Julius II Bramante constructed Saint Peter's at Rome, which Michael Angelo crowned with the immense cupola, the idea of which he had derived from the Pantheon of Agrippa. The sculptors of Florence and Rome were unable to excel their classic rivals, but Leonardo da Vinci, Michael Angelo, Raphael and Titian far surpassed their most illustrious predecessors and created painting, which with music has remained the distinctive modern art.

In the field of the arts, Italy in the sixteenth century was the teacher of the nations. France followed her close behind. Her architects reared many chateaux and palaces, the Louvre, the Tuileries, Fontainebleau, Blois and Chambord, where elegance and grace are blended with strength. Two French sculptors are still famous, Jean Goujon and Germain Pilon. Germany had but two painters, Albert Dürer and Holbein. Engraving, recently invented, multiplied the masterpieces of the artists, just as printing had popularized masterpieces in literature, and Palestrina began the great school of music.

Renaissance in Science. — Science was still hesitating between the dreams of the Middle Ages and the stern reason which guides it at the present day. Men did not know that the physical world is subject to changeless laws. They continued to believe in capricious powers, in magicians and sorcerers, whom they burned by thousands. At Würzburg 158 persons were sent to the stake in the course of two years (1527–1528). But Italy had several geometers, and as early as 1507 the Pole, Copernicus, discovered the truth concerning the planetary system.

Thus, while the navigators were opening new worlds to human activity and through artists and learned men modern genius was acquiring fresh vigor from the ancients, science was assigning its place to the sun and to the earth and the planets their parts in the universe. Is it a marvel that the century which beheld these mighty results of audacity and intelligence should have abandoned itself to the resistless power of thought?

IX

THE REVOLUTION IN CREEDS, OR THE REFORMATION

The Clergy in the Sixteenth Century. — By its reverence for the two antiquities, the sacred and profane, which had just been as it were rediscovered, the literature of the sixteenth century led to the religious Reformation, whose true character was a mixture of the reasoning spirit borrowed from the pagans, and of theological ardor derived from the Bible and the Fathers. The prime author of this revolution was the clergy itself. What was there in common between the Church of the early days, poor, humble, ardent, and the opulent, lordly, indolent Church of Leo X, who lived like a gentleman of the Renaissance, with huntsmen, artists and poets, rather than with theologians? And of those bishop-princes who had armies, and of those monks who were so vicious and so ignorant, what was not said? For a long time the most devout had been demanding the reform of the Church in its head and its members. "I see," said Cardinal Julian to Pope Eugenius IV, "that the axe is laid to the root; the tree leans, and instead of propping it up, we are hurling it to the earth." Bossuet himself recognized the necessity of a reform.

Luther (1517). — The strife began with the pamphlets of Erasmus and Hutten. It became serious only when Luther had drawn the theologians after him into the lists. This son of a Saxon miner of Eisleben was an Augustinian monk. He became the most esteemed doctor of the University of Wittenberg. During a journey to Rome he beheld the disorders of the Church. The scandal of indulgences, whence Leo X sought money for the completion of Saint Peter's, led him to examine the very principles of this doctrine. Finding the system of indulgences contrary to the teachings of the primitive Church, he fought against it. The Dominican Tetzel was the broker of these spiritual wares in Germany. Luther nailed to the doors of the church in Wittenberg ninety-five propositions concerning

indulgences. Tetzel replied by 110 counter propositions. The battle had begun.

At first Leo X would see in it nothing but a quarrel between monks and sent to Germany the legate Cajetano to bring them to their senses. Luther appealed from the legate to the Pope, then from the Pope to a future council. Finally, rejecting even the authority of councils, or of all human utterances as opposed to the Word of God, as set forth in the Gospels and as he understood it, he admitted no other law for the believer than the very text of Scripture.

