possible degree to the welfare of man. A separation of Church and state, as exists for instance in the United States of America, did not enter even for a moment into his calculations. Such is the power resident in inherited ideas, that however far the Protestants withdrew from the old Church, they one and all held fast to the essentially mediæval conception of the oneness of Church and state. The state as governing temporal man, the Church as ministering to his spirit, could not disjoin their labors, if there was ever to be realized the ideal of a coming reign of perfection. In consequence, Calvin created at Geneva what may be called a Church-state, and by so doing instituted one of the most remarkable experiments in history. Let us look at the two coördinated features of his system.

Geneva a Christian democracy.

And first as to his state. When Calvin arrived at Geneva, he found a democratic community, that is, a city governed by elected councils. As he found it, he was content, in the main, to leave it. According to him any form of government would do among men, provided only that it was filled with the spirit of God. Therefore he merely impressed upon the rulers of the city that they were in a very true sense ministers of the Lord, intrusted with a work different, but quite as important, as that of the preachers of His word. During Calvin's life at least the officials elected satisfied, on the whole, this requirement, and in consequence the world enjoyed the exceptional spectacle of an ecclesiastical and civil government, each advancing claims of equality and independence, and ruling, nevertheless, harmoniously side by side.

Calvin's Church is democratic.

In the matter of the Church, which he had mainly at heart, Calvin held that though there was one invisible Church of all true believers, practically, this might be split up into many separate Churches, according to the varying conditions of human society. Every such Church belonged to all its members, and should be governed by them in the democratic spirit. Luther had already denied that the control of the Church belonged exclusively to the clergy; but though he had in the beginning of his career advocated the priesthood of every Christian man, he had yielded to the exigencies of the political situation in Germany, and suffered the princes to assume control. Calvin had no insuperable objection to this system, but, like Zwingli, he lived in a democratic community, and feeling, like him, a preference for democracy, he put the Church directly into the hands of the people. A democratic or popular character marks every Church established under his influence. But the feature of Calvin's Genevan establishment which has excited the most comment is doubtless the consistory.

The consistory.

The consistory was a mixed body of clergy and laity appointed to watch over the morals of the community. Six ministers and twelve elders composed it. It was empowered to try any man, woman, or child for any departure from the accepted standards of purity, and hand the wrongdoer over to the civil authorities for punishment. The consistory has something of the appearance of a Protestant inquisition, but though it has brought the maledictions of modern apostles of liberty upon Calvin's head, it is necessary to do justice to his underlying conception. The Church and state, as has already been said, he held to exist solely for the good of man, for the achievement of Christian perfection. But that good he held—and teachers and preachers of conduct in all ages have generally held with him—could not be attained if departure from the path of righteousness was allowed to go unpunished. Under the sway of the consistory the city assumed a stern and austere character. Life at Geneva in Calvin's day may have been inwardly fervent, but many little gayeties which lend charm and color to the fleeting hours were rudely banished. Non-attendance at

church rendered one liable to punishment; also dancing, card-playing, and the singing of profane songs. Let a man blaspheme, a child be disrespectful to its parents, and the arm of the consistory came down upon them like a mallet. A departure from the Calvinistic tenets constituted heresy, and was, of course, a particularly heinous offence. In 1547 Gruet was executed for the possession of infidel books, and in 1553 Servetus was burned for denying the doctrine of the Trinity. A system characterized like this by the element of discipline may run the risk of narrowing the human sympathies and drawing much of the sweetness out of life, but it makes men hard and firm as iron.

Calvin's theology.

