHED.

After the death of Francis II, his brother, Charles IX, became the King of France. He was the second son of Henry II and Catherine De Medici. Catherine was a Florentine Princess, a daughter of Lorenza II and a niece of Pope Clement VII. She had in her all the elements of shrewdness, deceit and double dealing which has made the Florentine House of the Medici famous, or rather infamous, in history. She was possessed of boundless ambition for herself and her children. During the years of her wedded life, she was subjected to the constant insulting and irritating presence of a mistress to her husband, Diana of Poitiers, whose favor she had to invoke to obtain any privilege from the King, her husband. But she nursed her grief, her ambition and her bitterness in silence, waiting the day of her opportunity. That day had at last arrived. Charles IX was a minor child and Catherine became Regent in a land which was torn by rival factions. The Guises, who were her co-religionists, she hated; the Bourbons, who were Protestants, she feared. She solved her difficulties, in measure, by skilfully playing the one faction against the other. She had as Chancellor an enlightened Noble named L'Hospital who counselled moderation. Catherine at once released Condé, and began her long course of double-dealing in which she intrigued, bribed and prevaricated to attain her ends. Like a she-wolf with her litter at bay, Catherine, beset on every hand, defended herself with the only weapon at hand—a woman's wit. Right well, indeed, did she play her part in wielding that weapon.

In 1660, Catherine issued the Edict of Toleration which is known as the Edict of Romorantin. This Edict, while allowing the Protestant faith, forbade them to assemble for worship. In 1561, an important religious colloquy was held at Poissy. Here the learned Beza was allowed to speak eloquently and effectively in behalf of the Protestant cause before the royal family and the assembled Estates. The Protestant cause seemed to be in the ascendancy. By the Edict of St. Germain, a larger measure of toleration was granted the Protestants; but no more Protestant churches were to be built and they were to return all the churches they had taken from the Catholics. The Protestants were to be permitted to gather outside the city walls during the day for worship and were to enjoy the protection of the police. But, in an intolerant age, half-way measures like this are of little avail. Neither party was satisfied. The Catholics thought the measure went too far, and that the Protestants should be forcibly suppressed. The Huguenots demanded more privileges.

Out of conditions such as have been briefly outlined above grew the terrible and bloody Huguenot wars. There were in all eight wars which it will not be profitable to narrate in detail. A few incidents will suffice to show the general trend of events.

The Huguenot wars had their beginning at the massacre of Vassy in 1562. The Duke of Guise with a company of soldiers was passing through the town of Vassy on Sunday. A great company of Huguenots were gathered for worship in a large barn on the outskirts of the village. The Duke, who was seeking an opportunity to put the religious questions of the day to the test of the sword, sent his soldiers to break up the meeting. An encounter ensued, and after the affray, sixty Huguenots

lay dead and two hundred were wounded. The Protestants, under the Prince of Condé flew to arms, and the first Huguenot war began. As long as the persecution came from the constituted authorities in the name of the King, the Huguenots bared their necks to the sword and offered no resistance. But when such unauthorized persons as the Guises tried to impose their will by the sword, they took up arms, and there was civil war.

The first war came to an end after the first Duke of Guise had been assassinated and Anthony of Navarre slain in battle. The settlement made by the Edict of Amboise was little more than a truce, and the Huguenots forestalled a second attack by resorting to arms. In the third war, the Prince of Condé, the great Huguenot leader, was slain. Coligny was now left as chief leader of the Protestant cause. He joined hands with the young Prince of Navarre, afterward Henry IV, and in 1570 they wrested from their enemies the peace of St. Germain, which granted the Huguenots a larger measure of freedom and left them four fortified towns as a guarantee of the peace.

The fourth war was begun as a result of the massacre of St. Bartholomew in 1572. The Queen mother became increasingly jealous of the influence of Coligny, the Huguenot leader, with her son, Charles IX. Coligny had arranged a marriage between young Henry of Navarre and Margaret of Valois, the sister of King Henry. This wedding was to be the last step in healing the breach between the two rival Houses. The wedding took place on August 18th. The Huguenots had gathered by the thousands to witness the happy consummation of their dreams. The occasion furnished Queen Catherine an opportunity to carry out a plot with the Guises to get rid of Coligny, and wipe out the Hugue-

nots at the same time. On the 22d of August, while he was leaving the King after a conference, Coligny was wounded in the arm by an assassin's bullet. The would-be murderer escaped on a fleet horse after he had sped the bullet which opened the flood gates of human passion to bloody massacre and kindled the flames of a civil war that was to last for two years.

The King was highly indignant at the attempt to murder his favorite. He visited Coligny in his chamber and said: "Yours is the wound, mine the hurt." He swore that he would wreak swift vengeance on the perpetrators of the deed. Catherine and her co-partners were in terror lest the attempt to murder Coligny be laid to their charge, and struck upon the plan of a general massacre of the Huguenots to cover their guilt. By means of threats and pleadings and lies Catherine wrought upon the weak mind of Charles IX and finally, so alarmed him with the bogey of a Huguenot plot that he cried out in an insane rage that all the Huguenots should be butchered.

With the King's consent, the rest was easy. On the night of the 24th of August, 1572, the homes of the Huguenots were marked with chalk all over the city. The signal for the massacre to begin was the tolling of the castle bell. The tocsin was sounded from all the church steeples, and the work of death commenced. Coligny was among the first to fall. He was stabbed and thrown out through a window to the pavement below. That night, two thousand persons were killed in Paris alone. The River Seine was full of dead bodies. The city authorities paid for the burial of eleven hundred corpses taken out of the river and buried in a single cemetery below the city. During the next two weeks, the massacre became general all over France. The number of victims is estimated by careful authorities at any-

where between ten and twenty thousand. It is said that the Pope held High Mass and had the *Te Deum* sung in celebration of the event; while Philip of Spain, who seldom smiled, laughed aloud when he heard the news.

With King Charles it was different. From that day, he was a changed man, and remorse and melancholy pursued him to the end. On his death bed he moaned and wept as he said to his Huguenot nurse: "Ah! nurse, nurse, what bloodshed and what murders! Ah! what evil counsel have I followed! Oh, my God, forgive me them and have mercy upon me, if it may please Thee! \* \* \* What will the end be of it all? What shall I do? I am lost: I see it well." The wretched King died thus disconsolate in 1574.

Shortly after the accession of Henry III (1574-1589), began what is known in history as the "War of the Three Henrys," 1585-1589. The three Henrys were: The King, Henry III, Henry of Navarre, and Henry of Guise. Henry III was the favorite son of Catherine De Medici. He had been Duke of Anjou and King of Poland. He had proved his devotion to the Catholic cause by active participation in the conspiracy of St. Bartholomew.

In 1584, the Duke of Anjou, who was also Duke of Alencon and direct heir to the French throne, died, leaving as the only heir to the throne Henry of Navarre who, as we have seen, was one of the Huguenot leaders. Henry of Guise now formed "The Holy League" with Spain. They swore that "no heretic should ever sit on the throne of France." Henry of Navarre was aided by England and by troops from Germany. By reason of her intervention in this war England became the leader in a world war of religion. King Henry III was an effeminate dandy with a fondness for lap dogs and earrings. Before the war had gone far, he had virtually

resigned all his authority to Henry of Guise, who became more and more haughty and tyrannical. His ambitions even threatened Henry's throne. Henry III finally determined to put an end to his humiliation. He invited Henry of Guise to his own private apartments and had him put to death by the royal body guard. The next day, the Duke's brother, the Cardinal of Lorraine, was also slain. The Catholic League turned in horror from the murderers of their great leader, and Henry III sought refuge from their rage in an alliance with Henry of Navarre. But the murder of Guise did not go unavenged, and in August, 1589, King Henry III was assassinated by the dagger of a Dominican monk who had found his way into the King's private apartments. The ancestors of Henry III first ascended the throne of France in 1326. With Henry III the long reign of the House of Valois came to an end. Henry of Navarre was left with Charles of Lorraine as the only claimants for the throne. Thus began the eventful reign of the House of Bourbon which lasted for two hundred years.

Henry of Navarre, now Henry IV, however, was not to secure the throne without a struggle. He was compelled to take up arms to make good his title as King of France against Charles of Lorraine. He pursued his campaign with great vigor and gained a remarkable victory at Ivry, March 14, 1590. But Spain threatened from without to organize the friends of the Catholic Church against him, and the Catholic League from within his Kingdom refused to submit to Protestant rule. At last Henry IV yielded to this double pressure and decided to cut the Gordian knot of his difficulties by making a change of his religion. In 1593, therefore, he went over to the Catholic Church, and was received into the Church of Rome at the Cathedral of St. Denis by the Archbishop

of Bruges. "Paris," said the King, "is well worth a Mass." The opposition to his rule gradually ceased, and Henry settled down to enjoy the double fruits of his victories and his moral treachery. In the Edict of Nantes, April 13, 1598, Henry granted the Huguenots the right to hold religious services wherever there had been Reformed services before. The Huguenots were also given complete civil liberty with the right to hold office. The Edict became a part of the laws of France in February, 1599. But the Edict was far from satisfactory in that it compelled the Huguenots to pay tithes to the Roman Catholic Church, made them quit work on Catholic Festival Days, and virtually put an end to their growth by forbidding the establishment of churches in new localities. Henry's conversion and the Edict of Nantes marked the end of the growth of Protestantism in France. From that day forth, the Huguenot Church had no real standing in the country.

The question is, at times, asked: "Did Henry do right in making change of his religion?" From the standpoint of expediency, the question is debatable; but from the standpoint of morals and religious ethics, in the humble judgment of the writer, there can be but one answer. Henry was wrong. We are especially convinced of this, in view of the fact that Henry did not change his religion at all, but only the form thereof. At heart, he was, if anything, still a Huguenot; in form and creed, he was a Catholic. One cannot maintain a religious position like that without making one's self a sort of spiritual monstrosity, a charlatan, a mountebank, and an arrant hypocrite. Henry's conversion cheated his fellow Protestants in France of the fruits of fifty years of struggle and sacrifice for the sake of a few years of peace. That the Catholics themselves did not believe in the sincerity of

his religious position is evidenced by the fact that Henry IV was assassinated by a fanatical Jesuit on May 14, 1610.

Moreover, it is by no means certain that Henry's solution of the grave difficulties of France by his surrender to Catholicism possessed any more than a temporal advantage for France.