Thus Luther "plunged into schism." The Roman Catholic faith was nourished from the two sources of Scripture and tradition. He denied the latter source. Retaining the former, he admitted no mediator between him and the sacred text to interpret the latter and solve its difficulties. He beheld in the Scriptures neither the authority of the Pope, nor sacraments, nor monastic vows. Hence he rejected them. The Church on becoming organized had taught that even a society of believers is impossible unless its members think that they are bound to add to the merits of their faith those of their works. Luther, an ardent monk, and a theologian reared in the spirit of Saint Paul and Saint Augustine, did not hesitate before the formidable problem of grace. In his book *On Christian Liberty*, addressed to the Pope in 1520, he immolated the free will of man, and grace became the essential principle of faith. Calvin hence deduced later the doctrine of predestination. Leo X excommunicated the bold innovator, who nevertheless was simply looking backward, and returning to the apostolic age. Luther returning blow for blow publicly burned the papal bull (1520). He was protected by the Elector of Saxony, Frederick the Wise. When Charles V in order to win over the Catholics cited him to appear before the Diet of Worms, he boldly presented himself. He was so well defended that the Church did not dare seize him as it had formerly seized John Huss and send him to the stake. The elector prudently had him carried off and kept under guard at the Castle of the Wartburg, whence Luther stirred up all Germany by his pamphlets.

As a matter of fact, the reformer was serving well the interests of the princes. He restored to their hands the direction of religious affairs. The secularization of church property tempted their greed. In 1525 the Grand Master of

the Teutonic Order declared himself the Hereditary Duke of Prussia. Already the Elector of Saxony, the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, the Dukes of Mecklenburg, Pomerania, and Zell, and a great number of imperial cities, had embraced the Reformation and at the same time seized the ecclesiastical domains situated in their territories.

The people wished to have its share in this immense booty. In Suabia and Thuringia the peasants rose, not to hasten the reform in the Church, but to accomplish that of society, wherein they meant to establish absolute equality and community of goods. Luther himself preached against them a war of extermination and those wretched persons perished by thousands (1525).

This savage demagogy, which appeared again with the Anabaptists of Munster, frightened every one, but especially the Catholics. The Diet of Spires forbade the propagation of the new doctrines (1529). The followers of the Reformation protested against this decree in the name of liberty of conscience, and hence received the name of Protestants. In the following year, they published at Augsburg a confession of their belief which has remained the creed and the bond of all Luther's followers (1530).

Thanks to Francis I and to Souleïman, the emperor was occupied in defending himself on all his frontiers. He shrank from creating for himself a new enemy in the heart of the empire by attacking the Reformers. He avoided such risk until after the battle of Crespy and the death of the king of France. The victory of Mühlberg (1547) seemed to place Germany at his discretion. In order to impose religious peace he promulgated the Interim at Augsburg, which displeased both parties and reduced the German princes to the powerlessness of French or English nobles. The supreme power of Charles V was overthrown by the alliance of the Protestants with the king of France, Henry II. Maurice of Saxony came near capturing the emperor at Innsbruck (1551), and the peace of Augsburg granted the Reformers entire liberty of conscience (1555).

The Lutheran Reformation in the Scandinavian States. — At that period the new doctrines had already triumphed through almost all Northern Europe. Gustavus Vasa, who had delivered Sweden from the Danish domination, welcomed them as a means of humbling the episcopal aristocracy and of raising himself to absolute power.

In Denmark on the contrary the revolution was effected in the interests of the secular aristocracy, which suppressed the States General, held royalty in tutelage for 120 years and bowed the people under a harsh subjection.

The Reformation in Switzerland. Zwingli (1517). **Calvin** (1536). — In Switzerland the Reformation was born as early as in Germany. In 1517 Zwingli declared that the Gospel was the only rule of faith. The evangelical religion spread in German Switzerland, except in the original cantons of Lucerne, Uri, Schwyz and Unterwalden, which remained faithful to the ancient faith. The war, which broke out in 1531, and in which Zwingli perished, was favorable to the Catholics. Each canton still remained sovereign as to regulating its worship, but the evangelical doctrine was expelled from the common possessions. This was a defeat for Protestantism. On the other hand, it acquired Geneva, which had long been discontented with its bishop, its temporal sovereign, and was divided between the so-called parties of the Mamelukes and the Huguenots. Thanks to the support of Berne, the Huguenot party carried the day and maintained the independence of the city against Savoy (1536).

