perial election. In January, 1519, the Emperor Maximilian had been gathered to his fathers, and after a particularly spirited contest, in which the leading sovereigns of Europe came forward as candidates, the choice of the seven electors fell upon the king of Spain, who assumed the office under the name of Emperor Charles V. Charles owed his election not to the fact that he was king of Spain, but to his being the head of the House of Hapsburg and the most powerful prince of Germany. In the year 1520 he left Spain to be crowned with the usual elaborate ceremony at Aachen. Then he called a Diet at the city of Worms on the Rhine, where he first met with the parliament of the German nation. There were many matters demanding attention, but all were overshadowed in importance by the conflict raised by Luther. The Wittenberg professor had just been condemned by the Pope. It behooved the emperor and his Diet to declare what course they would take with reference to the papal sentence.

Charles summons Luther to his presence.

Charles was at this time a lad of twenty-one years. He had passed his life, so far, in the Netherlands and in Spain, where he had been brought up as a good Catholic, who might now and then criticise the abuses in the Church, but who in the main gave it an unhesitating allegiance. Therefore he, personally, was prepared to put down Luther. But there were other interests necessary to consider. So large a section of the German people and of the princes themselves had become adherents of Luther, that to condemn him unheard might raise an insurrection. Accordingly, Charles agreed to have him summoned to Worms for a hearing, under a special pledge of safety. Luther's friends besought him not to walk into the lion's mouth, reminding him of the fate of Huss at Constance. "I would go, even if there were as many devils there as tiles on the house roofs," he answered fearlessly. On April 17, 1521, he appeared before the Diet.

Luther at the Diet of Worms, 1521

The scene is one of the impressive spectacles of history. The simple friar, whose life had been largely lived in seclusion, stood for the first time before his emperor, who sat upon a throne encircled by a brilliant gathering of ambassadors, princes, and bishops. As he let his eye travel over the faces of the throng, he encountered all gradations of expression, ranging from deep devotion to indifference and fierce hatred. He was urged to recant the heresies he had uttered. If he had yielded he might have won forgiveness, and the movement of revolt would in all likelihood have come to an end. But he insisted that he should be proved to be wrong by the words of Holy Writ. That was stating the crucial issue; to him the authority of the Bible on the points of belief which he had raised was higher than the authority of Pope and Church. "Here I stand, I cannot do otherwise. God help me, Amen!" was the substance of his concluding speech. To cow this man was out of the question, especially as Worms was seething with his followers. Permitted to depart as had been promised him, he was seized on the highway by servants of the friendly elector Frederick of Saxony, and carried secretly to the castle of the Wartburg in the Thuringian forest. There let him lie concealed, was the thought of his protector, until the crisis be over, and he may once more show himself without danger.

Luther is formally condemned.

Meanwhile Charles came to a decision. He could have no sympathy with a movement which threatened the unity of the Church. Further, his attention at that moment was fixed not on Germany but on Italy, where the position of his house was at stake. We must always remember that Charles was a sovereign with interests in the most widely separated regions, in Spain, the Netherlands, Germany, Italy, and America. In Italy the king of France had lately seized Milan, and Charles was resolved to oust him from that vantage point, from which he dominated the whole

north of the peninsula. But in such an enterprise the papal alliance would prove very useful. With an eye to the help of the Pope against France, Charles resolved to strike at Luther. On May 26, 1521, he published the Edict of Worms, by which the heretic's life was declared forfeit and his writings were prohibited. Having thus settled, as he mistakenly thought, the German difficulties with the stroke of a pen, Charles undertook the conquest of Italy.

The Edict of Worms, 1521.

But the movement of the Reformation had already acquired too great a momentum to be stopped by an imperial order. If Charles could have remained in Germany to see personally to the execution of his decree against Luther, or if the real power in Germany had not lain with the princes, who, from the nature of the case, were divided in their sympathy, the history of the Reformation might have been different. As matters stood, Charles was absent from the scene for the next nine years, and the princes, left to themselves, could come to no decisive agreement. Consequently the decree against Luther was not executed, and the revolution, encouraged by the vacillation of the government, grew so strong that it soon reached the point where it could defy persecution.