It seems that two great facts and features of French life and history can be pretty clearly traced to this act of Henry IV. First, his going over to Rome cemented that political alliance with the Catholic Church which was, for centuries, so destructive of French liberties. With the power of the Pope and the Roman lawyers back of them, the Bourbons became more and more confirmed in that blind absolutism and tyranny which, for two hundred years, swept them on toward the brink of ruin until the whole Dynasty and much of the ancient stability of France were engulfed in the awful abyss of the French Revolution of 1789-1795.

Second, The stifling of the Huguenot life and enterprise checked the course of a safe middle party in the religious life of the nation. Men of strong ambition were apt to be either Romanists or Infidels. There was little to encourage men who desired positions of honor and trust in France to stand on middle ground. The consequence was that those who had their doubts about the established form of religion in the Roman Church, hypocritically concealed them under a show of open conformity to the practices of the Church, while their faith in the doctrine slowly perished. At the last, in the fulness of blind skepticism, they were ready openly to avow themselves unbelievers. This, to my mind, explains, in part at least, why a large portion of the French people is openly and avowedly atheistic to-day.



“The Trail of Blood” in France marks the pathway of the French Reformation as it leads through many places of fiery execution, over many a bloody and useless battlefield—out—out into the darkness of skepticism and unbelief—into the black night of a final apostasy—out into the land of Nowhere!

## CHAPTER IX.\*

### THE FIERY TRIAL—THE 'THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

"Beloved, think it not strange concerning the fiery trial which is to try you." 1 Pet. 4: 12.

The reforms which have thus far been described were those of individual nations: each with its own peculiar problems and results. We now turn to describe briefly a movement which, as it involved all the Christian Nations of Western Europe, also affected each one of them in its final settlement. I refer to the general movements and results which crystallized around the 'Thirty Years' War.

The increasing difference of religious belief and the widening breach between the various communions of Western Europe kept pace with the growing intolerance and bigotry of the age. Reform could proceed only so far until there must come a snapping of cords tightly drawn that would lead to revolution. The application of this principle makes it plain why the differences and intolerance of the Reformation Era had to be settled by blood and iron. The storm of religious hatreds which had been gathering in Europe for a hundred years while the Reformation was progressing, broke over Central Europe in terrible fury during the early part of the seventeenth century. Europe expiated her religious bigotry and fraternal hatred by the fires of civil war. These fires, lighted on the altars of religious conviction, were to be drenched and put out by streams of the best blood of Europe's sons. The 'Thirty Years' War broke first over Germany, the birthplace of the Reformation, and

\*Supplemental Chapter.

ceased not until it had involved practically all the nations of Western Europe in its widespread ruin and desolation.

While France was primarily not concerned in the outbreak of the war, yet the French nation played an increasingly important part as the war proceeded, until in the final settlement, France became, in large measure, the arbiter of the political destinies of Europe.

Henry IV was succeeded as King of France by his son, Louis XIII (1610-1643). Louis was a weak character whose chief merit lay in the fact that he had sense enough to commit the affairs of State into the hands of his great Prime Minister, Cardinal Richelieu. Richelieu adopted as his program for national betterment three main objects: First, he would master and regulate the Huguenots. This he accomplished by taking from them their fortified cities in many a hard struggle, and afterwards treating them with the utmost kindness and fairness. Second, Richelieu must suppress the turbulent and quarrelsome Nobles who had asserted themselves and built fortified castles during the long Huguenot wars. The presence of their armed retainers in France was a constant menace to the supremacy of the King and the central government. The Nobles he subdued by reducing their castles to heaps of rubbish and scattering their feudal armies. Third, Richelieu aimed to humiliate the old enemies of France, the House of Hapsburg, who as rulers of Spain and Austria threatened the peace of France and the stability of all Europe. As we have learned before, France and Spain had come to an understanding at the peace of Cateau Cambreses in 1559, and the peace had held until the days of Richelieu. But, with Spanish troops patrolling the borders of the Netherlands and constantly menacing the boundaries of France on every side, it was quite evident that each side was only

waiting the opportunity to take the other at a disadvantage. The opportunity of Richelieu to take a hand in the affairs of Europe and dictate their course came with the Thirty Years' War.

### THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

The causes of the Thirty Years' War and the events which led up to it were as follows: When the Peace of Augsburg was signed between the German Princes and the Emperor Ferdinand I in 1555, there were left a number of unsolved problems which remained as the seeds of trouble. They bore a harvest of bloody strife more than fifty years thereafter.

The so-called "Ecclesiastical Reservation," which provided that whenever any Catholic Bishop went over to the Protestant Church, he should forfeit his lands, was a measure that was most difficult to carry out. In the case of a converted Bishop within the realms of a Protestant Prince, what power was there to carry out the decree? The Lutherans and the Catholics each read this reservation in a manner to suit themselves, and burning differences multiplied while the old wounds of hatred and bigotry became wider and deeper. Then, there was the further fact that the Peace of Augsburg recognized the Lutherans only. There was no law nor protection for the German Reformed people and the Calvinists. Inequalities and problems like these could not long exist without fanning the smouldering religious hatreds into the flames of civil war.

After the abdication of Charles V in 1556, his immediate successors Ferdinand I (1556-64), and Maximilian (1564-76), were mild and moderate men who earnestly sought to conciliate the contending factions and preserve the peace. Rudolph II (1576-1612), however,

was a man of different temper. He was a strong Catholic who did every thing in his power to encourage the Jesuits in their effort to bring back the country under the control of the Catholic Church. The Catholic reaction began to take hold in the Southern part of the Empire where the Protestants were striving mightily to gain and keep a foothold. The struggle gradually grew in intensity until the strife broke forth in the horrors of the Thirty Years' War.

The city of Donauwörth on the upper Danube was a free city, that is, it held its charter directly from the Emperor. The Protestants there were in the majority, and one day they asserted themselves by breaking up a Catholic procession. For this the Emperor put them under the ban and took away their liberty by putting them under martial law with the Duke of Bavaria over them. In the year 1607, the Catholic worship was upheld and the Protestant worship was abolished, and the Lutheran pastor was driven from the city. In order to resist similar acts of aggression on the part of the Emperor, the Protestant Union was formed in 1608, and, a year later, the Catholic League, led by Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria, was formed for the purpose of answering this new threat on the part of the Protestants. With the organization of these two opposing forces, the tinder and firewood for a first class conflagration were at hand. All that was needed was the match to strike a spark. Bohemia became the match which was, in the 'Thirty Years' War, as Serbia in the latest European struggle. Bohemia was inhabited by a Slavic people who were descendants from the ancient Boii. There was also a large German element among the population. Most of the Bohemians were Protestants, the followers of John Huss. The Germans were Catholics. For many years after the

burning of Huss, the Bohemians were in revolt against the Catholic authorities of the Empire. The revolt was ended by a partial truce which still left the country disturbed and restless. Rudolph and his successor, Mathias (1612-19), did not succeed in getting along with their Bohemian subjects, and constantly aroused the anger and suspicion of the Protestants by acts of duplicity and oppression.

The Emperor was represented at Prague, the Capital of Bohemia, by a body of governors. The Bohemians, finally rose in revolt and stormed this "House of Governors," ending the affray by throwing two of them out of the window into a manure heap one hundred feet below. Strange to say the victims were unhurt. They were disposed to ascribe their escape to the intervention of Providence. The Protestants credited the soft mud of the ditch. The Bohemians, after their revolt, elected the Elector Frederick of the Palatinate their King.

The Empire now passed into the hands of a determined and devoted Catholic, Ferdinand II (1619-37). It was his unhappy lot to pass through the horrors of the Thirty Years' War as head of the Empire. Ferdinand took prompt measures to restore Bohemia to the Empire. Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria, put his troops at the disposal of the Emperor, and under Tilly, they quickly dispersed the Bohemian army. As a result, Frederick, who was mockingly called "The Winter King," lost not only his temporary kingdom, but his Electorate and the rule of the Palatinate into which the war had been carried in 1621-23. The Protestant world now became much alarmed at the course of the Catholic successes, and vainly looked about for a leader to check the progress of the victors. At last, King Christian, of Denmark, essayed to lead a weak coalition against the Emperor. He was

no match for the disciplined forces of Tilly and Wallenstein, the two generals sent against him. He was badly beaten in a single campaign and forced to sign the treaty of Lübeck in 1629. In this treaty he agreed to meddle no more in the affairs of the German Empire.

The most baneful feature of the Thirty Years' War was the organization of the army under Wallenstein, a Bohemian nobleman. His method of supporting the army was by a system of forced contributions which was little more than theft and plunder. Wallenstein simply compelled the rulers of the country through which the army happened to pass or which it occupied for the time being to furnish him with supplies, and, whenever the Magistrates were unwilling to make the necessary requisitions, the army went forth throughout the country and helped itself. This system soon became no system at all, but only a disorganized style of forage. Others were not slow to follow Wallenstein's example and, in the course of time, Germany lay waste under the plague of contending armies that plundered and burned and destroyed without restraint. First one side and then the other swept through the fair fields of the land like a cyclone. At last even the inhabitants forsook their homes and ordinary occupations and joined the army, either as soldiers or camp followers. There was nothing else for them to do. It was useless to sow and cultivate only to have the rising crops trampled or the ripened ears rifled by a marauding army. The only place where one seemed to be certain of a living was in one or the other of the contending armies. The armies swarmed with beggars and camp followers. It has been well said by critical historians that the fact that all of Germany did not become a wilderness is one of the most extraordinary examples of human endurance on the pages of history.

By the end of the year 1629, the Catholic success seemed to be complete, and the Emperor thought the time ripe for a drastic measure. He now issued the Edict of Restitution by which the Protestants were directed to restore all the lands taken from Catholic control since the Peace of Augsburg in 1555. Thus, "At the stroke of the pen, two Archbishoprics, twelve Bishoprics, and hundreds of Monasteries passed, without regard to the wishes of the people, back into Catholic hands." But the Emperor had gone too far. The Edict of Restitution was the high water mark of the Catholic success. It showed that the purpose of the Emperor was to crush all Protestantism and it, therefore, united Lutherans and Calvinists alike against him. At the same time he made the serious mistake of discharging his most able general, Wallenstein. From the day of the Edict of Restitution, the Catholic cause began to wane.