This same tendency toward vigor and rigidity rather than gentleness and pity was inherent in the theology with which Calvin endowed his Church. It is perhaps his least original contribution since his doctrines can generally be traced back to one or another of his predecessors. Nevertheless, the Calvinistic theology looms large in theological annals, chiefly because of the prominence given in polemics to Calvin's doctrine of election by grace. This has stirred up so much dust that it deserves an explanation. The central feature of the great Frenchman's system was the absolute supremacy of God's will. Since God was all in all, it was preposterous to suppose that man could win salvation either by works, as the Roman Church taught, or by faith, as Luther argued. God alone could save, and His saving was a pure act of mercy. But since God is eternal and omniscient, He must know and has willed, even before birth, whether a soul shall be saved or lost. This doctrine, known popularly as predestination, has always aroused much angry opposition, since it implies the denial of man's power to contribute an iota to his own salvation, and would seem to justify him in desisting from any effort at goodness. It was freely predicted that something akin to Oriental fatalism would settle like a

Predestination.

cloud upon the followers of Calvin. But for whatever reason—perhaps merely to show how little philosophical logic counts in the conduct of life—the exact opposite has taken place. Never has a creed stirred its followers to a more strenuous activity than has Calvin's.

The Roman Church undertakes a reform.

We have seen that there had been raised in Europe, ever since the thirteenth century, loud cries for the reform of the Church, but that the Popes had remained deaf to the call. At length toward the middle of the sixteenth century, frightened by the movement begun by Luther, the Church of Rome yielded to the new spirit and instituted a series of reformatory measures.

Change in the character of the Papacy and clergy.

This Counter-Reformation in the Roman Church must, in order to be rightly understood, be recognized as a real religious revival which, without affecting the doctrines or the system of government, brought about a great improvement in the life of the clergy. We have noticed that the Popes of the Renaissance, concerned chiefly with their aggrandizement and pleasures, sealed their ears to the criticism of humanists and reformers. But that attitude of indifference could not be kept up forever if the Papacy was to live. Many loyal churchmen, while looking with horror upon any attack on the system of the Church, were yet willing to admit that there was much improvement possible in the realm of conduct. According to them there was one reform of which Rome had need, the reform of its clergy. It is not astonishing when we consider the Christian fervor of the Spanish nation, as manifested by the long crusades against the Moors, that Spain should have furnished the first impulse to a movement of reform undertaken in this spirit. As early as the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, and that means before Luther struck his famous blow against Indulgences, these sovereigns, aided by the devout Cardinal Ximenes, infused new life into the Spanish Church. Their idea was that the priests

should be a light to the people by reason of their purity, charity, and good learning. It was long before the Italian Church took notice of the Spanish movement. The Popes and cardinals of the period clung to the pleasant gardens of the Renaissance, and found it hard to abandon the life of worldliness and self-indulgence to which they had become accustomed. The middle of the century had been passed before the Papacy, in the person of Paul IV. (1555–59), definitely pledged itself to the new movement. With him begins a line of Popes who mark a reversion to the more austere ideals of the Middle Ages, maintain a rigorous moral code, and devote themselves with eager zeal to ecclesiastical interests. The good example set in the high places could not but affect the rank and file. The ignorance, drunkenness, and licentiousness which the humanists had imputed to the clergy, and especially to the monks, were largely replaced in the course of the next generation by earnestness, love of study, and purity of life.

Signs of revival.

The change of temper in the body of the clergy soon made itself felt in an increased religious activity. From parish priest to bishop a new fervor animated the old rulers. One sign of it was the enrichment, in imitation of the Protestants, of the public services by the more frequent use of sermons and hortatory addresses. Still more important was the spontaneous creation of great bands of Christian volunteers who associated themselves in orders, much like those which have attended every revival in the history of the Catholic Church. If the Theatines, founded in 1524, and the Capuchins, in 1525, cannot be compared with the Franciscans and Dominicans, products of the great revival of the thirteenth century, these in their turn pale before the most effective instrument which the spirit of religious propaganda has ever forged, the order of the Jesuits.

Loyola.