The Edict of Worms is not carried out.

Let us look more closely into what was happening at this time in the religious circles of Germany. Luther's opinions were advancing by leaps and bounds, and enthusiastic communities were beginning to put them into practice. They involved the abandonment of many of the most familiar features of mediæval Christianity. Monks and nuns renounced their vows, resumed their places in society, and in many cases married; Luther himself set an example by wedding Catharine von Bora, a former nun. The monastic property reverted to the state, that is, enriched the princes and the cities. The Pope and the Roman hierarchy were set aside and their authority denied. Many ancient practices,

Abandonment of many features of Catholicism.

such as Indulgences, pilgrimages, worship of Mary and the saints, were condemned as meaningless and misleading works and abandoned. At the same time the Church service was materially changed. German was substituted for Latin, and the Mass, with its element of sacrifice, was declared idolatrous, its place being taken by a much simpler service, consisting of song, prayer, and sermon.

With such ferment of opinion possessing the whole country, it is not unnatural that wild agitators occasionally caught the ear of the masses. In fact the Reformation was not many months old before its welfare was threatened more by its own extreme elements than by its Catholic opponents. Nobody saw this more clearly than Luther. He was resolved that the movement should travel a sure road and at a moderate pace, and that whoever should venture to compromise it by extravagances and illusions, or whoever should attempt to use it for ends other than those of the religious reform with which it had originated, must be abruptly excluded from his party. These certainly not unwise considerations explain Luther's attitude toward the revolutions of the next eventful years.

Excesses of the revolutionists.

Luther was still living concealed in the Wartburg, where he was turning his enforced leisure to the task of translating the Bible into German, when startling things occurred in the Saxon capital of Wittenberg. Radicals, who called themselves prophets or Anabaptists, and who were joined by Carlstadt, one of Luther's own colleagues in the university, had begun to preach the destruction of the images which adorned the Catholic churches, and similar acts of violence. Luther, hearing of this nefarious propaganda, abruptly left the Wartburg and appeared among his flock (1522). His powerful word immediately brought his people back to order, and the "prophets" fled.

Luther follows a conservative course.

But the revolutionary tendencies aroused by Luther's call

Revolution of the Rhenish knights.

to spiritual freedom were already spreading like wildfire. The petty knights of the Rhine region, who were dissatisfied with their political condition because they were in danger of being swallowed up by their more powerful neighbors, the larger princes, resolved to make use of the disturbed state of affairs by rising in revolution. They were put down after a short war (1522–23), and henceforth lost all significance as an order. But a far greater disturbance followed in the rising of the peasants. Since the Church was being successfully reformed, why should not society and the state, which were no less cankered than the Church, be reformed too?

The serfdom of the peasants.

That the peasants should have asked themselves this question was only natural in view of their extremely miserable lot. They were for the most part serfs, which means that they were attached to the soil and were better than slaves only in that they could not be bought and sold, and were protected by a few traditional rights. But under the influence of the Roman law, which was steadily gaining ground with the revival of classical antiquity, their few remaining rights were vanishing, and their condition was growing steadily worse. Since they were a sturdy folk at heart, among whom the memories of former liberties persisted, a sense of injustice tormented them, and had already in the fifteenth century led to occasional risings. Now, in the sixteenth century, came the call of Luther to religious freedom, sounding like a trumpet through the land. Even without Luther they were ready to strike down the land-owning nobles and abbots who oppressed them. With Luther as a prospective ally they were no longer to be kept in leash.

The great revolt, 1524–25.

