

It would be a mistake to credit Luther with the Reformation. His bold spirit and masculine character gave to him the front place, and drew around him the less daring spirits who were glad to have a leader to whom to refer their doubts, and on whom their responsibility might partly rest; yet Luther was but the exponent of a public sentiment which had long been gaining strength, and which in any case would not have lacked expression. In that great movement of the human mind he was not the cause, but the instrument. Had his great opponent Erasmus enjoyed the physical vigor and practical boldness of Luther, he would have been handed down as the heresiarch of the sixteenth century.¹ He, too, had borne his full share in preparing the minds of men for what was to come, and nothing can give us a more thorough conviction of the readiness of the public to welcome a radical change than the wealth of indignant bitterness which Erasmus, himself a canon regular and a priest, heaps upon all orders of the church, and the immense applause which everywhere greeted his attacks. His sarcastic humor, his biting satire, his exquisite ridicule, nowhere find a more congenial subject than the vices of the monks, the priests, the prelates, the cardinals, and even of the pope himself. It affords a curious illustration of the times to read those writings which a century earlier would have consigned him to the dungeon or the stake, and to reflect that he was not only the admiration of both the learned and the vulgar of Europe, but also the petted protégé of king and kaiser, the correspondent of popes, and finally the most honored champion of the system which he had so ruthlessly reviled, and which he never ceased to deplore.² The extraordinary favor with

¹ The Epist. Obscur. Viror. probably reflects the general sentiment of the conservatives of the time in denouncing Erasmus and the learned wits as heretics. "Quia juvenes volunt se æquiparare senibus, et discipuli magistris, et juristæ theologis, et est magna confusio, et surgunt multi hæretici et pseudochristiani, Iohann. Reuchlin, Erasmus Roterodamus: Bilibaldus nescio quis, et Ulricus Huttenus, Hermannus Buschius, Jacobus Wimphelingus, qui scripsit con-

tra Augustinenses, et Sebastianus Brandt, qui scripsit contra prædicatores, etc."

So, at a later date, after Luther had arisen, the "Conciliabulum Theologistarum" classes them together "Habeo etiam ego unum spiritum familiarem; illum ego volo mittere ad Lutherum et Erasmum de nocte in lectum, ut eos tribulet et vexet."

² The popular view of the priesthood is well summed up by Erasmus

which his works were received by all classes shows how fully he was justified in the indignation which he so unsparingly lavished on clerical abuses, and how eagerly the public appreciated one who could so well express that which was felt by all. Equally significant was the popularity of the "Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum," in which the learned wits of the new school poured forth upon the clergy a broad and homely ridicule which exactly suited the taste of the age.¹

in the following dialogue: "COCLES, Cur mavis sacerdotium quam uxorem? —PAMPHAGUS, Quia mihi placet otium. Arridet Epicurea vita.—Co. At mea sententia suavius vivunt, quibus est lepida puella domi, quam complectantur, quoties libet.—PAM. Sed adde, nonnunquam quum non libet. Amo voluptatem perpetuam. Qui ducit uxorem, uno mense felix est: cui contingit optimum sacerdotium, in omnem usque vitam fruitur gaudio.—Co. Sed tristis est solitudo, adeo ut nec Adam suaviter victurus fuerit in Paradiso nisi Deus illi adjunxisset Evam.—PAM. Non deerit Eva cui sit opulentum sacerdotium," &c.—Erasmii Colloq. de Captandis Sacerdotiis.

It is, however, perhaps, in the "Encomium Moriae" that he gives fullest rein to his bitter satire. His own sad experience of conventual life gave him special opportunity of declaiming against the monks "qui se vulgo religiosos ac monachos appellant, utroque falsissimo cognomine, quum et bona pars istorum longissime absit a religione, et nulli magis omnibus locis sint obvii." Their habit, their observances, their discipline, their ignorance, idleness, vices, are recounted at great length and with the most stinging ridicule—"rursum alios qui pecuniæ contactum ceu acornitum horreant, nec a vino interim nec a mulierum contactu temperantes." Even the names of the various orders cannot escape his biting humor. "Porro magna felicitatis pars est in cognomentis, dum hi Funigeros appellari se gaudent, et inter hos alii Coletas alii Minores: alii Minimos: alii Bullistas. Rursum hi Benedictinos, illi Bernardinos, hi Brigidenses, illi Augustinenses: hi Guilhelmitas, illi Jacobitas, quasi vero

parum est dici Christianos"—and he makes Folly dismiss them with the contemptuous valediction "Verum ego istos histriones, tam ingratos beneficiorum meorum dissimulatores quam improbos simulatores pietatis libenter relinquo." The secular priesthood, the bishops, and even the pope himself, are treated with little more respect, and the general negligence and inefficiency of the whole ecclesiastical body are summed up—"Rursus sacerdotes qui sese vocant seculares, quasi mundo initiati non Christo, in regulares onus hoc devolvunt, regulares in monachos, monachi laxiores in arctiores, omnes simul in mendicantes, mendicantes in Carthusienses, apud quos solos sepulta latet pietas, et adeo latet ut vix unquam liceat conspiciere. Itidem pontifices in messe pecuniaria diligentissimi labores illos nimium Apostolicos in episcopos relegant, episcopi in pastores, pastores in vicarios, vicarii in fratres mendicantes. Hi rursus in eos retrudunt a quibus ovium lana tondetur."

The "Encomium Moriae" had an immediate and immense success. Numberless editions were required to supply the avidity of the learned, and it was immediately translated into almost every language of Europe for the benefit of the unlearned. It appeared in 1509; the Colloquies in 1516.—When these works had produced their result, their dangerous tendencies were discovered, and they enjoyed the honor of being included in the first Index Expurgatorius. (App. Concil. Trident.)

¹ The "Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum" was certainly published before 1516, probably in 1515. (Ebert, Bib-

Not less indicative of the dangerous state of opinion was an address delivered in the Diet held at Augsburg in 1518, when the legates of Leo X. appealed to Germany for a tithe to assist in carrying on the war against the Turk. The orator who replied to them did not restrain his indignation at the deplorable condition of the church, which he attributed solely to the worldly ambition of the popes. Since they had united temporal with spiritual dominion—or, rather, since they had allowed temporal interests to divert them wholly from their spiritual duties—all had gone amiss. Christendom was despoiled from without, and filled with tumult within. Religion was openly contemned; Christ was daily bought and sold; the sheep were shorn, and the pastor took no care of them. He did not even hesitate to charge, with emphasis and at much detail, that the money extorted from Germany under pious pretexts was squandered in Italy on the private quarrels and for the aggrandizement of the papal houses, and those of the members of the sacred college.¹ A state of feeling which dictated and permitted such a declaration from the supreme representative body of the empire, when brought into collision with the pretensions of the Holy See, now more exaggerated than ever, could have but one result—Revolution.