It was at this time that Sweden and France entered the war. Sweden came, led by her great King Gustavus Adolphus with an army, to aid her oppressed brethren in the faith. France aided cautiously by subsidies of money in 1630 and 1631.

While Gustavus was battering at the fortress of Pomerania in the northwest of Germany, Tilly, the general in command of the Imperial Catholic forces, made another terrible mistake in the sack of Madgeburg. This city, which had withstood an awful siege for months, had wrought its enemies to the utmost pitch of rage and cupidity. When, finally, the gates were opened, the soldiers poured through them to pillage and to plunder, to murder, to rape, and to burn. When urged to put a stop to the barbarity of his soldiers, Tilly said: "The soldier must have some reward for his danger and toils." In his matchless history of the period, Schiller, the great



German historian says: "Wives were abused in the arms of their husbands, daughters at the feet of their parents; and the defenseless sex exposed to the double sacrifice of virtue and life. In a single church, fifty women were found beheaded. The Croats amused themselves by throwing children into the flames. After the fearful tumult of clouds of smoke, the crackling of flames, the crash of falling ruins, the clash of swords, the streams of blood and the heaps of dead bodies, even the scenes of calm were terrible. The living crawled from under the dead; children wandered about calling for their parents with heartrending cries, and infants were seen still suckling at the breasts of lifeless mothers. More than six thousand bodies were thrown into the Elbe to clear the streets, and a much greater number had been consumed by the flames. The whole number of the slain was reckoned at not less than thirty thousand. The next day, a solemn Mass was performed in the Cathedral, and the *Te Deum* was sung amidst the discharge of artillery."

A cry of rage and horror went up all over Germany. Those who had hesitated to join with Gustavus, now flocked to his standard. At Brietenfeld near Leipsic, Gustavus met and utterly defeated Tilly and his army. Wallenstein was a man of boundless personal ambition who had a great scheme to make the Emperor absolute and supreme as ruler of all Germany, with himself as leader and dictator of the military forces. The Emperor now recalled him in his hour of need. Wallenstein reorganized the army and met Gustavus on the field of Lützen in 1632. Before the battle, the Swedish army sang the Reformation hymn, "A Mighty Stronghold is Our God," and all knelt in prayer. The Swedes won in a long and desperate battle, but suffered the terrible cost of the death of their leader, the great Gustavus Adolphus.

After this, the Swedes were directed by the Chancellor, Oxenstiern, who ruled for Gustavus' infant daughter Christina. In spite of able generalship, the Swedes were defeated at Nördlingen in 1634, and, the following year, The Emperor made peace with the Elector of Saxony. The Swedes now made an appeal to France, and Richelieu, seeing the moment of opportunity had arrived, entered the German War. At the same time he made a covenant with the Dutch and declared war against Spain.

From henceforth, the war lost practically all religious significance. The French and Swedish Allies planned to crush the Emperor between them as in a vise. In the meantime Germany lay open to plunder through the long agony of years of wasteful warfare. The French warfare was ably conducted by the Prince of Condé and the gifted strategist, Turenne. After years of vain striving, the son of Ferdinand II, who was now Emperor as Ferdinand III (1637-57), was moved to sue for peace. There were prolonged negotiations, and finally the treaty of Westphalia was successfully concluded in 1648. At the several conferences were present the representatives of France, Sweden, Spain, Switzerland, the Netherlands, and the larger states of Germany. To Sweden this treaty gave control of the mouths of the Rivers Elbe, Oder, and Weser, through the possession of the Bishoprics of Western Pomerania; a large strip of territory along the Baltic Sea, Bremen, and Verden. To France was given the guarantee for continued possession of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, and also the government of Alsace on the upper Rhine. Spain was forced to own the independence of the United Netherlands (Holland). Switzerland and the Netherlands passed entirely out of the control of the Empire.

By this arrangement Spain lost her position as leader in the affairs of Europe and rapidly fell back to the place of a second rate power. France, however, dominated in European politics for a hundred and fifty years.

The Peace of Westphalia settled the religious difficulties of Europe by granting freedom of worship to all. The question of the disputed lands was settled by going back to the year 1624. All lands in the hands of the Protestants before January 1, 1624, were to remain in their possession. All lands acquired since that time were to go back to Catholicism. This settlement involved a concession to the Emperor which sacrificed Bohemia, the land of John Huss and the home and source of the first protest against the abuses of Rome, to the Roman Catholic Church.

The three hundred separate states of the German Empire were declared independent, thus weakening the power of the Emperor and rendering his title practically an empty name. This loose arrangement of small, independent German states gave France an excellent opportunity to interfere and enlarge herself at the expense of her weaker neighbors on the East. Her attempt to do so led to the long and bloody wars of Louis XIV (1643-1715).

At the Treaty of Westphalia, important additions were made to the territory of Brandenburg, at that time the ancestral seat and possession of Frederick William, the Great Elector, who was the real founder of the present Prussian House of Hohenzollern, the family which now stands at the head of the German Empire. It was through this family that the rebirth of the German Empire as a nation was to come. As France was responsible for the stroke which caused the early disintegration of the Empire, so it was in the white heat of conflict with France

that the German people were to be united and welded together as an Empire under Emperor William I, over two hundred years later, in 1871.

And so, after one hundred and fifty years of struggle and bloodshed, religious toleration had come at last! The Treaty of Westphalia marked the end of religious wars. There were still to be wars and rumors of wars, but they were to be for the sake of political and commercial purposes and to further material ends rather than to constrain the consciences of men. And this is, indeed, as it should be, for especially in the realm of conscience, it is "not by might nor by power," but by the Spirit of the Lord that the Kingdom of heaven must prevail to effect its transforming triumphs.

#### THE REVOCATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES.

In 1685, Louis XIV, who suffered from the vain delusion that the Huguenots were very few in number, and of shallow conviction at that, made the stupid and inexcusable blunder of revoking the Edict of Nantes. The royal proclamation which revoked the edict ordered all Protestant chapels to be destroyed. It compelled all Protestant ministers to leave the country within fifteen days, and commanded that new born babes should be baptized by Catholic priests. "The will of the King," said Superintendent Marillac at Rouen, "is that there be no more than one religion in the Kingdom; it is for the glory of God and the well being of the State."

It remained to be seen to what extent it was for the "well being of the State." Now, after one hundred years of very much restricted freedom which had tolerated the life but forbidden the expansion of Protestantism, all liberty of conscience was withdrawn by the stroke of the pen. It affected a million and a half of the most

thrifty citizens of France. At least three hundred thousand of them left the country. Some of them came to America. Some went to Germany, and the rest of them to all parts of the world where a wise tolerance did not interfere with the consciences of its citizens. Some twenty thousand of these refugees settled near Berlin and their sons are now among the bravest and best troops of the descendants of the Great Elector of Brandenburg, who hospitably opened a refuge for them on the soil of Prussia.

But as for the French Reformation after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, it was practically dead. And as for non-conforming religions, they were as nearly extinct, thenceforth, as the fuming crater of Popocatepetl. The smouldering embers of non-conformity were to burst forth a hundred years later in the consuming fires of Atheism and Infidelity during the Judgment Days of the French Revolution.

## CHAPTER X.

### ITALIA AND HISPANIA, IRREDENTA.

“And other sheep I have, which are not of this fold: them also must I bring, and they shall hear my voice; and there shall be one fold, and one shepherd.” Jno. 10: 16.

In Southern Europe there are the two prominent peninsulas, Italy and Spain. Their geographical isolation and separation from the adjacent lands of Europe is typical of their relation to the great movement of the Reformation. The fact that these two countries were comparatively little affected by the Reformation is the result of far-reaching causes extending through the distant ages of the past. If we would discover the forces which led to the religious isolation of Italy and Spain, we must seek an explanation in the slow and laborious unravelling of history.

The fact that these two peninsulas remained Roman Catholic is responsible for many great and profound movements in the later history of men and of nations. While there was no Reformation of consequence in either of these countries, the study and investigation of the facts and forces which prevented it is of importance to a complete understanding of this mighty movement of the sixteenth century.

During the years 1861-1866 the Italian patriots wrested from the control of the Austrian House of Hapsburg the city of Venice and the land of Tuscany in which is the city of Florence. But there still remained in Austrian hands the city and harbor of Trieste, the ancient Roman Tergeste, which has belonged to Austria since 1382, and

is still retained as the principal sea-port and naval supply station of that nation. Toward this city and the adjoining country of the Trentino, the Italian People have, for centuries, looked with longing eyes. The desire for its possession and conquest has finally become a deep seated passion which is echoed in the slogan "Italia Irredenta," or (Italy Unredeemed). After the same analogy, to the Protestant world, Italy and Spain and the rest of Southern Europe have become a sort of "Terra Irredenta" or "Lands Unredeemed" whose conversion to Protestantism seems about as remote as Italy's chances for the conquest of "Italia Irredenta." So then, "Italy and Spain Irredenta" are to-day and are likely, for some time, to remain the note of sorrow in the Protestant song of triumph and of hope.

#### SPAIN.

We speak of Spain first because of her more intimate political connection with the great world movements which characterized the course and the fruits of the Reformation in Europe.

The earliest inhabitants of Spain of whom we have any authentic record were Iberians and Celts. At a very early date, these people came in close contact with Rome and her laws, institutions, and government. The very name Spain is a short form of the Latin name Hispania which the Romans gave to their neighbor peninsula. Spain is for the most part pretty thoroughly Italian.

In the year 409, the country was invaded by a deluge of savage tribes from North West Germany known as the Vandals and the Suevi. These marauding hosts were in turn overrun and defeated by the West Goths under Athaulf, just ten years later. The Vandals were driven

out of Spain into Northern Africa where they established a prosperous civilization.

In 711 came the Moors from across the Strait of Gibraltar. They were an aggressive and spirited people of the Mohammedan faith who came into Spain by the way of Northern Africa. They took possession of the Peninsula and pushed their conquest as far North as Tours where, as we have learned, they were met and defeated by the disciplined forces of Charles Martel.

In 778, they were attacked by Charlemagne who drove them out of Southern France and Northern Spain and confined their operations to the territory South of the Ebro River. During the next three hundred years, the Moors thoroughly absorbed and amalgamated the peoples in the country which they had conquered. There were Iberians and Romans, Goths, and Arabs and Berbers. All of these were finally united in one prosperous and progressive people. However, as long as Mohammedans ruled in Western Europe, there could be no peace between them and their Christian neighbors. In the course of two hundred years' warfare, the Christian rulers of Northern and Western Spain gradually pushed their conquests against the Mohammedans southward until the fall of Granada in 1492 gave Ferdinand and Isabella control of the Peninsula and broke the backbone of the Moorish power in Spain.