In the year 1524 they rose, first near the border of Switzerland; but with surprising rapidity the movement ate its fiery course northward into the heart of Germany. All lawless elements, including the so-called prophets of Wittenberg, crowded to the standards of the peasants. Their bands

patrolled the country-sides, invaded the hated castles and monasteries, burned them, and butchered their inmates. It is true there was a moderate section which put forward a sensible programme, called the twelve articles formulating the practicable demands of the insurgents. These were to have certain vexatious personal services due to the lord and his family, abolished, and the meadows, woods, and streams, which had once belonged to the villagers in common, but had since been seized by the lords, restored to their former owners. Nevertheless, passion got the better of reason, and every night the fierce glare of the sky renewed the tale of ruined castles and abbeys. As usual, the central government was incapable of taking action, but the local authorities, that is, the princes, got together an army and in the spring of 1525 scattered the disorganized bands of the peasants to the winds. Hounded on by Luther in coarse pamphlets, the victors crowned their successes by a hideous massacre of the poor fugitives. That Luther, who was a peasant himself, and had frequently declared his sympathy with his lowly brethren, should have veered to the other side has subjected him to much criticism. It is not possible to palliate the brutality of his language, but a word may be said for the consistency of his conduct. He had declared over and over again, by word and by deed, that he stood for religious reform and would not permit his cause to be compromised by political agitation. Let the cause of reform be confused in people's minds with social anarchy, and the conservative elements would be frightened away, and Rome be triumphant. For this reason he had challenged the Wittenberg prophets; for the same reason, though much more reluctantly, he turned his back upon the peasants.

Luther sides with the princes.

The wars of France and Spain.

While Germany was seething with revolution, Charles V. was wholly engaged with the war against France. In fact, the wars with France continued throughout his reign and

prevented him from ever giving his full attention to the German Reformation. There were altogether four wars, covering the following periods: 1st war, 1521–26; 2d war, 1527–29; 3d war, 1536–38; 4th war, 1542–44.

The first war; battle of Pavia.

The first war ended with the signal triumph of Charles. Charles's general defeated the French army at Pavia in Italy (1525) and took the king of France himself, Francis I., captive. "All is lost save honor," was the laconic message which the French sovereign, celebrated as the mirror of chivalry, sent his mother at Paris. Charles had his royal prisoner transported to Madrid and there he wrung from him a peace (1526), by which Francis ceded all claims to Italy and parts of France itself (Burgundy and the suzerainty of Artois) to Charles.

The second war and sack of Rome, 1527.

But hardly had Francis regained his liberty when he hastened to renew the war. Charles had overstrained the bow. Francis could buy peace by the cession to his enemy of Milan, a foreign conquest, but as long as there was life in France her king could not grant nor could she accept a partition of her territory. The Pope and Henry VIII. of England, who had hitherto favored Charles in the struggle between France and Spain, now went over to Francis from fear that the emperor was striving for supremacy in Europe. The most noteworthy incident of the second war was the sack of Rome (1527). The great French nobleman, the duke of Bourbon, who had turned traitor and had been put by Charles at the head of a mixed troop of Spaniards and of German Protestants, was ordered to march against the Pope for the purpose of punishing him for his alliance with Francis. At the moment at which the walls of the papal capital were scaled Bourbon fell, and the rabble soldiery, left without a master, put Rome to a frightful pillage.

Charles crowned emperor.

Although the advantage in the second as in the first war remained with Charles, he offered Francis somewhat more

acceptable terms (temporary retention by Francis of Burgundy) in new negotiations, which ended in the so-called Ladies' Peace of Cambray (1529). After the peace Charles had himself crowned emperor at Bologna (1530), and figures in history as the last emperor who was willing to take so much trouble for an empty title.

Charles returns to Germany. The Diet of Augsburg, 1530.

Charles, temporarily rid of France, was now resolved to look once more into German affairs. In 1530, after an absence of almost ten years, he again turned his face northward. The Reformation was by this time an accomplished fact, but Charles, who during his absence had received his information from Catholic partisans and through hearsay, still inclined, as at Worms, to treat it as a trifle. He was destined to be rudely awakened. A Diet had been called to meet him at the city of Augsburg, and at the summons a brilliant assembly of both Lutheran and Catholic princes came together. Their sessions turned chiefly around the question whether or no the Edict of Worms of 1521 should be at last executed. Unquestionably the Edict was part of the law of the land, and unquestionably its execution meant the death of Luther and the end of the young church which had grown up around him. Naturally the Lutherans made a supreme effort to vindicate themselves. They requested Melanchthon, a gentle soul and profound scholar, and at the same time the bosom friend of Luther, to draw up for the emperor's perusal a statement of the Lutheran position. The document, on being published, became known under the name of the Confession of Augsburg, and constitutes substantially the creed of the Lutheran Church to this day. But the emperor was not to be persuaded. If he had thus far treated the Reformation in a hesitating manner, that was partly because he had made the mistake of underestimating it, and partly because he had not been averse to frightening the Pope a little, who, even when he was not his open enemy,