With all this license Germany was still, by the force of circumstances, less independent of the papacy than any other Tramontane power. What was going on elsewhere in Europe may be guessed from the humiliating conditions exacted in 1517 of Silvester Darius, the papal collector, on his assuming

liog. Dict. s. v.)—It is equally severe upon the monks—"Tunc ille dixit: ego distinguo de monachis, quia accipiuntur tribus modis. Primo, pro sanctis et utilibus, sed illi sunt in cœlo. Secundo, pro nec utilibus nec inutilibus, et illi sunt picti in ecclesia. Tertio modo pro illis qui adhuc vivunt, et illi multis nocent, etiam non sunt sancti, quia ita superbi sunt sicut unus sæcularium. Et ita libenter habent pecunias et pulchras mulieres, etc." And again, "Ubi enim diabolus pervenire vel aliquid efficere non potest, ibi semper mittit unam

malam antiquam vetulam vel unum monachum."

¹ "Pontifices vero Romani, postquam cœperunt prophana cum sacris conjungere, imo relictis sacris solum prophana admirari, quam bene consultum fuerit reipublicæ Christianæ, eventus comprobavit. Amissis externis, interna infinitis seditionibus conturbantur; divina dispiciuntur, venditur Christus, lana ovium tondetur, de custodia nullum studium, etc."—Orat. in Comit. Augustan. (Freher. et Struv. II. 702.)

the functions of his important office in England. He bound himself by oath not to execute any letters or mandates of the pope injurious to the king, the kingdom, or the laws; not to transmit from England to Rome, without a special royal license, any gold, or silver, or bills of exchange; not to leave the kingdom himself without a special license under the great seal; with other less notable restrictions, the practical effect of all being to place him and his duties wholly under the control of the king.¹ The position of England had changed since the days of Innocent and John. Had the dissensions of Germany permitted equal progress, Luther might perhaps have only been known as an obscure but learned orthodox doctor, and the inevitable revolt of half of Christendom have been postponed for a century.

It is not my province to follow in detail the vicissitudes of the Reformation, but only to indicate briefly its relations with sacerdotal asceticism. Luther, at first, like Wickliffe and Huss, paid no attention to the subject. It seems rather singular that, when attacking the system of the Roman church, neither of these reformers should have recognized the importance of celibacy as a portion of the claim to exclusive sanctity on which the structure rested, and how great was the practical power which it conferred for mutual attack and defence. Still more remarkable is it, that, starting with denying the extreme doctrine of justification by works, with its concomitant abuses, and after arriving by degrees to the point of rejecting all tradition and recurring to the sole authority of the Scriptures, with the right of private interpretation, the traditional rule of celibacy should not have shared the fate of other traditional observances of sacerdotalism. Even as with Wickliffe his followers were bolder than their leader, so with Luther his admirers were the first to claim a privilege which he had not ventured to mark with the seal of his approbation.

During the earlier portion of his career, Luther abstained from touching the subject. In fact, when, on the 31st of Oc-

¹ Rymer, *Fœdera* XIII. 586-7.

tober, 1517, he nailed on the church door of Wittenberg his celebrated ninety-five propositions, nothing was further from his expectations than to create a heresy, a schism, or even a general reform in the church. He had simply in view to vindicate his ideas on the subject of justification, derived from St. Augustin, against the Thomist doctrines which had been exaggerated into the monstrous abuses of Tetzels and his fellows.¹ In the general agitation and opposition to Rome which pervaded society, however, it was impossible for a bold and self-reliant spirit such as his not to advance step by step in a career of which the ultimate goal was as little foreseen by himself as by others. Yet his progress was wonderfully slow. Even in 1519 he still considered himself within the pale of the church, and held that no wrong committed by her could justify a separation or excuse any resistance to the commands of a pope.² Events soon after forced him to further and more dangerous innovations, yet when Leo X., in June, 1520, issued his celebrated bull, "Exsurge Domine" to crush the rising heresy, in the forty-one errors enumerated as taught by Luther, there is no allusion to any doctrine specially inimical to ascetic celibacy.³

Although this condemnation and excommunication, by shutting the gate of reconciliation, drove Luther into open opposition, and led him to attack the fundamental positions of sacerdotal catholicism, he still abstained from interference with the obligation of perpetual continence. Absorbed in the discussion of doctrinal points, he apparently had not leisure, or was not as yet prepared to assert the practical deductions from his own theories. In 1520 he already denied the indelible character of priestly ordination, which was the

¹ Even in this, Luther was by no means the first. In the *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*, a vender of indulgences is introduced, as praising his wares from the pulpit "Ecce, hic habetis indulgentias, et literas indulgentiales, et quod scriptum est in illas est ita verum et credendum sicut Evangelium. Et quando accipitis illas indulgentias, tunc estis ita absoluti, sicut Christus met venisset et absoluisset vos. Tunc Doctor Reyss tenuit oppo-

situm, dicens: Nihil est comparandum cum Evangelio, et qui bene facit bene vivit. Et si aliquis centies acceperit istas indulgentias, et non bene vixerit, peribit, nec adjuvabitur per istas indulgentias."

² Ranke, *Reformation in Germany*, B. II. chap. 3.

³ *Mag. Bull. Roman.* Ed. 1692, l. 64.

twin sister of celibacy in separating the clergy from the mass of believers; long since he had contemned the authority of tradition and the binding force of canon and decretal in building up a structure of religious observances not founded on Scripture; yet still the discipline of the church seemed sacred in his eyes, and the social corruptions springing from it called forth no protest or remedy. Yet it seems almost incredible that he should not have recognized from the first how utterly his doctrine of justification by faith destroyed the efficacy of celibacy, as of all other ascetic observances.