In 1609, through the influence of the Jesuits, the Spanish ruler, Philip III, was induced to expel from his domain all Jews and Mohammedans. As a result, there were driven out of Spain no less than six hundred thousand Moors whom the historians, with one accord, seem to regard as the most industrious and progressive citizens of the country. All that is left of the Moors in Spain now is the memory of their glory and the ruins of their



ancient greatness and power. Washington Irving in his beautiful description of the ruins of Granada and the romantic Alhambra has forever preserved for us the records and scenes of this interesting people in English Literature. There are many among the historians of the times who severely decry the expulsion of the Moor from Spain as a tragedy in Spanish history which hastened the decay of the Empire by removing its most capable citizens.

#### A GREAT OPPORTUNITY.

When Charles V came to the throne as the heir of the Hapsburg dominions in 1519, Spain faced the most magnificent opportunity which has come to a single nation within the memory of man. The history of Spain and her wasted opportunity is a strong commentary on the words of the Christ: "Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God." Charles V, by natural right of succession and inheritance was ruler of the Netherlands, of the Principality of Naples, of Milan, of Austria, and of Spain and all her Colonies. Besides all this, he became, by election, the Emperor and head of the Holy Roman Empire.

The discoveries of men like Christopher Columbus had not only enlarged the vision of Europe but had added an immense Empire to Spain. In 1519, the Spanish entered upon a conquest of Mexico, which they completed by the capture of the City of Mexico in 1521. Mexico City had for centuries been the capital of the ancient Aztec Kings, and its capture and possession by the Spaniards not only brought them wide-spread fame, but swelled their treasures of gold and silver as well.

In 1531, the dauntless Pizarro, with a hundred and eighty-three men, pushed on to the conquest of Peru, the fabled land of the Incas, whose coffers and treasure houses were overflowing with gold and silver. This conquest of Peru was little more than a refined form of highway robbery under the guise of conquest, which was carried on with the cruelty and greed characteristic of the nature of the Spaniards of that day. In 1565, Spain entered upon the conquest of the Philippine Islands which they named after their King, Philip II.

By the middle of the sixteenth century, therefore, Spain possessed an empire upon which the sun never set. Of the Americas, Mexico, Central America, Peru, Columbia, Venezuela, Argentina, and Chile were paying tribute to her. The islands of the sea were enriching her treasuries with their priceless gifts. The strength and power of Spain lay in a three-fold source: the well trained and disciplined army of Spain, the busy mills of Flanders, and the mines of Peru. With such wealth and power at her feet, there was nothing within the power of her enemies to prevent Spain from keeping and holding her position as leader in the affairs of Europe which she enjoyed at the opening of the sixteenth century. Spain had, however, come to the parting of the ways, and her destiny was bound up with the question of her treatment of the Word of God in the acceptance or rejection of the Reformation. Our chief interest in the history of the Spanish Reformation lies in the fact that, at the moment, Spain possessed the greatest colonial Empire in the world which, as we have seen, included the greater part of the newly discovered Americas.

## MOTIONS OF REFORM.

When Charles V made his celebrated visit to Germany in 1520, many of those in his train, as a result of their contact with Luther and his friends in Germany, came back convinced of the truth of the Reformed doctrines. The Lutheran doctrines in Spain spread secretly for we remember, that Charles V had steadfastly and determinedly set his face against the Reformation. It is idle to speculate as to what might have happened if Charles V had espoused the Reformed cause. But, we may indulge the reflection, that the Reformation was, as far as the religious element is concerned, undoubtedly purer for the fact that it was not allied with royalty. If we may judge by the experiences of the Popes in this connection, we are safe in saying that the Reformation was better off in having the opposition rather than the help of the Emperor.

In all the countries of Southern Europe, the fact that Church and State were so closely united had a deterrent effect on the progress of the Reformation. It was almost impossible for any religious movement to gain headway in the face of the determined opposition of King or Prince, who, both by law and custom, was the head of the Church as well as of the State. This single fact, therefore, goes farther than any other in explaining the Roman Catholic reaction in Southern Europe. The sad fact of "Italy and Spain Irredenta" is to be credited, in large measure, therefore, to the men who, at the moment, were the rulers of these two countries. We shall meet these men in person, a little later, when we shall take time to study their characteristics and principles.

As a part of the Reformation movement in Spain, John Froben, the printer at Basel, printed and sent into Spain a large number of tracts. Luther's commentary on the Book of Galatians was translated into Spanish and was eagerly and widely read. There were congregations of the Reformed faith at Seville and Valladolid where secret services were held. But there were so many obstacles and forces against the spread of the Lutheran doctrines that it was impossible for them to gain much of a foothold.

One of the chief of these obstacles was the Inquisition. This institution reached its highest state of efficiency in Spain. It was a church court, which acted independent of the civil courts. It consisted of an Inquisitor General and six Cardinals, before whom all cases of heresy were tried. The fact that the victim who was found guilty had both himself and his property put outside the pale and protection of the law, made the officers of the Inquisition doubly anxious to secure a conviction. The property thus confiscated was divided between those who made the information against their neighbors and the authorities of the Church. The Church grew quite wealthy on the stores of property which accumulated as the result of the conviction of heretics.

It was the aim of the officers of the Inquisition to have a public *Auto da Fé* at least once per year. The name is a Portugese term which means "The Judgment, or 'Decision,' of the Faith." They were public announcements of the decisions or sentences of the Inquisition which drew large crowds to the spectacle. The high officials of the Church and the State were oftentimes present. while multitudes, drawn by curiosity or bigotry or hatred were in attendance to applaud the verdict.

The *Auto da Fé* took place on the open street. At sunrise, those who were condemned were led in solemn procession through the streets. The heads of the victims were first shaved, and the condemned were variously dressed, according to the degree of their respective crimes. With the banners of the Inquisition at the head, the procession moved to some public place. Those who were condemned to death rode on asses between armed men and wore coats and caps called the "Sanbenito," which were all painted over with devils and flames. After a sermon, the sentence and judgment of the Inquisition were delivered to the civil Magistrates and the procession moved to the place of execution. Here those sentenced to death were publicly burned, together with the bones of the dead who had been condemned. The *Auto da Fé* disappeared after the middle of the eighteenth century and the sentences were carried out in private.

Another mighty obstacle to the spread of the Reformation in Spain as well as in France was the Society of Jesus, more commonly known as the Jesuits. This was a Roman Catholic organization, formed by Ignatius Loyola in 1534. Loyola was a soldier who was wounded at the battle of Pampeluna in 1521. During his long illness, while waiting in the military hospital for his recovery, Loyola had time to reflect seriously on his past life and the future destiny of his soul. The result of his meditations was that Loyola and six associates banded together with the intention of going to the Holy Land to do mission work among the Saracens. But they were prevented from going by reason of a war which broke out between the Empire and the Turk; whereupon, they set to work in the vicinity of Rome. The work they had undertaken soon led to the establishment

of an Order with very strict, set rules of discipline. In 1539, the Pope publicly approved of their Order and its principles. A Jesuit takes the vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience. He swears to stand by the principles of the Order, which are, "absolute and unquestioned obedience to the Superiors of the Order and loyalty to the cause of the Church of Rome." The Jesuits found for themselves a peculiar task by way of organizing a crusade to bring back to the Church of Rome the members of the Reformation. Their missionary propaganda soon spread over all the world. So rapidly did the Order grow that by the year 1600, there were ten thousand of them. At the time of the suppression of the Order there were twenty-two thousand of them, each one a devoted and enthusiastic missionary and defender of the Roman Church. Each one of them was most zealous and willing to lay down his all; to make every sacrifice, and, by every means possible, to restore to Rome the power and influence which were rapidly slipping away from her. With their faith in the adage, "the end justifies the means," they would stop at no device, fraud, deceit, or injustice to accomplish their ends. The Order was suppressed by the Pope in 1773, in the interests of peace, but it was restored again in 1814.

The Jesuits, in their ardent devotion to the doctrines of the Roman Church, succeeded in large measure in turning the Church away from her secular trend. By their constant activity they accomplished a great deal to sharpen the antagonism between the Reformed and Catholic forces in France, in Spain, in Bohemia, in Poland, in Austria, in Hungary, and in Italy.

The first martyr in Spain was Francisco San Romano, who was burned at Valladolid in 1544. Caranza, Archbishop of Toledo, was imprisoned for seventeen long

years while awaiting the judgment and sentence of the court. Finally, he was judged and sentenced to serve five years more. Six months after his sentence, he was relieved from his sufferings by death. Backed by the popular prejudice against the Reformers, the Inquisition was able by its rigid and cruel methods, practically to suppress the Reformation in Spain.

#### THE SPANISH NETHERLANDS.

The Reformation in Spain would have little interest for us were it not for the fact that the suppression of Reform in Spain had a great influence on the course of Spain as a world power. We are much interested in Spain because with the madness and intolerance of her Kings is joined the romantic and tragic story of the Netherlands and the solemn and instructive lesson which it teaches.

The Netherlands, or what is now known as Belgium and Holland, passed under the control of the House of Hapsburg through the marriage of Mary, the daughter of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, to Maximilian of Austria. Charles was killed at Nancy in 1477 while trying to carry out an ambitious project to erect an independent state between France and Germany. With the marriage of his daughter, Mary, to the Austrian Maximilian, the rich Burgundian lands passed into the hands of this famous family which has for a long time been a prominent figure in the international affairs of Southern Europe. The House of Hapsburg has for centuries been the devout adherent and staunch defender of the Roman Catholic Church. Since the days of Rudolph of Hapsburg, 1273, members of the family have sat upon one or more of the thrones of Europe until the present day. Among the youngest of the line is the

Hapsburg-Bourbon Alphonso XIII, the present King of Spain, while the oldest was, until the time of his death, the eighty-six year old Emperor of Austro-Hungary, Francis Joseph.