The Confession of Augsburg.

was never his sincere friend. But he had just made his peace with the Pope, and even before coming to Germany had indicated from what quarter the wind now blew by ordering the Diet of Spires, in 1529, to take back certain former concessions to the innovators, and once more to insist on the full execution of the Edict of Worms. Against this step the Lutheran members of the Diet had lodged a formal protest, which had won them the epithet, destined to become world-famous, of Protestants. Thus Charles was committed to a policy before ever he came to Augsburg. The hearing granted to the Protestants partook largely of the nature of a prearranged comedy, upon which, when it had lasted long enough, he rang down the curtain, and announced his decision. In the matter of the religious innovations, the concluding protocol declared that everybody must abandon them within six months, or suffer the consequences. The bold challenge drove the Protestants to concert measures for defence. They met at the little town of Smalkald and organized a league for mutual protection (1531).

Civil war adjourned by the Turkish danger.

Both sides now stood opposed to each other, ready for action; but just as civil war seemed to have become inevitable, the news reached Germany that the Turks were about to attack Vienna. The Turks had already carried the terror of their name into eastern Germany two years before. In face of a danger threatening all alike, the civil struggle had, of course, to be postponed. In an agreement which Charles signed with the Protestants at Nuremberg (1532), he undertook to adjourn his measures against his opponents until a General Council of the Church had met to decide the doctrinal points in dispute, and he was thus enabled to march against the Turks at the head of a brilliant army representing united Germany. Before this display of force the Turks fell back. On his return Charles found other things to do than fight the German Protestants. The Mohammedan

pirates of the north coast of Africa, who were engaged in destroying the European commerce, urgently demanded his attention. For the next few years he gave his time to the destruction of their strongholds in Tunis and Tripoli, and thus the suppression of Protestantism in Germany was again postponed. To Charles all this must have been hard to bear. The French, the Turks, and the African pirates were among them keeping his hands full, and were always intercepting his arm at the very moment at which he was about to draw his sword against the Protestant revolution.

New wars. Alliance between Francis I. and the Turks.

On his return from Africa there broke out a third war with Francis I. of France (1536–38), only to be succeeded by the fourth and last (1542–44), which was concluded by the Peace of Crespy. In this peace Charles definitely gave up his claim to Burgundy, and in return was confirmed in his mastery of the much-prized Italian peninsula. But the most striking feature of these last two wars, a feature which among contemporary Europeans caused an unspeakable surprise, was the alliance which Francis concluded against Charles with Soliman the Magnificent, the Turkish Sultan. It furnished fresh evidence of the broadening of life effected by the Renaissance. As the traders and discoverers had burst the narrow barriers of the Mediterranean, so European diplomacy henceforth would not hesitate to draw Asiatics and infidels into its game.

Charles fails to end the heresy by a General Council.

The Peace of Crespy set Charles free to try once more to eradicate the German heresy. He had staked his life upon destroying it, but had been thwarted in every attempt. As early as 1521, in the Edict of Worms, he had announced his settled policy. But circumstances like the French wars, as well as a certain statesmanlike reluctance to proceed to force, had intervened to restrain him from carrying it out. Then, later, with the Peace of Nuremberg (1532), he had committed himself to the policy of reconciliation through a

General Council of the Church. A General Council could be summoned only with the consent of the Pope, who had thus far sullenly refused to issue a call. At last, in 1545, Paul III. yielded to Charles's solicitations and summoned the famous Council of Trent. But the favorable moment had passed. The Protestants, who had gone too far on the path of separation to retreat, would no longer submit to it, and Charles had to acknowledge that he was at the end of his tether. Turn as he would, there was only one way left to crush the Protestants, and that was by war. So Charles, whose aversion to heresy and schism was unaltered, drew his sword, and precipitated the first German civil war over the issue of religion.