His followers led the way in a path which he had either passed unobserved or feared to enter. It was during his enforced seclusion in Wartburg, from April, 1521, to March, 1522, even before any theoretical discussions on the point had taken place, that Bartholomew Bernhardi, pastor of Kammerich, near Wittenberg, solved the matter in the most practical way by obtaining the consent of his parish and celebrating his nuptials with all due solemnity. Albert, Archbishop of Mainz and Magdeburg, addressed to Frederic, Elector of Saxony, a demand for the rendition of the culprit, which that prudent patron of the Reformation skilfully eluded, and Bernhardi published a short defence or apology in which he denounced the rule of celibacy as a "*frivolam traditiunculam*." He argued the matter, quoting the texts which since his time have been generally employed in support of sacerdotal marriage; he referred to Peter and Philip, Spiridon of Cyprus, and Hilary of Poitiers, as examples of married bishops, quoted the story of Paphnutius, and relied on the authority of the Greek church. This apparently did not satisfy the archbishop, for Bernhardi felt obliged to address a second apology to Frederic of Saxony, to whom he appealed for protection against the displeasure of his ecclesiastical superiors.¹ In spite of molestation, he continued in the exercise of his priestly functions until death. Less fortunate were his immediate imitators. A priest of Mansfeldt who took to himself a wife was thrown into prison at Halle by the Archbishop of Mainz, and Jacob Siedeler, pastor of Glashütten, in Meissen,

¹ Lutheri Opp. Ed. Vuitemb. T. II. pp. 209, 211.

who was guilty of the same crime, perished miserably in the dungeon of Stolpen, to which he was committed by Duke George of Saxony.¹

The enthusiastic Carlostadt, relieved for the time from the restraint of Luther's cooler wisdom, threw himself with zeal into this new movement of reform, and lost no time in justifying it by a treatise in which he argued strenuously in favor of priestly marriage, and energetically denounced the monastic vows as idle and vain. Luther, however, in his retreat, was inclined to regard these proceedings with disapprobation. His letters to Melancthon show that he had paid the subject little attention, but that he felt doubts whether those who were vowed to chastity could break their vows, and that he was entirely opposed to such marriages.² Either with or without his consent, however, his friends lost no time in adopting the new dogma which they proclaimed to the world in the most authoritative manner. During the same year Luther's own Augustinian order held a provincial synod at Wittenberg, in which they formally threw open the doors of the monasteries, and permitted all who desired it to return to the world, declaring that in Christ there was no distinction between Jew and Greek, monk and layman, and that a vow in opposition to the gospel was no vow, but an impiety. Ceremonies, observances, and dress were pronounced futile; those who chose to abide by the established rule were free to do so, but their preferences were not to be a law to their fellows. Those who were fitted for preaching the word were advised to depart; those who remained were obliged to perform the manual labor which had been so prominent a portion of primeval Teutonic monasticism, and mendicancy was strictly forbidden. In a few short and simple canons a radical rebellion thus declared itself in the heart of an ancient and powerful order, and principles were promulgated which were totally at variance with sacerdotalism in all its protean forms.³

¹ Spalatin. Annal. ann. 1521.

² Henke, App. ad Calixt. pp. 593-4.

³ Synod. Vuitemberg. (Lutheri Opp. I. 201.) The first canon sufficiently illustrates the spirit of the whole. "Primo ergo permittimus

omnibus vel manere in monasteria vel deserere monasticen. Quando qui in Christo sunt, nec Judæi nec Græci, nec monachi nec laici sunt. Et votum contra Evangelium non votum sed impietas est."

This broad spirit of toleration did not suit the views of the more progressive reformers. In Luther's own Augustinian convent at Wittenberg, one of his most zealous adherents, Gabriel Zwilling, preached against monachism in general, taking the ground that salvation required the renunciation of their vows by all who had been ensnared into assuming the cowl; and so great was his success that thirteen monks at once abandoned the convent. Yet even on Luther's return to Wittenberg, he at first took no part in the movement. He retained his Augustinian habit, and continued his residence in the convent; but before the close of the year (1522) he put forth his work, "De Votis Monasticis," in which he fully and finally adopted the views of his friends, and showed himself as an uncompromising enemy of monasticism.¹ How difficult it was for him, however, to shake off the habitudes in which he had been trained is shown by the fact that, even at the end of 1523, he still sometimes preached in his cowl and sometimes without it.²

Notwithstanding the zealous opposition of the orthodox ecclesiastical authorities, the doctrine and practice of Wittenberg were not long in finding earnest defenders and imitators. But few such marriages, it is true, are recorded in 1522, although Balthazar Sturmius, an Augustinian monk of Saxony, committed the bolder indiscretion of marrying a widow of Franconia. In that year, however, we find Franz von Sickingen, knight errant and condottiero, who was then a power in the state, advocating the emancipation and marriage of the religious orders, in a letter to his father-in-law, Die-drich von Hentschuchsheim. Still more important was the movement inaugurated in Switzerland by Ulrich Zwingli, who, with ten other monks of Nôtre-Dame-des-Hermites, on the 2d of July, 1522, addressed to Hugo von Hohenlandenberg, Bishop of Constance, a petition requesting the privilege of marriage. The petitioners boldly argued the matter, citing

¹ Lutheri Opp. II. 269 et seq.—In this edition the tract is dated 1522 in the index and 1521 in the text. Henke and Ranke, however, agree in assigning it to a period subsequent to his return from Wartburg.

² Spalatin. Annal. ann. 1523.—The fact that Spalatin recorded whether he wore the cowl or not, shows the importance which Luther's friends attached to his example with respect to it.

the usual Scriptural authorities, and adjured the bishop in the most pressing terms to grant their request. They warned him that a refusal might entail ruinous disorders on the whole sacerdotal body, and that, unless he seized the opportunity to guide the movement, it might speedily assume a most disastrous shape. They asserted, indeed, that not only in Switzerland, but elsewhere, it was generally believed that a majority of ecclesiastics had already chosen their future wives, and that a return to the old order of things was beyond the power of man to accomplish.¹

In this assertion, Zwingli and his companions followed perhaps rather the dictates of their hopes than of their judgment, for the revolution was by no means as universal or immediate as their threats or warnings would indicate. Its progress, nevertheless, was rapid and decided. Luther, whom we have seen in 1522 still hesitating whether to approve the daring innovation of his followers, in April, 1523, himself officiated and preached a sermon in favor of matrimony to a multitude of distinguished friends at the wedding of Wenceslas Link, vicar of the Augustinian order, one of his oldest and most valued supporters, who had stood unflinchingly by him when arraigned by Cardinal Caietano before the Emperor Maximilian at the Diet of Augsburg.² Not less important was the countenance given to the innovation, two days later, by the Elector Frederic, who consented to act as sponsor at the baptism of the first-born of Franz Gunther, pastor of Loch;³ the

¹ Jam rumor est plerosque conjuges dudum designasse, non modo apud Helvetios nostros, verum etiam passim apud omnes, quod sopire profecto supra vires fuerit non modo tuas, sed longe potentiores, pace tua dixerimus. —Spalatin. Annal. ann. 1522.