At the period of the Reformation, The Netherlands, or Lowlands were composed of seventeen provinces which were rapidly tending toward a political union of some form or other. The Dutch and the Flemish, who composed the greater part of the population, had little by way of the natural features of the country to encourage them. Their low country was subject to overflow from inland rivers and from the rising tide of the sea along the coast. The Rhine, the Scheldt, and the Meuse were wont to overflow and make of their fair fields a marsh. This difficulty the natives overcame by means of a system of canals and dykes which, in time of flood, take care of the overflow and, during ordinary times, make most convenient as well as picturesque and beautiful, avenues of commerce. The encroachments of the sea were prevented by a system of dykes which the Netherlanders built and maintained at the cost of great labor and sacrifice. The country of the Netherlands was a beautiful stretch of green meadows, dotted with busy and prosperous towns. The mills of Flanders had for generations been famous for the manufacture of fine woolen goods, and the Netherlands, at that time, were the center and the leaders of the textile industries of the world. One serious obstacle to a close political union lay in the fact that there were three languages spoken. In the South, the people spoke French; in the district farther North, they spoke a modified language, half Dutch and half French, which was called Flemish; while still farther North, the inhabitants spoke Dutch. The Dutch



language which was spoken along the North Sea was a product of the early Germanic influences.

The Lutheran faith which, then as now, knew no boundary lines either of race, condition, or country, early invaded the Netherlands and found welcome and lodgement among many of the best and foremost of these thoughtful and industrious people. In Germany, Charles V was Overlord only, and he therefore, dealt with the Reformation with a comparatively slack hand. But in the Netherlands, where he was Ruler and Prince of the Realm, he took prompt measures to stamp out the growing reform. During the reign of Charles V, many thousands of citizens were put to death for their faith.

But Charles V was an old man by this time, and in 1556, he abdicated as ruler of the Netherlands in favor of his son Philip II. It is mentioned by historians as a curious coincident that, during the coronation ceremonies of Philip, the feeble Charles leaned upon the arm of his favorite courtier, the noble William, Prince of Orange. It was this same Prince who was destined to be the most bitter and unrelenting foe of the fanatical Philip II, and to pave the way for the downfall of the Hapsburg line in the North.

Philip II had vowed that he would never consent to reign over heretics, and he bent every resource and energy of his vast and powerful domain to make a war of extermination on his Protestant subjects. In 1559, he made peace with France, the old enemy of Spain, at Cateau Cambrésés, so that now his arm was free to deal with his heretical subjects. In the same year, Philip sailed away from the Netherlands, never to return, leaving his sister Margaret of Parma to rule as Regent in his stead. The acts of oppression, unfairness, and persecution which Margaret was compelled to commit in the

name of the King led to a revolution in 1566. The act of revolution was followed by an iconoclastic or image breaking fury in which the acts of destruction such as were witnessed in Scotland and Switzerland were duplicated, and much valuable property was destroyed. Philip was not slow in taking his revenge. He sent his chief commander, named Alva, with ten thousand Spanish troops to invade his own realm. Of Alva it is said by the historian that he was "a man of immeasurable arrogance, inflexible obstinacy, and a heart of stone." Alva and his ten thousand soon became a name and mark of terror in all Europe. He set up what is known as "The Council of Blood," which was a form of the Inquisition, and a reign of terror began. Alva and his Council spared neither age, sex nor condition. The blood of the Protestants flowed like water and the treasuries of Spain were enriched by their properties, which were confiscated by the State. In three months, it is said, the Council put eighteen hundred people to death. When at last the great number of victims against whom there was any crime or real reason for punishment had been dealt with, all men who had in any way expressed sympathy with the revolution were condemned to death, and the work of destruction commenced afresh.

William of Orange, the founder of the House of Orange, now came forward as the leader of the Protestants. He continued to lead and sustain the spirit of reform and revolt against tyranny from 1568 to 1584, when the bullet of an assassin, who was hired by the Spanish government, laid him low. There now began a struggle of eighty years' duration in which the old story of David and the giant Goliath was repeated. The little Netherlands, led by Holland dared, during these years, to defy the mightiest Empire in the world. When all

others trembled before her, Holland dared to give battle to Spain and defy her supremacy. There is no story in history that is more romantic and that arouses deeper sympathy than the long, long struggle of the Netherlands. Through the pain and shock of battle, they finally came up out of the atmosphere of tyranny and narrow-minded bigotry to the height of freedom which is the natural goal of every true and patriotic people's ambition. Holland in her weakness, struggled for a living principle which has the eternal ages for its life and vindication. Spain, with overwhelming earthly odds in her favor, fought for the principles of tyranny, oppression, and bigotry which are, in the end, doomed to failure, no matter how vast are the hosts marshalled on their side. At the end of the struggle, we find the Netherlands independent, and Spain, hurled from her position of supremacy, a second rate Power in the Councils of nations, and subject to a humiliation from which, to this day, she has never recovered.

William's first campaign was a failure, and Alva made the mistake of adopting such severe measures of repression and revenge that he drove the inhabitants to further revolt. Among the measures employed to stifle the industrial and commercial life of the country was the odious tax known as "the tenth penny." The people were compelled to pay one tenth as a tax on every thing that was bought or sold. Alva was recalled as a failure in 1573, and Requesens (1573-76) was sent in his place. The first success of the Netherlands was won by the Dutch at Brill in 1572. A feature of the war which Requesens carried on against the Dutch rebels was the siege of the city of Leyden which lasted for over a year, (1573-74). When it became apparent that the city would not hold out against the besiegers, William of

Orange ordered the dykes cut, and the sea was let in to fight against the oppressors of the country.

In 1576, the seventeen provinces of the Netherlands came together in an agreement which is known as "The Pacification of Ghent," in which they agreed to certain terms of union and promised to stand together. But King Philip sent the Duke of Parma, a wise and shrewd general who governed the part of the provinces still subject to the King from 1578 to 1592. This man succeeded in accomplishing by diplomacy what cruelty and force of arms had failed to do. By generous dealing and flattery he succeeded in drawing away from the union three of the Southern Provinces, where French was spoken and the Catholic religion largely prevailed. The three Southern Provinces, in 1579, formed what is known as "The Union of Arras." In later years, they became a portion of the Kingdom of Belgium. The same year, under the leadership of Holland, the Provinces of the North, finally seven in number, got together and formed a closer union which was called "The Union of Utrecht." The year 1579, therefore, may be called the birth year of the Dutch Republic. The Union remained virtually intact for over two hundred years until the time of the French Revolution when the French reorganized it. The principles of the Republic have survived the shock of time and, in essential particulars, they are the foundation of Dutch law to-day.

In 1585, the Dutch, reduced to the last extremity by the pressure of their foes, made frantic appeals to England for help. While Queen Elizabeth of England had little sympathy for revolution, Philip, who was backed by all the Catholic forces of Europe, was the enemy whom she most feared. England could not afford to see the little Protestant Republic across the North Sea

crushed by enemies who would then be free to turn against her and all the rest of Protestant Europe. In the year 1585, therefore, England cautiously entered the war by sending a small force of six thousand troops, and from that day, she became the leader of the Protestant forces of Europe. Organized under the powerful leadership of England, the Protestant countries of Europe presented a solid front against Roman Catholic bigotry and aggression. For the next hundred years, Europe was pretty evenly divided between two armed camps, Protestant and Catholic, neither of which could overcome or suppress the other. During this period, the nations were to learn, through bitter experience of strife, the necessity and expediency of living side by side with friendship and toleration in spite of differences of religious conviction. So also it may come to pass that the nations of the present day may, through the horrors of the most dreadful war of all ages, learn to exercise mutual toleration and helpfulness in the lesser matters of commercial differences and rivalries. If three hundred years ago, men had to learn mutual toleration in the weighty matters of conscience, how much the more should the present carnival of blood teach them toleration in the lesser matters of their bodily and temporal interests?

In 1609, eleven years after King Philip II had passed to his reward, his son and successor, Philip III, was compelled to make a twelve years' truce with the people of Holland. During the 'Thirty Years War, the war with Spain broke out afresh, but the successors of Philip were no more successful than he was, and the long, long war came to an end by the Treaty of Westphalia, (1648). In this treaty, Spain definitely and finally acknowledged

the independence of the Dutch Netherlands and they took their place in the family of nations.

It is interesting to note that this date signalizes the rise of Holland and the beginning of the decay of Belgium. The Dutch fleets of commerce to-day sail all the seas. Dutch industry and frugality, through the great commerce of these people, have made themselves felt throughout all the world. Dutch traders with their initiative, energy, and shrewdness have brought the treasures of the ends of the earth to enrich the cities of Holland; such as Rotterdam, The Hague, Amsterdam, Utrecht and others. The Dutch scholars have illuminated the world with their keen and progressive thinking, and Dutch art has everywhere commanded the attention of all lovers of the true and the beautiful. In The Hague, Holland has the center and seat of a world-wide propaganda for peace to which, doubtless, when the rage of men has spent its fury in deadly strife and horrible bloodshed, the broken peoples of Europe will bring their gaping wounds for healing.

In the Union of Utrecht in 1579, Holland remained Protestant. Not so with the Southern Provinces. They chose to cast her lot with Rome. In the centuries before that time, Flanders and Brabant had enjoyed an increasing fame and prosperity as of the most progressive lands in all Europe. Their wares, their commerce and industry, their scholarship and their progressive life were justly famous in all the marts and emporiums of the earth. But since the day when they definitely turned their backs on progress and submitted to the Roman Catholic hierarchy, in the Union of Arras in 1579, the country has gradually retrograded.

But how about Spain herself? From the very day when Spain entered upon the arbitrary policy of putting

down by force every moral and religious conviction of her people which happened to differ from the established order of Rome, she sounded the death knell of her own national hopes. As we have intimated before, the attitude of Spain was important in the development of the world's life because, at the very hour of the Reformation, she was the greatest colonizing power in the world. Her soldiers went forth to conquer, her citizens went to colonize, and her galleons, the argosies of the sea, went forth to commercialize every corner of the then rapidly expanding world.

But the policy of the Hapsburgs of that day was the policy of Spain. Their attitude of absolutism was meant to force every thought and action whether in Church and State, or in commerce and industry into a common channel. People dared to think, as long as they followed the Hapsburg style of thinking, and the Hapsburg Princes thought as Rome dictated. People dared to act as long as they acted in conformity with one supreme will, which was the absolute, repressive and domineering will of the Hapsburg rulers. So then, the long history of the Spanish Colonies: Mexico, Central and South America, the Antilles, and the Philippines, reveals the sad fact that Spain came to exploit rather than to develop. Wherever Spain carried her colors the Jesuits came with them. They came to convert the land and its inhabitants in conformity with a system which made tithing to Rome of the first importance, and often left the weightier matters of the law, justice, mercy and faith undone. For about three hundred years Mexico and South America lay under the spell of Spain, the Catholic Church, and her Jesuit agents.