Death of Luther, 1546.

Just before the outbreak of hostilities, on February 18, 1546, Luther, whose word had raised the tempest, died. He was spared the final pain of seeing his countrymen in arms against each other, largely on his account. Certainly his character had many grievous flaws, but in looking backward over his life they disappear in the strong light shed by his honesty, simplicity, and unflinching courage. If he has become dear to the German people and to the Protestant world in general, it is not only because he originated a religious movement which has become an incalculable factor in the history of modern times, but also because his large, hale figure, seated at the family board and surrounded by a circle of fresh young faces, breathes a broad sympathy and humanity.

The first war of religion in Germany.

The first war of religion in Germany, called also, from the name of the league of Protestant princes, the war of Smalkald, broke out in the year of Luther's death (1546). The Protestant forces, commanded by the foremost Protestant princes, John Frederick of Saxony and Philip of Hesse, acted without a plan. Charles, advancing with concentrated energy, ended the war with one stroke at the battle of Mühlberg (1547), where the leading Protestant prince, the elector of Saxony, was taken prisoner. The triumph of the emperor was in no small measure due to the treachery of a Protestant relative of the elector, Maurice of Saxony. Maurice was a capable, unscrupulous man, who for the price of the electorate of his relative lent Charles his aid. The price once paid, he remembered that he, too, was a Protestant, and gradually cutting loose from the emperor prepared to undo the consequences of the victory of Mühlberg.

The Interim.

Charles, after the victory of Mühlberg, which had ended with the complete submission of the Protestants, undertook to reëstablish the unity of the Church. There should be but one faith; so much he was firmly resolved on. But he clearly saw also that it would be the part of wisdom to proceed not too precipitately. He therefore did not force the Protestants back into the Church without delay, but declared himself content if they would accept a temporary measure called the Interim, which, although Catholic in spirit, granted them certain concessions until the Council of Trent had definitely pronounced upon the points in dispute. The Protestant world felt with consternation that in this half-way measure lay the beginning of the end. An increasing discontent grew soon to a revolutionary enthusiasm, and when Maurice of Saxony came back to his coreligionists, Germany suddenly rose, and Charles found himself confronted by a united demonstration (1552). There can be no doubt that he was taken by surprise. Maurice, his chief opponent now, as a few years before he had been his chief ally, might even have taken him captive. "I have no cage for so fine a bird," he is reported to have said. So the emperor escaped. But his life-long war against the Lutheran heresy had come to an end. Broken by defeat, but too proud to acknowledge it, he empowered his brother Ferdinand to sign the truce of Passau (1552) with the Protestants. At the Diet of Augs-

General rising of the Protestants.

burg, in the year 1555, the arrangements of Passau were replaced by a definitive treaty, known as the Religious Peace of Augsburg.

The Peace of Augsburg, 1555.

The main significance of the Peace of Augsburg lies in the fact that the mediæval idea of the unity of the Christian Church was therein officially abandoned, and Lutheranism granted legal recognition as a separate faith. But the interest of the document does not cease here. Since the central government had failed to carry through its religious policy, it was stipulated that religion should henceforth be treated as a local matter, that is, the local governments, being the princes and the cities, should be permitted to choose between Catholicism and Lutheranism. This principle was expressed in the Latin phrase, *cujus regio ejus religio*, meaning that religion is an affair of the lord of the territory. Under this system the prince who chose Protestantism could eject all Catholics from his state, and *vice versa*. This is not what we would call religious toleration, since it gave the right of choice to princes and not to individuals; but individual toleration seemed as yet a dangerous idea, to which the world, as in the case of every valuable acquisition made by the race, would have to grow accustomed by slow degrees.

The Ecclesiastical Reservation.