² Spalatin. Annal. ann. 1523. — Thammii Chron. Colditens. — Link married a daughter of Suicer, a lawyer of Oldenburg in Meissen, and the bride's example was shortly afterwards followed by her two sisters, one of whom was united to Wolfgang Fuess, parish priest of Kolditz, and formerly a monk of Gera; while the other accepted the addresses of the

parish priest of Kitscheren. (Spalatin, ubi sup.)

³ Spalatin, ubi sup.—How these innovations were regarded in Rome is manifested in a minatory epistle addressed, in 1522, by Adrian II. to the Elector Frederic of Saxony. "Et cum ipse sit apostata ac professionis sue desertor, ut plurimos sui faciat similes, sancta illa Deo vasa polluere non veretur, consecratasque virgines et vitam monasticam professas extrahere a monasteriis suis, et mundo imo diabolo, quem semel abjuraverunt, reddere . . . Christi sacerdotes etiam vilissimis copulat meretricibus etc." (Hartzheim, VI. 192.)

The Lutherans did not escape the

ceremony being performed by the honest chronicler Spalatin himself.

It is curious to see in Spalatin's diary how each successive marriage is recorded as a matter of the utmost interest, the hopes of the reformers being strengthened by every accession to the ranks of those who dared to defy the rules which had been deemed irreversible for centuries. Nor was it an act without danger, for no open rupture had as yet taken place between the temporal power of any state and the central authority at Rome. Even in Electoral Saxony, though Duke Frederic, by a cautious course of passive resistance, afforded protection to the heretics, yet he still considered himself a Catholic, and the ritual of his chapel was unaltered. Elsewhere the ecclesiastical power was bent on asserting its supremacy over the licentious apostates who ventured to sully their vows and prostitute the sacrament of marriage by their incestuous unions, and wherever the discipline of the church could be enforced, it was done unsparingly. The temper of these endeavors to repress the movement is well illustrated by the regulations promulgated under the authority of the Cardinal-legate Campeggi, when, in 1524, he succeeded in uniting a number of reactionary princes at the Assembly of Ratisbon. Deploring the sacrilege committed in the marriages of priests and monks, which were becoming extremely common, he granted permission to the secular powers to seize all such apostates and deliver them to the ecclesiastical officials, significantly restraining them, however, from inflicting torture. The officials were empowered to condemn the offenders to perpetual imprisonment, or to hand them over to the secular arm—a decent euphuism for a frightful death; and any negli-

charge of indiscriminate licentiousness, which we have seen asserted of every heresy in every age, for the purpose of exciting popular odium. In 1527, at the Council of Mainz, Frederic Nausea, surnamed Blancicampianus, afterwards Bishop of Vienna, delivered an address on the subject of ecclesiastical reform, in which he inveighed bitterly against the Lu-

theran doctrines, asserting "*Monialibus (proh æternum dedecus!) præstare potius quam sub jugo esse monastico, suadent, quibus eapropter vice scortorum execrando abutuntur connubio: conjugia, ut cynici, posthabita omni honestate, communia faciunt.*"—*Synod. Mogunt. ann. 1527 (Hartzheim, VI. 207).*

gence on the part of the ordinaries exposed those officers to the pains and penalties of heresy.¹

In spite of all this, however, the votaries of marriage had the support and sympathy of the great body of the people. It shows how widely diffused and strongly implanted was the conviction of the evils of celibacy, when those who four centuries earlier had so cruelly persecuted their pastors for not discarding their wives now urged them to marriage, and were ready to protect them from the consequences of the act. Thus, during the summer of 1524, Wolfgang Fabricius Capito, provost of St. Thomas and priest of the church of St. Peter at Strasburg, by the request of his parishioners, took to himself a wife, and when the chapter of canons endeavored to interfere with him, the threatening aspect of the populace warned them to desist. Nor was this the only case, for Bishop William undertook to excommunicate all the married priests of Strasburg, when the senate of the city resolutely espoused their cause, and even the authority of the legate Campeggi could not reconcile the quarrel.²

Even higher protection was sometimes not wanting. When Adrian II., in 1522, reproached the Diet of Nürnberg with the inobservance of the decree of Worms and the consequent growth of Lutheranism, and King Ferdinand, in the name of the German states, replied that a council for the reformation of the church was the only remedy, the question of married priests arose for discussion. The German princes alleged that they could find in the civil and municipal laws no provisions for the punishment of such transgressions, and that the canons of discipline could only be enforced by the ecclesiastical authorities themselves, who ought not to be interfered with in the discharge of their duty by the secular authorities.³

¹ Reformat. Cleri German. ann. 1524, c. 26 (Goldast. III. 491).

² Spalatin. Annal. ann. 1524.

³ Respons. S. R. I. Ordinum Norimb. cap. 18 (Goldast. Const. Imp. I. 455).—With this the Legate Cheregato professed himself to be content, but he bitterly complained of an intimation that if these apostate priests

and nuns transgressed the laws in any other way, the secular tribunals would punish them. He held that, though apostates, they were still ecclesiastics, only amenable to the courts Christian, and he protested against any violation of the privileges and jurisdiction of the church such as would be committed in bringing them before a civil magistrate. (Ibid. p. 456.)

This was scant encouragement, but even this was often denied in practice. When, in 1523, Conrad von Tungen, Bishop of Wurzburg, threw into prison two of his canons, the doctors John Apel and Frederic Fischer, for the crime of marrying nuns, the Council of Regency at Nürnberg forced him to liberate them in a few weeks.¹ This latter fact is the more remarkable, since, but a short time previous (March 6th, 1523), the Imperial Diet at Nürnberg, under the auspices of the same Regency, had expressed its desire to give every assistance to the ecclesiastical authority in enforcing the canons. In a decree on the subject of the religious disturbances, it adopted the canon law on celibacy as part of the civil law, pronouncing sentence of imprisonment and confiscation on all members of the clergy who should marry, and ordering the civil power in all cases to assist the ecclesiastical in its efforts to punish offenders.²

The emancipation of nuns excited considerable public interest, and in many instances was effected by aid from without. A certain Leonhard Kopp, who was a determined enemy of monachism, rendered himself somewhat notorious by exploits of the kind. One of the earliest instances was that by which, on Easter eve, 1523, at considerable risk, he succeeded in carrying off from the convent of Nimptschen, in Meissen, eight young virgins of noble birth, all of whom were subsequently married, and one of whom was Catharine von Bora.³ The example was contagious. Before the month was out six nuns, all of noble blood, left the abbey of Sormitz, and soon after eight escaped from that of Peutwitz, at Weissenfels.⁴ Monks enfranchised themselves with still less trouble. At

¹ Spalatin. ann. 1523.