The order of the Jesuits, or Society of Jesus, was founded

by Ignatius Loyola. Loyola was a Spanish nobleman whose desire, as was usual with his class, was to be a soldier, until during a long convalescence from a wound received in the field, he chanced to read some lives of Christian saints and heroes. His high-strung and exalted nature was so fired by this reading that henceforth he knew no higher ambition than, in imitation of the martyrs, to dedicate his life to the Church. His first efforts were wildly romantic and fruitless. He eventually saw that his education was not sufficient, and at thirty-three years of age began to study Latin, philosophy, and theology. While at school in Paris he made the acquaintance of some kindred spirits, and with them he founded his new society (1534) for the purpose, at first, of doing missionary work among the Mohammedans. Circumstances prevented the sailing of the enthusiasts for the Orient, whereupon they resolved to go to Rome to offer their services to the Pope and to secure his sanction for their order. In 1540, after considerable hesitation, Pope Paul III. confirmed the order and the rules which Loyola had composed for it.

The order of the Jesuits.

It was not unnatural that Loyola, an old soldier, should have modelled his order somewhat after the army. Discipline, an iron discipline, was its main characteristic. Only after a long period of probation was a novice admitted to full membership. The trend of the long training was to divest the candidate of his personal will and to persuade him to merge his individuality in the will of the order. This general will was personified by the general, the supreme head, who ruled the members like a regiment of soldiers. In an organization where all private desires and ambitions are eradicated, and only one voice of command makes itself heard, there is bound to be achieved a perfect unity and cohesion. The members serving under the general were of four classes: (1) coadjutors temporal or

lay brothers, (2) scholastics who, as teachers in the school, were preparing themselves for higher service, (3) coadjutors spiritual or priests, who had taken the three vows of obedience, poverty, and chastity, and (4) the professed who, in addition to the three vows, had taken a fourth vow of special obedience to the Pope. Only the professed had a voice in the government of the society, and the fourth vow imposed upon them reveals that the order was conceived as the prop and weapon of the Papacy. Thus it will be seen that the order, although it maintained affiliations with the laity by admitting merchants, nobles, and statesmen, as it were, into its outer court-yard, was substantially a congregation of priests. As such its labors were determined for it. They were preaching mission work and education.

Growth of the order.

The society grew prodigiously in numbers and in wealth. When Loyola, its first general, died in 1556 it was already a factor to be reckoned with, and before the end of the century it possessed many thousand members and supported several hundred colleges and houses, scattered everywhere over Catholic Europe. Recognizing that youth is the impressionable age, the maintenance of schools became one of the chief activities of the society, and thanks to the energy and zeal of its members their system of instruction reached a high degree of excellence. In fact, the Jesuits remained for many generations the foremost educators of Europe. But important as were the young, the old were not neglected. The Jesuits became famous preachers, and as priests acquired much skill in the treatment of the conscience and in resolving the doubts which beset at times even the sturdiest believer. By reason of this gift they were generally in demand as confessors, in which capacity they found their way into the councils of the mighty of the earth, and exercised considerable, though indefinable, political sway.

Their schools.

Their preaching.

Sustained by their devotion to the Catholic cause they carried their propaganda across the seas among the Hindoos, Japanese, and Chinese of Asia and among the Indians of America, and were not afraid to penetrate into the Protestant north in the hope of winning the revolted peoples back to Mother Church. Nor were these efforts without fruit. If the Roman Church was enabled to raise its head again in Germany and England, it was chiefly due to the secret, tireless, and death-defying labors of the Jesuits. In the course of the seventeenth century Germany was startled by the news of the return of many a Protestant prince to the Church of Rome, and when the Scottish Stuarts upon the British throne and the electoral family of Saxony, the cradle of the Reformation, sued to be readmitted to the papal fold, the outlook for Protestantism became dark and threatening.

Their propaganda.

But the Jesuits were not the only assistants that Rome prepared for service in the period of its revival. Other important aids were the Inquisition, the Council of Trent, and the Index.