In the years 1810-25, the American Colonies revolted from the rule of Spain, and many of them changed from

a repressive tyranny to a state bordering on anarchy which was, for the time being, worse than their former condition. Mexico, Colombia, Venezuela, Peru, Bolivia, Argentina and Chile, one by one threw off the Spanish yoke. In 1822, the alert and tyrannical Metternich, the Prime Minister and Chancellor of the Austrian Hapsburg Francis II, suggested to the Powers of Europe that they should unite to restore the power of Spain in America. Thereupon our President Monroe sent to the American Congress his famous message which embodied the celebrated "Monroe Doctrine." The "Doctrine" grows out of a sentence of this message which declares that "the attempt of any foreign nation to gain a foothold on American soil shall be considered by the United States as an unfriendly act." This doctrine which was, at one time, of so great importance to the liberties of the lesser American States, has, in these latter years, taken on a new significance. There are many patriotic American citizens who regard the new phases and interpretations of the Monroe Doctrine as one of the gravest dangers which faces our American liberties in the present day.

In 1831, Brazil declared her independence of the Catholic Portugal, and, since that day, South America has lived her political life practically independent of the Spanish influence, under the somewhat doubtful protection of the Monroe Doctrine. But the Roman Catholic religion still remained in these states as the same repressive force. As a stream can never rise higher than its source, so a people, in their progress, can never rise any higher than their religious ideals. Thus it has come to pass that the vast reaches and extent of lands on the other side of the Equator, in South America, have remained comparatively stagnant, unprogressive, and undeveloped; while our own country, no richer in natural re-



sources and opportunities has grown by leaps and bounds as the Mecca of all who long for freedom of conscience.

It is just within the last decade or so that the South American Republics have wiped from their statute books the laws which restricted freedom of conscience. As a direct consequence, they are now entering upon a period of unparalleled development, the outcome of which can be only faintly imagined.

The predominance of the Roman Catholic Church has proved a barrier to the close understanding of these two neighbors who are bound together by every natural tie save that of personal likes and dislikes. It may be that the white heat of the present European war has sufficiently dissolved the differences, so that the revelation of our common needs and mutual interests consequent thereon will be the mighty factor to draw North and South America into a closer and more friendly union.

With the close of the Spanish-American war, Spain lost the last of her once mighty Empire, and the children of Ferdinand and Isabella, chastened and somewhat freed in thought, were ready to start where they had begun in 1492. Thus, as we have seen in the brief review of the Catholic countries, do Roman Catholic thought and the principles of extreme centralization work out to her disparagement in the affairs of men and of nations.

#### ITALY.

Italy, or Italia, is the modern name for all that extent of territory which lies in the vicinity of Rome. The form and circumstances of the Italian Peninsula offer the advantages of a natural home for a united people. The people of the Italian Peninsula are so nearly akin in race that there is no racial reason why they should not have been, throughout the ages, a united and har-

monious people. With the natural features of climate and soil and the advantage of a common race, the marvel is that the Italians were not a great and united people who should easily have surpassed England, France, and Germany as leaders of the world's thought and life. But throughout the centuries of the Christian Era, they have not been a unit, and, so badly were they riven asunder that to-day, they must be content to be a third rate Power among the nations of Europe. The explanation, in part at least, is Rome and the Roman Catholic Church.

Of all the nations of Europe, Rome, which furnished the heart of Italian history, points to the longest period of national life. We know that her glory and power dazzled the World long before the Christian Era. Of this period it is not necessary for us to write. When Christ came to earth, Rome had just passed the zenith of her power. But Rome had performed her destiny in "preparing the way before Him" by providing a uniform, world wide system of laws. Even at the time of Christ the forces of decay were gnawing at the vitals of the Roman State. Like a strong, elastic band over-stretched, Imperial Rome has been weakened by the over-extension of her power. After the downfall of the Empire, it was the Christian Church which carried the name of Rome farther and higher in the world and added to the luster of the Imperial name the glory of the infinitely greater "light of the world,"—Jesus the Christ.

For what Rome was in the days of her purity, and for her many excellencies of the present day, for her great missionary enterprise, for her spiritual power and her sacrifice, for her work in winning the savage and barbarian races of Western Europe for Christ, for these things we all honor her. It is only with the temporal power of an organized hierarchy and a corrupt system

grafted upon her during the later years that we, with the open Bible to light our way, have a disagreement and quarrel. Rome! "Holy Rome!" How she has been the Mecca of the faithful and the admiration of the skeptic through the centuries! There is little wonder indeed that the modern traveler, moved by the memories she inspires, cannot resist that deep thrill of soul at first sight of her which moved Luther to fall on his knees and cry aloud: "Hail! Holy Rome!"

Italy for ages was the land of great leaders, of great poets, of great scholars, churchmen, philosophers, statesmen and soldiers. She was the mother of such as: Virgil, Tacitus, and the Cæsars. She was the home and inspiration of Leo, Hildebrand, Savonarola, Dante, Petrarch, Galileo, and a countless galaxy of great men whose names shine brightly in the firmament of the world's fame. What names, now hallowed and revered among the sons of men, she has inscribed imperishably on the scroll of time! But her philosophers she disowned; her poets she exiled; her statesmen and soldiers she abused and her churchmen she persecuted and martyred!

In order to understand the part which Italy played in reform, it is necessary to go back a few hundred years that we may catch a glimpse of the mis-alliances and divisions which made Italy a prey to factional disturbances and internal strife and, finally, made her absolutely subject to the Church of Rome.

In 1823, Count Metternich said of Italy: "It is only a geographical expression." The Count was right, for, at that time the term "Italy" described nothing more than the boot-shaped peninsula of land which juts into the Mediterranean Sea. From the political standpoint, it was broken up into a number of separate and inde-

pendent states. At the time of the Reformation the principal states of Italy were: Naples, the States of the Church, Florence, Venice, Milan, Genoa, and Savoy. There were a number of smaller states of less importance. These petty states were divided among themselves and from time to time, carried on fierce wars among each other.

The explanation for this sadly divided state is to be found in the history of the Roman See and its interference in the political affairs of the Italian States. We remember that in the year 754, Pippin the Short, the first of the Carolingian Kings of the Franks, donated to Pope Stephen III, a tract of land in the vicinity of Rome which the former had taken from the Lombards. This strip of territory was held by the Popes for over a thousand years. It became the center and seat of the Pope's temporal dominions. From time to time, by means of diplomacy, military cunning and shrewd bargaining, the Popes added to the land until it stretched all the way across the peninsula and divided the Italian States in half. The Pope was always opposed to the unification of Italy because the unification of these separate provinces meant the confiscation and surrender of the temporal domains of the Pope in the Papal State to the power which ruled all the rest. When, at last, after the long period of Italian separation, Italy was united and the rule of the Papal States passed over into the hands of the Italian King, Victor Emmanuel, the Popes refused to submit. And now, although the Italian government grants the Pope an annual pension of \$600,000 in view of the forfeited right of the government over the Papal States, the Pope refuses to accept the pension and, to this day, considers himself a prisoner of the Italian government shut up in the Vatican. The Pope still waits and longs

for the day when the political forces of Europe will break up the Italian unity and restore to him his lost temporal dominions and his position of influence and political power among the crowned heads of Europe. He waits in vain, for the day of the monarchy such as was represented by the temporal sovereignty of the Pope and his royal associates in the Europe of old, among whom he played the political game of diplomacy and intrigue, has passed forever into the light of an awakened and enlightened Democracy whose principle and slogan is "*The Power of the People.*"

In 951 the Emperor Otto I crossed the Alps from Germany and was crowned King of Italy. In 962, he returned to interfere in behalf of the Pope and, as a reward for his help, he was crowned Emperor of Rome. In forming this alliance with the Pope, the German Emperors assumed a responsibility and a burden which, through the course of long years, was hopelessly to divide both Germany and Italy, and was destined finally, to crush the Emperors themselves. The German Emperors kept putting down and setting up Popes until, in the course of events, the tables were turned and the Popes began to put down and set up Emperors. The period from 962 to 1250 marks the day of interference and struggle between the Emperors and the Popes. During this period, the Roman and Italian cities, with their swords, dug the graves of countless thousands of the hosts of the Teutons. In the meantime, the wars and struggles of the rival powers of Pope and Emperor, each of whom claimed to be supreme in the same field, filled Europe with their clamor and weakened and divided the states of both Germany and Italy.

The years between 1250 and 1500 mark the period of the triumph and supremacy of the Pope during which the

Renaissance was preparing Europe for a better day, and the same forces which had unseated the Emperors were preparing to dethrone the Pope from his seat of temporal power. In the next half century, from 1500 to 1559, Italy became the battle ground of Europe and, as we have seen, the German Reformation arose and virtually sealed its own triumph. The next three hundred years of the world's history mark the decline of the temporal power of the Pope and the long, sad struggle for Italian unity. During this period, the leadership in art and learning and literature passed out of the hands of the Italians and took its seat among the Protestant nations of Northern Europe. Learning sought a colder clime that it might have a warmer reception. The thought of Rome became definite, settled, and crystallized. It could no longer expand or contract, for the Roman Theology had frozen it. From henceforth the ancient Roman glory fades and, with religious freedom, passes beyond the Alps forever.

During the three hundred years following the Reformation, the Italian States became the prey and pawn of ambitious Princes and contending factions in Europe. Italy's long struggle for unity is marked by the constant interference of the Hapsburg family of Spain and Austria, seconded by the devices and intrigues of the Pope. It was during the nineteenth century that the great leaders like Mazzini, Cavour, Garibaldi, and Victor Emmanuel, and the peasant armies of the country, won for Italy her independence from Austria. In the year 1861, the first Italian Parliament was opened at Turin, and the majority of the long-sundered Italian states were united under King Victor Emmanuel of the House of Savoy. But Venice and Rome still remained to be added to the Italian nation.