² De personis ecclesiasticis matrimonium contrahentibus, item de religiosis personis deserentibus sua monasteria, cum in communi jure civili nulla peculiariter constituta sit pœna, valeant et ratæ sint illæ quæ jure canonico in tales decernuntur, amissio videlicet libertatis, privilegiorum, beneficiorum et aliarum rerum. Atque ut ordinarii in exequutione istarum pœnarum a civili magistratu nequa-

quam impediuntur, sed illis ad defensionem ecclesiasticæ jurisdictionis opem auxiliumque ferant.—Edict. Norimb. Convent. ann. 1523, c. 10, 18, 19 (Goldast. II. 151).—This illustrates well the vacillating conduct of the council of regency during this period.

³ Chron. Torgaviæ — Spalatin. Anal. ann. 1523.

⁴ Spalatin. ubi sup.

Nürnberg, in 1524, the Augustinians in a body threw off their cowls and proclaimed themselves citizens.¹

Finally, on the 13th of June, 1525, Luther gave the last and most unquestionable proof of his adhesion to the practice of sacerdotal marriage by publicly espousing Catharine von Bora, whom we have seen escaping two years before from the convent of Nimptschen. Scandal, it would seem, had been busy with the intimacy between the pious doctor and the fair renegade, who had spent nearly the whole period of her liberty at Wittenberg, and Luther, with the practical decision of character which distinguished him, suddenly resolved to put the most effectual stop to rumors which his enemies doubtless were delighted to circulate. The marriage took his friends completely by surprise; many of them disapproved of it, and Justus Jonas, in communicating the fact to Spalatin, characterizes it as a startling event, and evidently feels that his correspondent will require the most incontrovertible evidence of the fact, when he declares that he himself had been present and had seen the bridegroom in the marriage bed.²

¹ Spalatin. Annal. ann. 1524.

² *Rei insigniter novæ. . . Heri adfui rei et vidi sponsum in thalamo jacentem.*—Ibid. ann. 1525.

Pomeranius, a priest of Wittenberg, in writing to Spalatin, gives as the reason of Luther's marriage—"Maligna fama effecit ut Doct. Martinus insperato fieret conjunx;" and Luther, in a letter to the same, admits this even more distinctly—"Os obstruxi infamantibus me cum Catherina Borana." That his action was not generally approved by his friends is apparent from his asking Michael Stiefel to pray that his new life may sanctify him—"Nam vehementer irritantur sapientes, etiam inter nostros."—Spalatin. ubi sup.

That surprise or opposition should have been aroused is singular, when he had already proclaimed the most extreme views in favor of matrimony. As early as 1522 he delivered his famous "Sermo de Matrimonio," in which he enjoins it in the strictest manner as a duty incumbent upon all. Thus, in considering the impedi-

ments to marriage, he treats of vows, concerning which he says: "Sin votum admissum est, videndum tibi est, ut supra memoravi, num tribus eviratorum generibus comprehendaris, quæ conjugio ademit Deus, ubi te in aliquo istorum uno non repereris, votum rescindas, monasticen deseras oportet; moxque ad naturalem sociam adjungas te matrimonii lege."—P. i. c. 8 (Opp. V. 121). To this must be added his decided opinions on the subject of conjugal rights, as developed in the well-known passage which has excited so much animadversion, and which, if we are to interpret it literally, conveys a doctrine which sounds so strangely as the precept of a teacher of morality. In treating of the causes of divorce, he remarks: "Tertia ratio est, ubi alter alteri sese subduxerit, ut debitam benevolentiam persolvere nolit, aut habitare cum renuerit. Reperiuntur enim interdum adeo pertinaces uxores, qui etiam si decies in libidinem prolabantur mariti pro sua durtia non curarent. Hic opportunum est ut maritus dicat 'Si tu nolueris, alia volet.'

It is not difficult to explain why there was so ready and general an acquiescence in the abrogation of a rule established by the veneration of so many centuries. Not only had the doctrines of the reformers taken a deep and firm hold of the popular heart throughout Germany, destroying the reverence for tradition and antiquity, and releasing the human mind from the crushing obligation of blind obedience, but there were other motives, natural, if not particularly creditable. The ecclesiastical foundations had long neglected the duties of charity, hospitality, and education, on which were grounded their claims to their broad lands and rich revenues. While, therefore, the temporal princes might be delighted with the opportunity of secularizing and seizing the church possessions, the people might reasonably hope that the increase of their rulers' wealth would alleviate their own burdens, as well as release them from the direct oppression which many of them suffered from the religious establishments. Even more potential was the disgust everywhere felt for the flagrant immorality of the priesthood. The dread experienced by every husband and father lest wife and daughter might at any moment fall victims to the lust of those who had every opportunity for the gratification of unholy passions, led them to welcome the change, in the hope that it would result in restoring decency and virtue to a class which had long seemed to regard its sacred character as the shield and instrument of crime.

The moral character of the clergy, indeed, had not improved during the busy and eventful years which marked the first quarter of the sixteenth century. How great was its degradation we can guess, when, in the little town of Hof, in the Vogtland, three priests could be found defiling the sacredness of Ash-Wednesday by fiercely fighting over a

Si domina nolit, adveniat ancilla, ita tamen ut antea iterum et tertio uxorem admoneat maritus, et coram aliis ejus etiam pertinaciam detegat, ut publice et ante conspectum ecclesiæ, duritia ejus et agnoscatur et reprehendatur. Si tum renuat, repudia eam,

et in vicem Vasti, Ester surroga, Asueri regis exemplo." (Ibid. p. 123.)

One conclusion, at least, can safely be drawn from this, that the morality of the age had impressed Luther with the belief that the self-restraint of chastity was impossible.

courtesan in a house of ill-fame;¹ or when Leo X., in a feeble effort at reform, was obliged to argue that systematic licentiousness was not rendered excusable because its prevalence amounted to a custom, or because it was openly tolerated by those whose duty was to repress it.² In fact, a clause in the Concordat with Francis I. in 1516, renewing and enhancing the former punishments for public concubinage, would almost justify the assertion that the principal result of the rule of celibacy was to afford to the officials a regular revenue derived from the sale of licenses to sin³—the old complaint, which rises before us in every age from the time of Damiani and Hildebrand.