The Inquisition, set up in Rome in 1542, was an ecclesiastical court of inquiry, intrusted with the ferreting out of heresy and the punishment of those who propagated it. It was not a novel idea, for a similar court of Inquisition had proved its efficacy in the Middle Ages by destroying the Albigensian heretics of southern France; but it had been allowed to lapse in the fifteenth century except in Spain, where a use was found for it in dealing with the special conditions created in the peninsula by the presence of a large number of Jews and Moors. When the Papacy at last awakened to the danger to which it was exposed by the new heresies of Luther and Calvin, it naturally bethought itself of this ancient weapon. The bull of 1542, which created the Inquisition, was soon followed by others which gave the institution its definitive organization. A committee of

The papal Inquisition.

cardinals, sitting at Rome, investigated all cases of heresy denounced to it, declared their sentence of imprisonment, confiscation, or death, and were empowered to despatch other inquisitors to any point where they seemed to be needed. It was the papal ambition to give this committee a jurisdiction as wide as that of the Church itself, but herein Rome was disappointed. The Spanish Inquisition, so terribly efficient long before the Roman Inquisition was established, had become closely associated with the royal power, and resented any interference with its operation. In other countries there were similar difficulties; either the bishops, or the king, or some other established power blocked the way to the papal pretensions. Heresy these countries had punished in the past and would continue to punish, but they had done it with the aid of already existing courts, and plainly told the Pope that they would have none of his interference. Consequently, the Roman Inquisition never exercised any notable activity except in Italy. If we hear of systematic persecution elsewhere—and there was an abundance of it in every Catholic country—we should take note that it was accomplished by a local or national Inquisition, conducted by national officials, and never, as the Pope desired, intrusted to his hands as one of the functions of a centralized monarchy.

The territory of the papal Inquisition limited to Italy.

The Council of Trent.

If Jesuits and Inquisition chiefly supplied the Church with its militant vigor, the Council of Trent precisely defined the territory which Catholicism was resolved to hold and defend. We have seen, in connection with Indulgences and other points of doctrine raised by Luther, that there were many practices and beliefs in the mediæval Church which had developed gradually by custom and had never been authoritatively defined. In consequence, the Saxon reformer ventured to assert that he had as good and as Catholic sanction for his doctrine of faith as his opponents for their

doctrine of works. Charles V. believed that if Catholics and Protestants could only be brought together in a General Council, they would succeed in reducing their differences to a common formula, and so perpetuate the cherished unity of Christendom. The emperor therefore ceaselessly urged upon the Pope the duty of calling a Council. The Pope, for his part, resisted the imperial demand, mindful that the Councils of the past had threatened his absolute control, and fearful lest a Council at this juncture should mean surrender to the Protestants. In 1542 he had at length given way, and called a Council at Trent, but adjourned it again before it had held a single session. Whenever the emperor had the whip-hand, he obliged or persuaded the Pope to issue another call, but the result of the second (1545–47) and third meetings (1551–52) was hardly more satisfactory than the first, and when the emperor died it was with the full knowledge that his conciliar remedy for the Protestant schism had been a failure. Even if the Popes had not set their wills against the plan, it would have been wrecked upon the opposition of the Protestants themselves, who had by the middle of the century got far past the point of possible agreement. After Charles's death, however, when the mediæval reaction had definitely triumphed in the Church and all talk of concession to the Protestants had been hushed, the Council of Trent met for the fourth and last time in the years 1562–63, and set the crown upon a notable historical labor. It now took the uncompromising stand that the Protestants were heretics, that no negotiations could be carried on with them, and that the government, worship, and doctrines of the mediæval Church were exactly right as they were. Not reconciliation, as Charles had planned, but the solemn reaffirmation of the history and traditions of the Church was accepted as the purpose for which it had been called. In consequence, the Council took upon itself to formulate

authoritatively, and in a manner admitting of no dispute, the doctrines of the Catholic Church, and rendered the division of Christianity definite and final by laying a formal anathema on every Protestant opinion. The official compilation called "The Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent," in which the results of the sessions are registered, constitutes the most complete statement of the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church in existence. This precise staking off of Catholic ground was to be of the utmost advantage during the coming sharp struggle with the forces of Protestantism. Every Catholic could now instruct himself as to what he was obliged to believe and defend, and knew also what he was bound to abominate and shun.

The Papacy strengthened by the Council of Trent.