Venice became a part of the Kingdom as a result of the Prussian victory over Austria in 1866. While Italian troops occupied Rome in 1870, the citizens voted in favor of annexation, and in January of 1871, the union became a fact. Victor Emmanuel was now King of all Italy and the long-wished for Italian unity was complete.

#### REFORM IN ITALY.

As in Spain, so in Italy, there was no general movement for reform. The writings of the Swiss Reformers and those of Martin Luther were circulated in Italy under false titles. There were many humanists in the country who welcomed these teachings and, in heart, at least, embraced them by faith.

But Italy was unfortunate in the character of the Humanists who headed the Renaissance. They were, for the most part, neither Christian nor devout, but Pagan. In Germany the rulers and scholars and intelligent middle classes were ripe for the sowing and reception of God's Word. When the German scholars were aroused from the torpor of centuries by the trump of Luther, most of them, like Reuchlin, turned their intellectual activities to the study of the Holy Scriptures. In Italy, on the other hand, the scholars of the land had been, by reason of their close contact with the politics of the Church of Rome, so long familiar with her hollow externals and meaningless forms that they were disgusted with the religion for which Rome stood. So, when the great enlightenment of the Renaissance came to them, it became for them only a light to blind them. The Humanists of Italy, therefore, turned to Pagan literature rather than to the Word of God for enlightenment and guidance. As a consequence, the Reformation in Italy found no large cultured class of scholars who wel-

came an invitation to search and investigate its challenge, but a class of men who were hostile to any form of Christianity whatever. Many of the scholars of Italy were openly and avowedly Pagan. The Italian skeptic is one who like the pendulum has swung from one extreme to the other, that is, from Rome to Paganism. He is, even to this day, of all unbelievers, the most difficult of approach, for we find in him no middle ground between Rome and Infidelity.

#### ATTEMPTS AT REFORM.

In Italy, there was one Juan Valdes, who died in 1541, a clergyman of Spanish birth, who had come into personal contact with the Lutheran Theologians. He was progressive in his views, preached justification by faith and denounced the abuses of the Mass without forsaking the content of the doctrine. He became the teacher and leader of many who were sorely dissatisfied with the teachings of Rome, but did not formally leave the Roman Church. A great friend of the Reformation was the Duchess of Ferrara. Although Ferrara was located within the Papal States, her house became the asylum and refuge for persecuted and distracted Reformers. Calvin himself became her guest for some time.

In 1520 there was organized an association known as "The Oratory of Divine Love." Its purpose was to bring about a reform within the Church. Among its members were men like Archbishop Cajetan, Cardinal Pole, Cardinal Contarini, and Cardinal Caraffa, who afterward became Pope Paul IV. A division among these enthusiastic churchmen early became apparent and they split up into a conservative party headed by Caraffa and a liberal party headed by Contarini. Contarini strove with all his might to turn the Catholic Church in the di-



rection of a liberal policy, and sought a reconciliation with the Reformers. He kept up a rather unequal contest until after the Council of Trent. At this Council, Contarini and the liberal party of Romanists were defeated and the Roman Church definitely set her face against all change and progress. The party of conservatism had won and, henceforth, there was to be an irreconcilable strife between the Catholic and the Protestant faith and all liberal views.

The real persecution of the Reformers in Italy began with the setting up of the Inquisition in 1542. In that same year, an "Index Expurgatoris," or list of condemned books, was published. Among the works appearing in this index from time to time were Luther's works and King James' Version of the English Bible. There was an order against the free circulation of the Vulgate edition of the Catholic Bible. The Church authorities stoutly maintained that the Bible is not a book for private interpretation and therefore, its unrestricted circulation is a dangerous and a harmful thing. A book entitled, "The Benefits of Christ's Death," containing Lutheran views of justification by faith, was published from Venice in 1542 by a monk named San Serverius. It was put on the "Index," and the circulation was so thoroughly suppressed that, although a hundred thousand copies had been sold, at the end of thirty years, not a copy of the work could be found. In the city of Rome, a pile of these books as high as a house, was burned. The story concerning Galeazzo Carraccioli, Marquis of Civo, a nephew of Pope Paul IV, is interesting. He was a pupil of Juan Valdes, who turned away from Rome. In spite of the earnest pleading of his wife and family, he persisted in his faith. In 1551 he was forced to flee to Geneva, where he tried to get his wife and family to join him.

But tears and earnest entreaty did not avail to persuade his wife to bring their children to Geneva to live with him there. For the sake of his faith, he lost wife, children, property and office.

One of the dark stains on the record of Rome is the burning of Giordano Bruno. He was a philosopher who had travelled much in France, in Switzerland, in England and in Germany. He first attracted attention by his teaching of the Copernican theory of the Universe. This is the prevailing theory that the world moves around the sun rather than that the sun moves around the earth. Copernicus' great work on Astronomy was not published until after his death in 1543, for fear of the wrath of the Inquisition. Bruno taught a number of theories which were contrary to the orthodox creeds of the present day. For this he was arrested, tried by the Inquisition and publicly burned in the year 1600.

Thirty-two years after the burning of Bruno, Galileo, the philosopher and Astronomer, was arrested and tried for teaching the Copernican system of Astronomy. After a long and wearisome trial, he was condemned on June 22, 1633, solemnly to abjure his scientific belief on bended knees. The story goes that after his penance, he arose from his knees and declared under his breath: "The world *does* move all the same." Thus did the authorities of Rome, in their narrow and fanciful interpretation of the Word of God, openly set themselves against the laws of the Universe and against the laws of the God of Nature. Thus with arbitrary power and human decree, and by fire and sword they coerced, forced and controlled the writing and speaking of men where they could not control their thinking. In Italy, therefore, where this power of force and constraint of conscience was supreme and unhindered by the arm of the State, there was no Ref-

ormation and no open divergence from the Church of Rome. But there was that which was far worse for Rome itself, namely, a secret lapse into Paganism which slowly ate out the heart of moral conviction and left only the dry husk of empty form to conceal a Godless infidelity and lawless immorality. "Having, therefore, the form of Godliness, they denied the power thereof." No! In Italy there was no Reformation!

#### PRESENT DAY CONDITIONS—A MORAL.

The condition of Spain and Italy and their former dependencies in the present day are an eloquent commentary on the wisdom of the course which they pursued.

The united strength of Pope and Hapsburg crushed the individual and his opinions in the interest of conformity to a religious creed and submission to one supreme political will. The union of Church and State and the arbitrary will of rulers who would not suffer the arguments of the Reformation to be heard or read were facts that were largely responsible for putting out the first faint sparks of that holy fire which glowed on the altar of reason during the sixteenth century. What fruits can Italy and Spain show to-day for all their former wealth, learning and the political power and unity of rulers? We see them now, stripped of much of their old time intellectual, moral and political power; poor both in money and in honors. They are the countries where the civic, political, and moral reformer finds it necessary to start anew and practically rebuild the fabric of society from the foundation.

In contrast, let us consider the Germany of the sixteenth century broken and divided by centuries of strife. But to-day Germany, after four hundred years of the religious freedom and progress of Protestantism, is a land

of philosophers, with a government and a people organized and efficient to the highest degree.

Likewise Scotland, with a soil not over-fertile and a climate relatively inhospitable, is now among the leaders of the world's progress. England with her small area, rules, as among the foremost powers of the world, the largest Empire of history; while Italy and Spain with the most magnificent opportunity have sunk to the level of the commonplace. It may be possible that these two nations and the Catholic countries of Europe and America, who are in like state, may, out of the dust and ashes of a bygone glory rise again to build anew after the measure of hope which their condition of five hundred years ago aroused. It may be possible that the Protestant nations, forgetting the Rock of their strength, may sink into oblivion more rapidly than they rose. However, the relative conditions of the Protestant and Catholic countries express the present verdict of history as to the merits of the two systems.

The Reformation was a refining fire. This fire of the Reformation served to burn out the idle rubbish which had accumulated as a result of ages of ecclesiasticism. The people and nations which suffered the Reformation to run its course had, indeed, much of that which was good to replace; but the evil was also swept away before the fervor of its purifying heat. Men were filled with new hope, new energy, new ambition and new life. The Protestant nations of the world had to build more than those who suffered no change, but they were stronger, better prepared and more enthusiastic for their task.

In connection with the Roman Catholic reaction and the fact that Italy and Spain remained faithful to Rome, there are a few reflections which cannot fail to cause a devout Protestant keen regret. The leadership of Italy

was followed by many of the countries of Southern Europe. When we remember that, owing to the combined influence of the Catholic reaction and Counter Reformation, the Jesuit activities, and a thousand years of spiritual inertia; Bohemia, Moravia, Poland, and Austria-Hungary were largely lost to Protestantism, we see how much the reaction cost the Reformation in Europe. And, when we look upon our own neighbors to the South, and listen to the confused din of arms in Mexico; when we behold the backwardness of the South American Republics whom God has so richly blessed with all manner of natural resources, just now aroused from the lethargy of hundreds of years, we are sad that it could not have been otherwise.

So then, because, as we have seen, a large part of Southern Europe and the vast resources of the colonies beyond the sea are joined to their fortunes, the saddest note of all the Reformation story is: "Italia and Hispania Irredenta." Amen.