That no concealment was thought necessary, and that sensual indulgence was not deemed derogatory in any way to the character of a Christian prelate, may be reasonably deduced from the panegyric of Gerard of Nimeguen on Philip of Burgundy, granduncle of Charles V., a learned and accomplished man, who filled the important see of Utrecht from 1517 to 1524. Gerard alludes to the amorous propensities and promiscuous intrigues of his patron without reserve, and as his book was dedicated to the Archduchess Margaret, sister of Charles V., it is evident that he did not feel his remarks to be defamatory. The good prelate, too, no doubt represented the

¹ Wideman. Chron. Curiaë, ann. 1505.

² Neque superiorum tolerantia, seu prava consuetudo, quæ potius corruptela dicenda est, a multitudine peccantium, aliave quælibet excusatio eis aliquo modo suffragetur.—Concil. Lateran. V. ann. 1514, Sess. ix.

That Leo's protest was not uncalled for is shown by a remark in a series of canons issued by the Bishop of Ratisbon in 1512. After repeating the canon of Bâle, he proceeds—"quidam tamen clerici, . . . concubinas publice tenere adeo inverecunde præsumunt, quod quidem cæcitate mentis neque scandalum neque peccatum esse putant . . . sed eorum pravo exemplo multos quotidie inficiunt et corrumpunt."—Statut. Synod. Joan. Episc. Ratispon. ann. 1512 (Hartzheim, VI. 86).

What was the condition of clerical morality in Italy may be gathered from the stories of Bishop Bandello, who, as a Dominican and a prelate, may fairly be deemed to represent the tone of the thinking and educated classes of society. The cynical levity with which he narrates scandalous tales about monks and priests (as, for instance, *Novelle P. III. Nov. lvi.*) shows that in the public mind sacerdotal immorality was regarded almost as a matter of course.

³ Quia vero in quibusdam regionibus nonnulli jurisdictionem ecclesiasticam habentes, pecuniarios quæstus a concubinariis percipere non erubescunt, patientes eos in tali fœditate sordescere.—Concil. Lateran. V. ann. 1516, Sess. xi.

convictions of a large portion of his class, when he was wont to smile at those who urged the propriety of celibacy, and to declare his belief in the impossibility of chastity among men who, like the clergy, were pampered with high living and tempted by indolence. Those who professed to keep their vows inviolate he denounced as hypocrites of the worst description, and he deemed them far worse than their brethren who sought to avoid unnecessary scandal by decently keeping their concubines at home.¹

The powerful influence of this on the progress of the Reformation was admitted by the legate Campeggi, who was sent to Germany to check the spread of heresy. In his reformatory edict, issued at Ratisbon in 1524, he declares that the efforts of the Lutherans had no little justification in the detestable morals and lives of the clergy, and this is confirmed by his unsparing denunciation of their licentiousness, drunkenness, quarrels, and tavern-haunting; their traffic in absolution for enormous offences; their unclerical habits and hideous blasphemy; their indulgence in incantations and dabbling in witchcraft.² Very significant is his declaration

¹ Ipse enim in Venerem propensior, inque adulescentularum amoribus ardentior erat. Si quis . . . cœlibatum prædicasset, irridebat vehementer, impossibile dicens, homines integro corpore, ætate, in tanto ocio, in tanta rerum omnium copia, qui crebro aut vino calerent aut turgerent cerevisia, posse caste vivere. Quare horum castitatem impurissimam humanæ naturæ contumeliam interpretabatur. Sacrificulos qui domi concubinas alerent, simulatæ castitatis professoribus multo puriores judicabat. — Gerard. Noviomag. Philip. Burgund. (Mathæi Analect. I. 230).

² Reformat. Cleri German. (Hartzheim, VI. 198).—“Hanc perditissimam hæresin . . . non parvam habuisse occasionem, partim a perditis moribus et vita clericorum etc.”

There was no scruple in confessing this fact by those who spoke authoritatively for the Catholic church, and it long continued to be alleged as the

cause of the stubbornness of the heretics. Thus the Bishop of Constance, in the canons of his Synod of 1567—“Estote etiam memores, damnatam et detestandam cleri vitam huic malo in quo, proh dolor! versamur, majori ex parte ansam præbuisse. . . . Omnes sapientes peritique viri unanimi sententia hoc asserunt, hocque efflagitant penitus, ut prius clerus ecclesiarumque ministri ac doctores a vitæ sordibus repurgentur, quam ulla cum adversariis nostris de doctrina concordia expectari queat.” And then, after describing in the strongest terms the vices of the clergy and their unwillingness to reform, he adds “Quæ sane morum turpitudine, vehementer et tantopere imperiti populi animos offendit ut subinde magis magisque a catholica nostra religione alienior efficiatur, atque sacerdotium una cum sacerdotibus doctrinam juxta atque doctores, excretur, dirisque devoveat: ita ut protinus ad quamvis sectam deficere potius paratus sit quam quod ad ecclesiam redire

that the canonical punishments shall be inflicted on concubinary priests, in spite of all custom to the contrary or all connivance with the prelates.¹

How keenly these evils were felt by the people, and how instinctively they were referred to the rule of celibacy as to their proper origin, is shown by an incidental allusion in the formula of complaint laid before the pope by the imperial Diet held at Nürnberg early in 1522, before the heresy of priestly marriage had spread beyond the vicinity of Wittenberg or had received the sanction of Luther. The Diet, in recounting the evils arising from the ecclesiastical jurisdiction which allowed clerical offenders to enjoy virtual immunity, adduced, among other grievances, the license afforded to those who, debarred by the canons from marriage, abandoned themselves night and day to attempts upon the virtue of the wives and daughters of the laity, sometimes gaining their ends by flattery and presents, and sometimes taking advantage of the opportunities offered by the confessional. It was not uncommon, indeed, for women to be openly carried off by their priests, while their husbands and fathers were threatened with vengeance if they should attempt to recover them. As regards the sale to ecclesiastics of licenses to indulge in habitual lust, the Diet declared it to be a regular and settled matter, reduced to the form of an annual tax, which in most

velit."—Synod. Constant. ann. 1567 (Hartzheim, VII. 455).

Pius V. himself did not hesitate to adopt the same view. In an epistle addressed to the abbots and priors of the diocese of Freysingen, in 1567, he says—"Cum nobiscum ipsi cogitamus quæ res materiam præbuerit tot tantisque pestiferis hæresibus . . . tanti mali causam præcipue fuisse judicamus corruptos prælatorum mores, qui . . . eandemque vivendi licentiam iis, quibus præerant permittentes et exemplo eos suo corrumpentes, maximum apud laicos odium contemptionem et invidiam non immerito contraxerunt." (Hartzheim, VII. 586.)