Such are the chief provisions of the Peace of Augsburg. But there was another article which, as it became the fruitful mother of confusion, deserves close attention. It was inserted in favor of the old Church, and is called the Ecclesiastical Reservation. There were in Germany many bishops who were not only heads of dioceses, but who also ruled considerable territories as temporal lords. Since they exercised both lay and spiritual functions, they are properly designated as prince-bishops. It was laid down in the Ecclesiastical Reservation that to these prince-bishops the free choice between Catholicism and Protestantism accorded to lay princes should not extend. They were indeed to be permitted to elect Protestantism for themselves, but they were obliged in that case to resign their sees, and Catholic successors would have to be chosen in their places. In essence this article was a guarantee that the lands of the bishops should remain forever and ever in the hands of the old Church, and, though the Lutherans protested, the article was incorporated in the Peace of Augsburg and became the law of the land. As might have been foreseen, difficulties almost immediately arose. It was found that in practice the article could not be kept, for many bishoprics, following the trend of the day, soon fell into Protestant hands, and out of the ensuing recriminations developed in time another and a much more serious civil war.

Henry II. of France conquers the three bishoprics.

The victory of the Protestants over the emperor was not purchased without a heavy loss for Germany. Maurice of Saxony had found it necessary, in order to make sure of victory, to ally himself with Henry II. of France, and in the same year (1552) in which Maurice drove the emperor over the Alps Henry II. invaded Germany and occupied the bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun. Although Charles laid siege to Metz immediately upon the reëstablishment of peace with the Protestants, the French were able to beat him off and retain possession of their conquests. This incident opens the long and troublesome story of the border conflicts between France and Germany which accompany the history of these two nations throughout the Modern Age.

Abdication of the emperor. Division of the Hapsburg dominions.

The emperor, whose life was worn out with his long conflicts and labors, could not recover from the blow of these last disasters. He abdicated his crown (1556) and retired to the monastery of San Yuste in Spain, where he died two years later. Hardly in the history of the world has so proud a life set so humbly. Upon his abdication the vast Hapsburg possessions, which he had held in his

sole hand, were divided. His son Philip got Spain (with her colonies), the Italian territory (Naples and Milan), and the Netherlands. His brother Ferdinand got the Austrian lands and therewith the imperial crown. Henceforth until the extinction of the Spanish line (1700) we have in Europe a Spanish and an Austrian branch of the great House of Hapsburg.

CHAPTER V

THE PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION IN EUROPE AND THE COUNTER-REFORMATION OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

REFERENCES: JOHNSON, Europe in the Sixteenth Century, pp. 201–3 (Zwingli), Chapter VI. (Calvin and the Counter-Reformation); FISHER, History of the Reformation, Chapter V. (Zwingli), Chapter VI. (Scandinavian Reformation), Chapter VII. (Calvin), Chapter XI. (Counter-Reformation); JACKSON, Zwingli; CAMBRIDGE MODERN HISTORY, Vol. II., Chapter X. (Switzerland), Chapter XI. (Calvin), Chapter XVII. (Scandinavia), Chapter XVIII. (Reform of the Roman Catholic Church); PARKMAN, Jesuits in America, Vol. I., Chapters II., X.; HUGHES, Loyola; WALKER, Calvin.

SOURCE READINGS: The University of Pennsylvania, TRANSLATIONS AND REPRINTS, Vol. II., No. 6 (extracts from Decrees of the Council of Trent); Vol. III., No. 3 (Calvin's Catechism, Predestination, etc.); JACKSON, Selected Works of Zwingli; ROBINSON, Readings, Vol. II., Chapter XXVII. (Zwingli, Calvin), Chapter XXVIII. (Trent, Jesuits).

The spread of Protestantism

THE Protestant movement spread rapidly from Germany over the Teutonic north, and even invaded southern Europe, making inroads upon France, Italy, and Spain. It met with opposition everywhere; sometimes it was suppressed, sometimes it forced the governments to come to terms with it; but wherever it raised its head its original form was modified more or less by the character of the people among whom it appeared, and by the local circumstances.