A result of Trent which must have surprised everybody, in view of the unconcealed aversion with which the Popes had viewed the prospect of a Council, was that the Papacy came out of the crisis actually strengthened. Between Councils and Popes existed an ancient rivalry over the question of the final authority in the Church. The Councils had always claimed it, but its exercise had during the last centuries been assumed by the Popes. In the Council of Trent there was a party of bishops who took their stand on the old platform of conciliar supremacy, but the papal party, assisted by the new champions of the Pope, the Jesuits, won a complete victory. The Pope came out of the Council so far in the lead that the Council has never since proved dangerous to his authority. In fact, only one Council has been called since that of Trent, the Council of the Vatican, which met in 1870, and its sole business was to vote its own abdication by solemnly affirming the dogma of the Infallibility of the Pope. But though papal infallibility was voted at a comparatively late time, it was, after all, nothing but the inevitable corollary of the absolutism which was tacitly acknowledged as early as the Council of Trent.

The Index.

Before the Council adjourned it empowered the Pope to draw up a list of prohibited books, destined to grow famous under the name of the Index. The purpose of the Index was to stigmatize the heresiarchs and to designate clearly all heretical writings, in order to preserve good Catholics from their evil influence. The Index thus authorized was published in 1564, and from that time to our own day the Papacy has maintained the policy of proscribing books which are, or seem to be, subversive of its system. Many of the epoch-making works which northern scholarship produced, not only in theology but also in the broader fields of science and culture, were incorporated in the Index, with the result that professing Catholics have been deprived of an incalculable intellectual stimulus. The gradual shifting of the mental centre of gravity from Italy, where it had rested in the Renaissance, to the countries beyond the Alps was due in no small degree to the narrow policy which shut its eyes upon progress, and timidly declared for security in place of independence.

Catholicism becomes aggressive.

We have now acquainted ourselves with the movement known as the Catholic reaction, or, quite as justly, as the Catholic Reformation. While we have assured ourselves that there was a true reformation, affecting the life and manners of the clergy, and filling the Church with new sincerity and zeal, we also have learned that there was a resolute return to, and stiffening of, the mediæval system of government and theology. The effect of the combined measures was to inspire the Church with a truly electrical energy. If in the course of the first half of the sixteenth century it had been driven from position after position until the very sparrows on the house-tops prophesied its early fall, beginning approximately with the creation of the Jesuits it rallied its scattered and defeated forces, strongly fortified its remaining territory, and not only stopped all further advance, but

soon undertook to reconquer its lost provinces. Protestantism was now threatened in its turn, and the struggle which ensued is the central interest in European history for the rest of the century.

CHAPTER VI

SPAIN UNDER CHARLES I. (1516–56), KNOWN AS EMPEROR CHARLES V., AND PHILIP II. (1556–98); HER WORLD EMINENCE AND HER DECAY

REFERENCES: JOHNSON, Europe in the Sixteenth Century, Chapters III., IV., V. (rivalry with France), VII. (Philip); ARMSTRONG, The Emperor Charles V.; M. A. S. HUME, Philip II.; M. A. S. HUME, Spain, 1479–1788; LEA, The Moriscoes in Spain; CAMBRIDGE MODERN HISTORY, Vol. II., Chapters II., III.; and Vol. III., Chapters XV., XVI.

SOURCE READINGS: ROBINSON, Readings, Vol. II., Chapter XXVIII., Parts 3 and 4 (Charles and Philip).

The reign of Charles I., 1516–56.

FROM the Spanish national point of view it was a great misfortune that Charles I. (1516–56) was elected to the Empire in 1519, and became Emperor Charles V. Henceforth, having duties to perform in Germany, he could no longer give his whole time to Spain. In fact, from the time of his imperial election he seems gradually to have lost sight of any strictly national point of view; he became, above all, desirous of playing a grand European rôle, and that naturally brought with it a division of his service and a perpetual compromise of the interests of all the nations which he represented. Now, the interests of Spain and Germany were not necessarily opposed. One great interest, the defeat of the Turks, who were pushing along the Danube into Germany, and along the Mediterranean toward Spain, they even had in common; but what had Germany to do with the emperor's Italian wars or his colonial policy, and what