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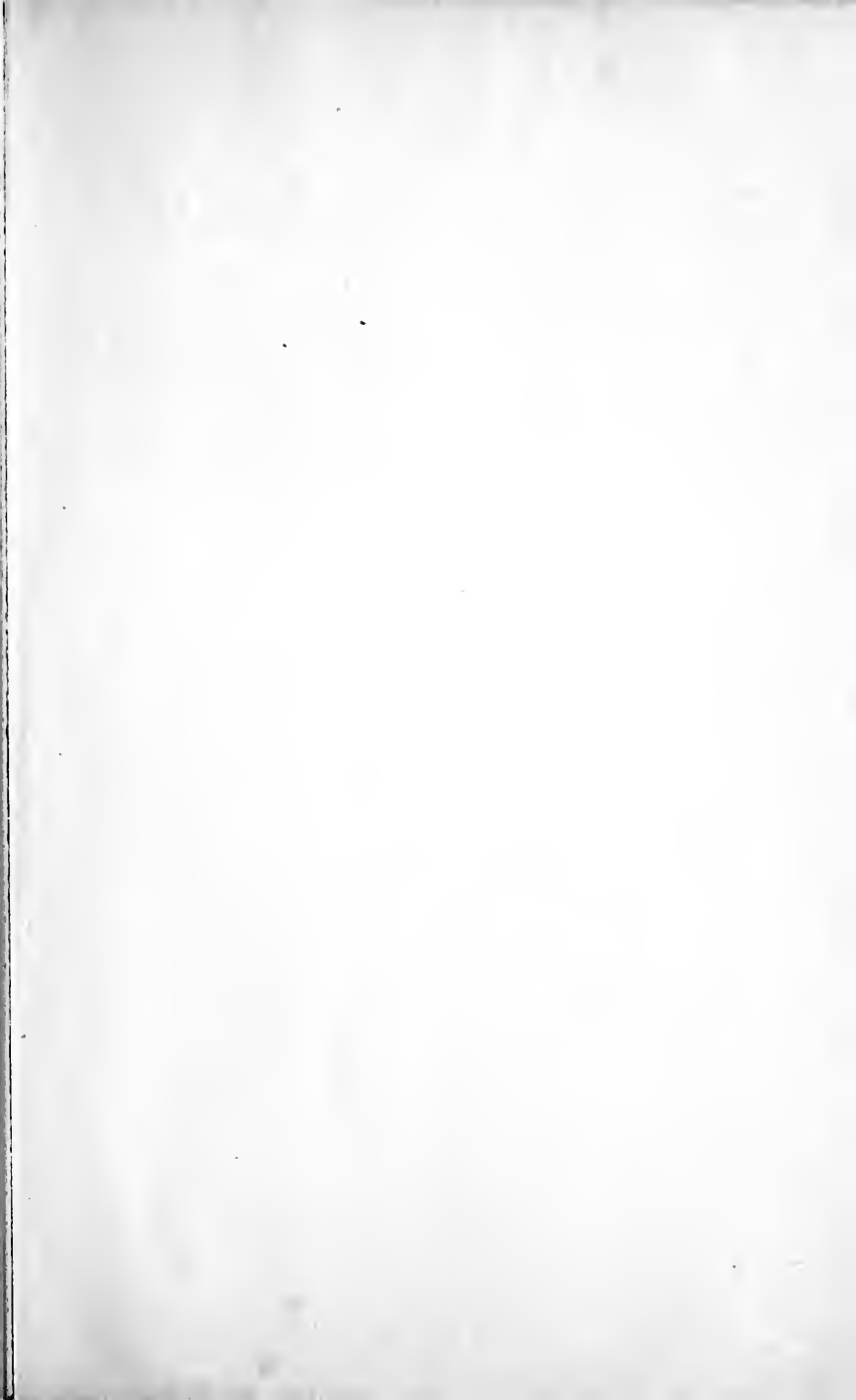
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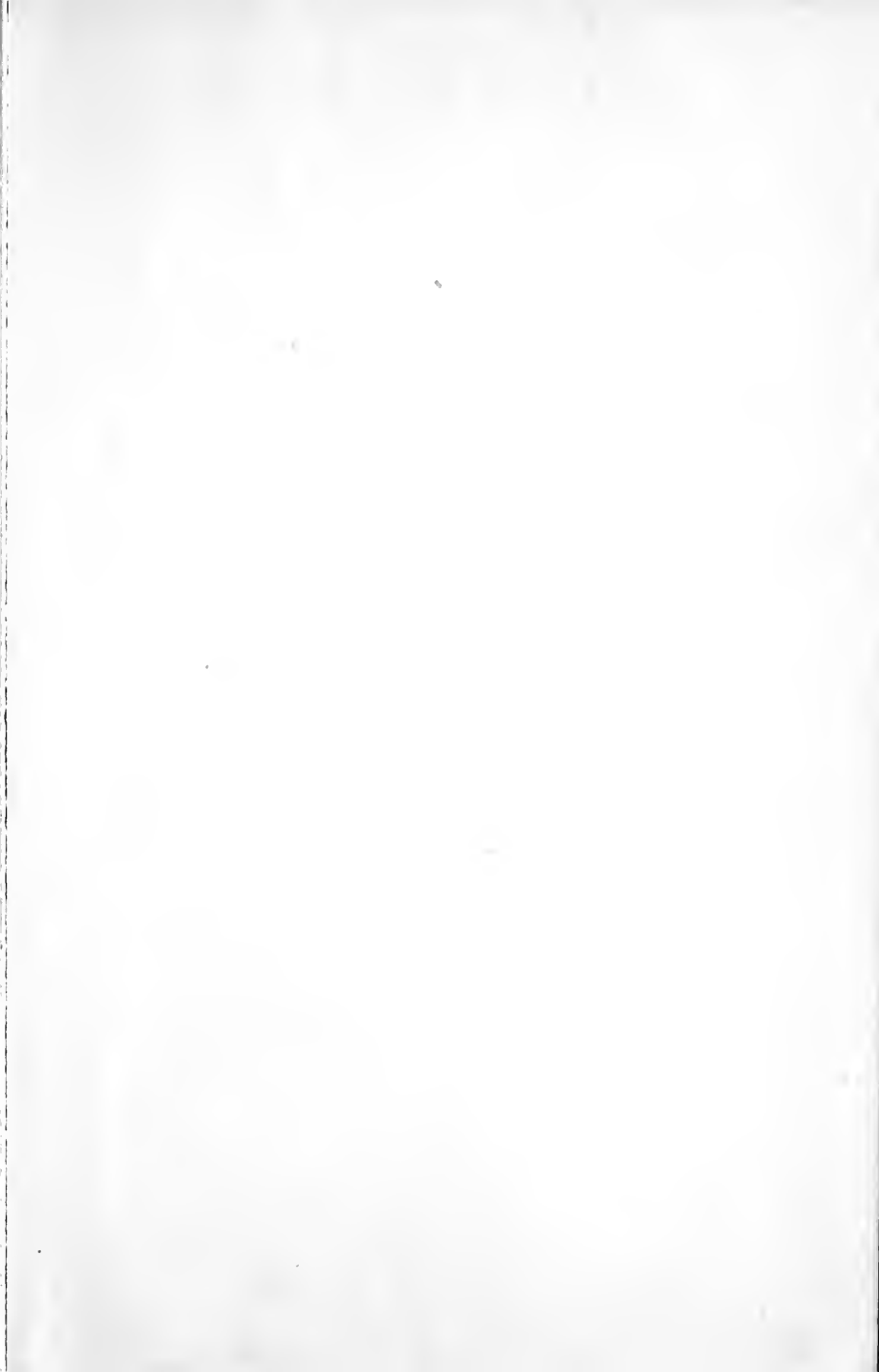
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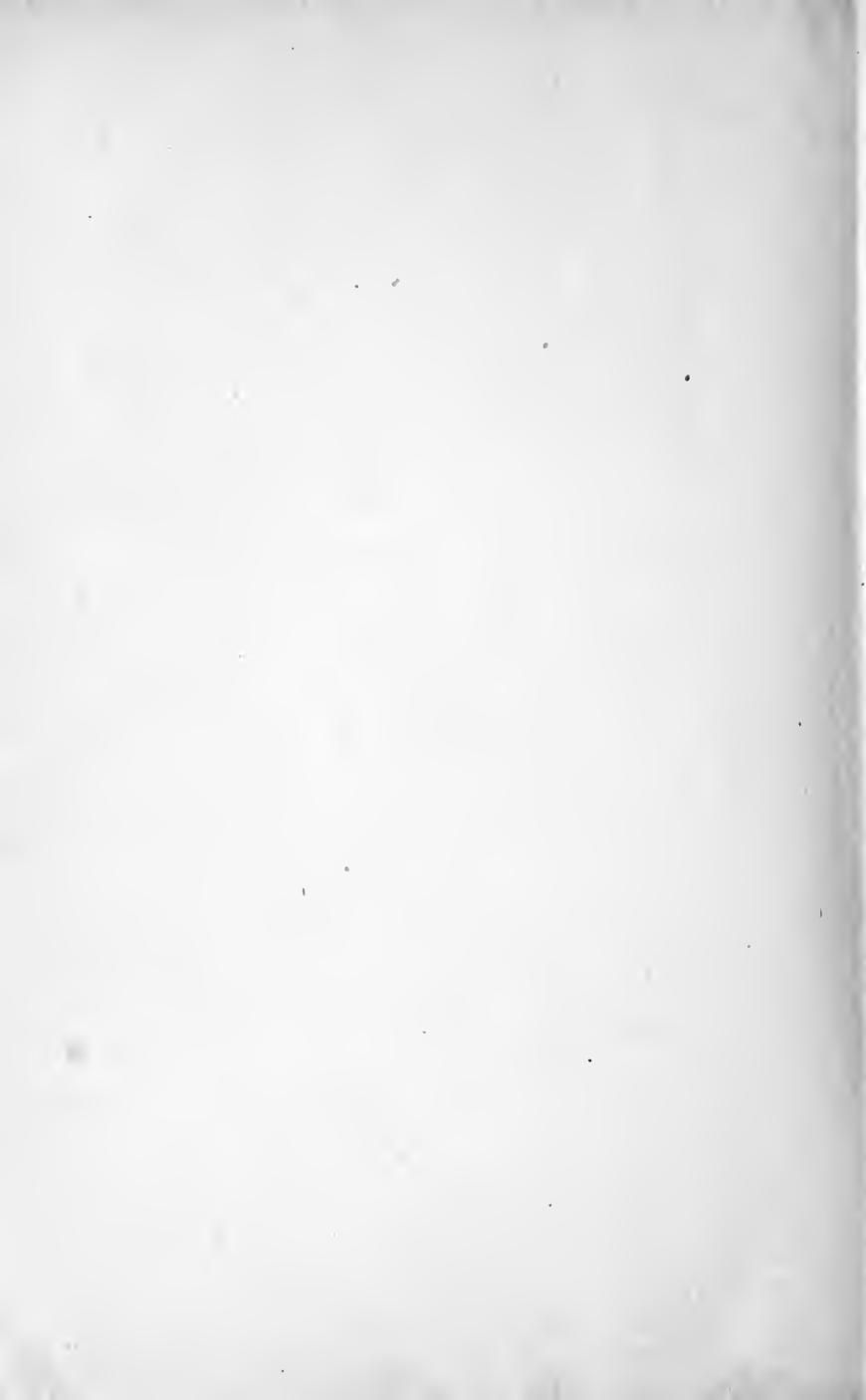
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