¹ Reformat. Cleri German. cap. xv. —So when, in 1521, Conrad, Bishop of Würzburg, issued a mandate for the reformation of his clergy, he described

them as for the most part abandoned to gluttony, drunkenness, gambling, quarrelling, and lust.—Mandat. pro Reformat. Cleri. (Gropp, Script. Rer. Wirceburg. I. 269.)—In 1505 the Bishop of Bamberg, in complaining of his clergy, shows us how little respect was habitually paid to the incessant repetition of the canons.—"Condolenter referimus vitam et honestatem clericalem adeo apud quamplures nostrarum civitatis et dioceseos clericos esse obumbratam ut vix inter clericos et laycos discrimen habeatur: et ipsa statuta nostra synodalia in ipsorum clericorum cordibus oblitterata et a pluribus non visa aut perlecta vilipendantur: nullam propter nostram, quam hactenus pii pastoris more tolleravimus patientiam, capientes emendationem."—(Hartzheim, VI. 66.)

dioceses was exacted of all the clergy without exception, so that when those who perchance lived chastely demurred at the payment, they were told that the bishop must have the money, and that after it was handed over they might take their choice whether to keep concubines or not.¹

When the laity thus rudely complained of the corruption of their pastors, it is interesting to see what was the view of the subject taken by those ecclesiastics whose purity of life removed them from all temptation to indulgence, and who yet were not personally interested in upholding the gigantic but decaying structure of sacerdotalism. Of these men Erasmus may be taken as the representative. His opinion on all the questions of the day was too eagerly desired for him to escape the necessity of pronouncing his verdict on the innovation portended by the one or two marriages which took place near Wittenberg in 1521, and accordingly, in 1522, from his retreat at Bâle he issued a short dissertation on the subject, which, although addressed merely to Bishop Christopher of that city, was evidently intended for a European

¹ Sæpenumero enim compertum est ut quum ita consecratis, præsertim sacerdotibus, per jura canonica legitimæ uxores sint interdictæ; quod dehinc pudicitiam matronarum, virginum, laicorum scilicet uxorum, filiarum, sororumque attentant, ac noctu interdiumque sollicitant. Efficiunt quoque per assiduum ac indefessum laborem, partim muneribus, donis ac blanditiis, ut complures honestæ alioqui virgines et matronæ, partim etiam in secretis, quas vocant confessionibus (id quod eventu compertum est) diuturna opera labefactentur, ad peccata, offendiculaque commoveantur. Nec raro etiam evenit ut ii, uxores et filias, maritis patribusque detineant et remorentur; minantes interim gladio, aqua, ignive, ulturos repetitas uxores.—Gravamin. Ordin. Imperii cap. xxi. (Goldast. I. 464).

Officiales . . . insuper etiam clericos religiososque et seculares, accepto ab eisdem annuo censu, publice cum suis concubinis, pellicibus, et aliis id genus meretricibus, illegitime cohabi-

tare, liberosque procreare sinunt.—
—Ibid. cap. lvii.

Item in locis plerisque episcopi et eorum officiales, non solum sacerdotum tolerant concubinatum, dummodo certa persolvatur pecunia; sed et sacerdotes continent, et qui absque concubinis degunt, concubinatus censum persolvere cogunt; asserentes episcopum pecuniæ indigum esse, qua soluta, licere sacerdotibus ut vel cœlibes permaneant, vel concubinas alant. Quam res hæc sit nephanda nemo non intelligit.—Ibid. cap. lxx.

When such complaints were made by the highest authority in the empire, it is not difficult to understand the reasons which led the senate of Nürnberg—which city had not yet embraced the Reformation—to deprive, in 1524, the Dominicans and Franciscans of the superintendence and visitation of the nuns of St. Catherine and St. Clare; nor do we need Spalatin's malicious suggestion—"cura et visitatione, pene dixeram corruptione."
—Spalatin. Annal. ann. 1524.

audience. In this essay, after sketching the rise of celibacy and attributing it to the purity and fervor of the early Christians, he proceeds to depict the altered condition of the church. Among the innumerable multitude of priests who crowd the monasteries, the chapters, and the parishes, he declares that there are few indeed whose lives are pure, even as respects open and avowed concubinage, without penetrating into the mysteries of secret intrigue. As, therefore, there is no Scriptural injunction of celibacy, he concludes that, however desirable it might be to have ministers free from the cares of marriage and devoting themselves solely to the service of God, yet since it seems impossible to conquer the rebellious flesh, it would be better to allow those who cannot control themselves to have wives with whom they could live in virtuous peace, bringing up their children in the fear of God, and earning the respect of their flocks. No more startling evidence, indeed, of the demoralization of the period could be given than the cautious fear which Erasmus expresses lest such a change should be opposed by the episcopal officials, who would object to the diminution of their unhallowed gains levied on the concubines of the clergy.¹

¹ Quot examina sacerdotum alunt monasteria, quot collegia? ac præter hos etiam innumerabilis est ubique sacerdotum multitudo. Et inter hos quanta raritas eorum qui caste vivunt? De his loquor qui domi palam alunt concubinas uxorum loco. Nec enim attingo nunc secretiorum libidinum mysteria. Et hæc quum sciamus, tamen in admittendo ad sacrum ordinem facillimi sumus, in relaxanda cœlibatus constitutione difficillimi, quum contra Paulus docuerit, nemini facile manum imponendam . . . De cœlibatu neque Christus neque Apostoli legem aliquam in sacris litteris præfixerunt . . . Quod si his qui se non continent, concederetur matrimonium, et ipsi viverent quietius, et populo cum autoritate prædicarent verbum Dei, et liberos suos liberaliter educandos curarent, nec alteri alteris vicissim essent probro . . . Sed ut ecclesiæ proceres admoneam, dispiciant

an expediat veteram constitutionem ad præsentem utilitatem accommodari . . . Nihil magis optandum quam ut sacerdos immunis a conjugio, liber ac totus serviat Domino suo. Sed si frustra tentatis remediis omnibus vinci non potest carnis rebellio, superest ut cum una caste vivat, ad remedium habens uxorem, non ad voluptatem. . . . Si episcopi tentent mutare, fortasse reclamant officiales, qui plus sentiunt rediturum ex concubinis sacerdotum, quam censuri sint ex uxoribus. — Erasmi Lib. xxxi. Epist. 43.