At this juncture Calvin arrived. He was a Frenchman from Noyon, who had just published a remarkable book, *The Christian Institutes*, wherein he condemned everything which did not seem to him prescribed by the Gospel, while Luther, less audacious, allowed everything to subsist which did not appear to him positively contrary to it. His eloquence, the austerity of his life and his radical doctrines gave him in Geneva an authority which he used to convert that joyous city into a sombre cloister, where every frivolous word or deed was punished as a crime. A poet was beheaded for his verses. Michael Servetus was burned for having thought otherwise concerning the Trinity than did the spiritual director. But none the less, Geneva became the citadel, and as it were the sanctuary of the Calvinistic Reformation.

The Reformation in the Netherlands, France, Scotland and England. — The seventeen provinces of the Low Countries formed a federated state under the direction of an Austrian or a Spanish governor. Each had its own constitution and its assembly. These free institutions, the independent spirit of the population and its nearness to Germany favored the propagation in that country of Luther's Reformation. Charles V stifled it by the horrors of a special inquisition, which punished with death more than 30,000 persons. But Lutheranism gave way to Calvinism, which had come from Switzerland by way of Alsace, or from England, during the reign of Edward VI, and which spread rapidly throughout the Dutch provinces.

Protestantism was not established in France until comparatively late. The Sorbonne refuted the new doctrines and the law suppressed them by force. Moreover there had been fewer abuses among the Gallican clergy, as they had possessed little wealth or power. Though many provincial nobles regretted the domains formerly ceded to the Church by their fathers, though more independent doctrines gratified their feudal inclinations, and though desires for political enfranchisement were mingled with desires for religious liberty, yet the inhabitants of the great cities remained strongly Catholic. In France a foothold was gained, not by Lutheranism, but by Calvinism. Francis I, who supported the Protestants in Germany, did not tolerate them in his own kingdom. He had the Lutherans burned before his eyes and approved the horrible massacre of the Vaudois. Henry II, by the edict of Chateaubriand, decreed the same death penalty against heretics. He even had two magistrates, suspected of heresy, arrested in open Parliament; and one of them, Anne Dubourg, was burned at the stake. Persecution was destined, as always, to bring about plots and a frightful struggle.

It was Calvinism which won the day in Scotland. Marie of Guise, the widow of James V, left the management of affairs to Cardinal Beaton, who defended Catholicism by extremely rigorous measures, but was assassinated (1546). The Reformation took possession of all Scotland, where Knox, who was summoned from Geneva, established the Presbyterian system.

In England the Reformation was not the work of the people, but of a despot, who found the country disposed for this revolution by the memories of Wicliffe and the Lollards. Being smitten with Anne Boleyn, Henry VIII asked Pope Clement VII to dissolve his marriage with Catherine of Aragon. As the pontiff hesitated, he made his own Parliament pronounce the divorce. On being excommunicated, he proclaimed himself the head of the Anglican Church (1534), suppressed the monastic orders, and confiscated the property of the convents (1539). Though

Henry VIII separated himself from the Holy See, he claimed that he remained orthodox. He retained the title of Defender of the Faith, which the Pope had bestowed upon him for writing a book against Luther. Without discrimination, he punished with death the man who denied the Real Presence in the Eucharist, and the man who denied the religious supremacy of the king. Very many sentences of death were pronounced. Spoliation followed murder. The nation, which through love of repose had abandoned its political liberty after the War of the Roses, beheld its money, its blood, its very beliefs, sacrificed to a tyrant. But by publishing an English translation of the sacred Scriptures, Henry unwittingly favored the spirit of investigation, which caused many sects to spring forth in England and paved the way for the revolution of 1648. Under Edward VI this "beheaded Catholicism," as the Reformation of Henry VIII was called, gave way to Protestantism pure and simple (1547).

A Catholic reaction set in after the death of the latter prince (1553). Earl Warwick placed upon the throne Lady Jane Grey. Mary, the daughter of Henry VIII, caused this ten days' queen to be beheaded, then married Philip II, king of Spain, and reconciled England with the Holy See. This restoration was marked by numerous executions. Between February, 1555, and September, 1558, 400 reformers perished, 290 of whom were burned at the stake. Drawn by Philip into the war against France, Mary lost Calais, and only survived this disaster by a few months (1558). She often said that if her body were opened, the word Calais would be found written upon her heart. The Anglican Church, as it exists to-day, was finally constituted in 1562 by Queen Elizabeth, the successor of Mary.

Character of the Three Reformed Churches. — Thus in less than half a century, Switzerland, Great Britain, Sweden, Denmark, half of Germany and a part of France had separated themselves from Catholicism. As the principle of reform was free examination, it had already produced many sects, whose number was destined to be still further increased. However, three great systems were dominant: Lutheranism in the north of Germany and the Scandinavian States; Calvinism in Switzerland, France, the Netherlands and Scotland; and Anglicanism in England. Their common dogma was justification.

Of the three systems, Calvinism differed most from Roman Catholicism. It regarded the Lord's Supper as a simple, commemorative rite. The Lutherans admitted the Real Presence, but not transubstantiation. The Anglicans were Calvinistic in dogma, and Roman Catholic in liturgy. Their Church, with its archbishops, bishops, and its numerous revenues, differed from the Catholic Church mainly in the simplicity of costume, in the cold austerity of its worship, in the employment of the vernacular language, and in the marriage of its priests. Subject to royal supremacy, its existence was intimately bound up with the maintenance of the monarchy; and the clergy in England was, as it has been in the Catholic countries, the firmest support of royalty. The Presbyterian Church of Scotland was democratic, like all Calvinistic churches, and its clergy were equal. Puritans were later to declare every Christian a priest, if he has the inspiration. The Lutheran countries retained the episcopal form. Their bishops had neither wealth nor liberty, as the prince had inherited nearly all the spiritual power which had been wrested from the Pope, and drew up the creeds. "Luther," said Melancthon, "has placed on our heads a yoke of iron, instead of a yoke of wood."

Consequences of the Reformation. — The religious revolution at first strengthened the political revolution, since it added to the civil rights of princes the right to control the conscience. The Calvinistic communities, however, recognized spiritual power as vested only in the assembly of the faithful.

As to the effect on general civilization, this insurrection of the investigating spirit was at first of small advantage to the progress of public reason. In Germany all utterance was bent upon theology. As in the palmy days of scholasticism, men neglected classic literature to occupy themselves only with barren and insolvable questions. The Renaissance died in consequence. Painters and poets disappeared before the iconoclastic rage of the one party and the theological vagaries of the other.

Luther and Calvin, the former of whom intrusted to the princes the spiritual power, and the latter of whom burned Michael Servetus and taught predestination, are not directly the fathers of modern liberty. But on the field, where man toils and sows, a harvest which he does not expect springs up. The denial of the Pope's absolute authority in the

spiritual order inevitably ended in the denial of the absolute authority of kings in the philosophical and social order. Luther and Calvin unwittingly led to Bacon and Descartes, and Bacon and Descartes as unconsciously led to Locke and Mirabeau.

X

THE CATHOLIC RESTORATION

Reforms at the Papal Court and in the Church. The Jesuits. — The papacy had in a few years lost half of its empire. Roused by this solemn warning, it began a work of internal reformation which did honor to four great Popes — Paul III, Paul IV, Pius V and Sixtus V. The tribunal of the Rota, the penitentiary, the Roman chancellery, were better organized. A new Inquisition, whose superior tribunal sat at Rome, was instituted in 1542 to search out and punish, at home and abroad, all attacks upon the faith. Neither rank nor dignity could protect from the jurisdiction of the inquisitors, who set to work with such energy that the roads leading from Italy to Switzerland and Germany were thronged with fugitives. The Congregation of the Index permitted no book to be printed until after it had been examined and revised. As individuals were executed, likewise books were burned. These means, obstinately pursued, were successful. Roman Catholicism was saved in the peninsula, but at what a price! The subjection of the Italians to the house of Austria had suppressed political life. The measures taken to prevent or extirpate heresy suppressed literary life. Men ceased to think and art declined like letters.

The Inquisition was considered only a measure of defence. In order to attack, the Holy See multiplied the militia which fought in its name. First the ancient monastic orders were reformed: in 1522 the Camaldules; in 1525 the Franciscans, whence sprang the Capucins. Then new orders were created, as the Theatines in 1524 and the Barnabites in 1530. In 1540 the Jesuits were established, whose statutes reveal one of the strongest political conceptions which has ever existed. In addition to the ordinary vows, the Jesuits swore absolute obedience to the Holy See. Instead of shutting themselves up in the recesses of a convent, they lived in the midst of society, so they might there grasp all the means

of influence. They travelled over the world to keep believers in the faith, or convert heretics and barbarians, and they sought to control the education of the young. When their founder, Ignatius Loyola, died in 1556, the society already numbered fourteen provinces, 100 colleges, and 1000 members. Spain and Italy were under their influence, and their missionaries were traversing Brazil, India, Japan and Ethiopia.

Council of Trent (1545–1563). — Thus fortified, the Church could repudiate those ideas of conciliation which had repeatedly arisen, but which the Protestant princes had rejected lest they should be compelled to restore the ecclesiastical property. The Council of Trent proclaimed the inflexibility of the Catholic doctrines. Convoked in 1545 by Paul III and presided over by his legates, it was subscribed to by eleven cardinals, twenty-five archbishops, 168 bishops, thirty-nine procurators of absent bishops, and seven generals of religious orders. The Italian prelates were in the majority, generally two to one. As the voting was by individuals and not by nations, they were the masters of the council. The ambassadors of the Catholic powers were present at the deliberations.

Transferred from Trent to Bologna in 1546, restored to Trent in 1551, the council dispersed in 1552, at the approach of the Lutherans under Maurice of Saxony. Its sessions were interrupted for ten years, while Paul IV with the help of France, was trying to overthrow the Spanish rule in Italy. When the sword of the Duke of Alva had terminated this conflict to the advantage of Spain, Pius IV abandoned the temporal cause of Italian independence. He was recompensed in spiritual matters by the last decrees of the Council of Trent, which instead of following the Fathers of Constance and Basle and setting itself above the Pope, humbled itself before his authority.

The pontiff remained sole judge of the changes to be made in discipline, supreme interpreter of the canons, undisputed head of the bishops, infallible in matters of faith, but nevertheless without possessing the personal infallibility (*se solo*) which Pius IX extorted from the council of 1870. Thus Rome could console herself for the final loss of a part of Europe, as she beheld her power doubled in the Catholic nations of the south, which pressed religiously about her.

The Pope also, in his quality of king, was his own master. Pius V celebrated in the victory of Lepanto, won by Don John of Austria over the Ottomans, a sort of revival of the crusades. Gregory XIII attached his name to the useful reform of the calendar. Sixtus V restored order in the papal states, displaying therein the inflexibility of Louis XI. He cleared the Roman country of the hordes of brigands, improved the finances, enlarged and adorned his capital, whose population rose to 100,000 souls, built the Vatican Library and annexed to it a printing-office, for the publication of sacred books and of the writings of the Fathers.

Thus reform in the temporal administration of the pontifical states and reform in the bosom of the Church resulted from the efforts of Catholicism, in the second half of the sixteenth century, and caused its subsequent greatness. When discipline was revived and the scandal of the worldly life of prelates was repressed, the religious spirit reawoke. Asceticism and consecration again appeared.

At Rome something more was hoped for than this restoration of Catholicism to its diminished empire. The image of Gregory VII had passed before the eyes of his successors, and the regenerated Church had resumed the ambition of her great pontiffs. Democratic in the first centuries, aristocratic in the Middle Ages, with her powerful bishops, who in case of need, threatened the Pope with excommunication, and with her councils which enforced her will, she had followed the tendency of the civil power, and through the necessities of her own defence had culminated in absolute royalty.

Unfortunately for her, this constitution of sacerdotal royalty took place at the moment when the temporal monarchies were too strong to humble themselves under any authority whatever. The decisions of the Council of Trent as to matters of discipline, were not received in France, not even in Spain, and the Catholic sovereigns appropriated to themselves a portion of the prerogatives which the Protestant princes had obtained by force. But when the authority of these monarchs yielded under the pressure of a new political revolution, ultramontanism in the nineteenth century resumed the work of the sixteenth. It was too late, for though the struggle was to be conducted this time with greater concentration, the force of the Church was less, and the spirit of the world ran in other channels.