Notwithstanding the sarcasm, popularly attributed to Erasmus, on the occasion of Luther's union with Catherine von Bora—that the Reformation had turned out to be a comedy, seeing that it resulted in a marriage—he continued to raise his voice in favor of abolishing the rule of celibacy. Thus he writes, in October, 1525, "Ve-

When such was the condition of ecclesiastical morality, and such were the opinions of all except those directly interested in upholding the old order of things, it is no wonder if the people were disposed to look with favor on the marriage of their pastors, and if the rejection of celibacy gave a fresh impetus to the cause of Lutheranism. In the early days of all sects, it is only those of ardent faith and pure zeal who are likely to embrace a new belief, with all the attendant risks of persecution and contumely. The laxity of life allowed to the Catholic clergy would attract to its ranks and retain there all those whose aim was sensual indulgence. Thus, necessarily, the reformers who married would present for contrast regular and chaste lives and well-ordered households, purified by the dread of the ever-impending troubles to which the accident of a day might at any time expose them. The comparison thus was in every way favorable to the new ideas, and they flourished accordingly.

Nor, perhaps, were the worldly inducements to which I have before alluded less powerful in their own way in advancing the cause. Shortly before Luther's marriage, whatever influence was derivable from an aristocratic example was obtained when the Baron of Heydeck, a knight of the Teutonic order, renounced his vows and publicly espoused a nun of Ligny.¹ This may possibly have encouraged his superior, Albert of Brandenburg, grand-master of the order, to execute his remarkably successful coup d'état in changing his religion and seizing the estates of the order, thus practically founding the state which chance and talent have exalted into the powerful and protestant kingdom of Prussia. The liberty of marriage which he thus assumed was soon turned to account in his advantageous alliance with Frederic, King of Denmark, whose daughter Dorothea he espoused, the

hementer laudo cœlibatum, sed ut nunc habet sacerdotum ac monachorum vita, præsertim apud Germanos, præstaret indulgeri remedium matrimonii." (Lib. xviii. Epist. 9.) And again, in 1526, "Ego nec sacerdotibus permitto conjugium, nec monachis relaxo vota, ni id fiat ex auctoritate

Pontificum, ad ædificationem ecclesiæ non ad destructionem . . . In primis optandum esset sacerdotes et monachos castitatem ac cœlestem vitam amplecti. Nunc rebus adeo contaminatis, fortasse levius malum erat eligendum" (Lib. xviii. Epist. 4).

¹ Spalatin. Annal. ann. 1525.

Bishop of Szamland officiating as his proxy, and the actual marriage being celebrated June 14, 1526.¹

Luther may reasonably be held excusable for counselling and aiding a transaction which lent such incalculable strength to the struggling cause of the Reformation, and it is not to be wondered at if he endeavored to follow it up with another of a similar character. The nephew of the Duke of Prussia, also named Albert of Brandenburg, occupied the highest place in the Teutonic hierarchy, as Archbishop both of Mainz and Magdeburg, in the latter of which powerful sees the Lutheran heresies had taken deep root. Luther sought to induce the archbishop to follow his uncle's example; to take possession in his own right of the Magdeburg territories, and to transmit them to the posterity with which heaven could not fail to bless his prospective marriage—a scheme which met the warm approbation of the leading nobles of the diocese. Albert thought seriously of the project, especially as the Peasants' War then raging was directed particularly against the lands of the church, but he finally abandoned it, and his flock had to work out their reformation without his assistance.²

Perhaps some plans of territorial aggrandizement may have stimulated the zeal of the Count of Embden, who boasted that he had assisted and encouraged the marriage of no less than five hundred monks and nuns;³ yet the process of secularizing the monastic foundations was in many places by no means sudden or violent. Thus, when the Abbot of Ilgenthal in Saxony died in 1526, the Elector John simply forbade the election of a successor, and placed the abbey in charge of a prefect, while the remaining monks were liberally supplied until they one after another died out.⁴

Through all this period the hope had never been abandoned of such an arrangement as would prevent an irrevocable separation in the church. Moderate and temperate men on both

¹ Spalatin. Annal. ann. 1526.

² Henke Append. ad Calixt. p. 595.
—Serrarii Rerum Mogunt. Lib. v.
(Script. Rer. Mogunt. I. 831, 839).
As Albert, though Primate of Germany,

was only thirty-five or six years of age, the proposition was not an unreasonable one.

³ Spalatin. Annal. ann. 1526.

⁴ Thammii Chron. Coldicens.

sides were ready to make such concessions of form as would enable Christendom to remain united, the great vital truths on which all were agreed so far outweighing the points of divergence. Whether these hopes were well or ill-founded was to be determined at the Diet of Augsburg, to which, in June, 1530, both parties were summoned for the purpose of submitting their differences to the emperor. Charles came to Germany in the full flush of his recent extraordinary triumphs, the most powerful prince since the days of Charlemagne. Europe was at length at peace, even the Turk only looming in the East as a probable, not as an existing enemy. But Charles, newly crowned at Bologna, came as the steadfast ally of the pope, and Clement VII. had not the slightest intention of renouncing the traditional and imprescriptible rights of the Holy See. The Catholic princes of Germany, too, had their grounds of private quarrel with their Protestant peers, and, holding an unquestioned majority, were not disposed to abandon their position. The Protestant princes, on the other hand, were firm in their new-found faith, and however disposed to avert the threatened storm by the sacrifice of non-essentials, their convictions were too strong for them to retrace the steps which they had taken during so many long and weary years. It is evident that, with such materials on either side, no reunion was probable; and even had an accommodation on points of doctrine been possible, there was one subject which scarcely admitted of satisfactory compromise. In the states of the reform, the downfall of monachism had placed in the hands of the temporal powers large bodies of sequestrated abbey lands. To the Catholic it was sacrilege to leave these in the hands of the spoiler; the Protestant would not willingly give up the fortune thus acquired.

The contest was opened by the Protestants submitting a statement of their belief, divided into two parts, the one devoted to points of faith, the other to matters of practice. Prepared principally by Melancthon, it presents their tenets in the mildest and least objectionable form, and becoming the recognized standard of their creed, it has attained a world-wide renown under the name of the Confession of Augsburg. The questions of celibacy and monastic vows were ably and

temperately argued; their post-scriptural origin was shown, and the reasons which induced the reformers to reject them were placed in a light as little offensive as possible.¹ At first, a counter-statement was anticipated from the Catholics, and negotiations were expected to be carried on by a comparison of the two, but they took higher ground, and contented themselves with drawing up a refutation of the Confession. The emperor was firm. His religious belief was too unwavering, and his political alliance with Rome too close for him to feel any emotion save that of surprise and indignation at the Protestant princes in their resistance to the combined authority of himself, of the Diet, and of the church. He was inclined to summary measures, but the Catholic princes were hardly prepared for the consequences of an immediate rupture, and, after a threatening interval, another effort was made to effect a reconciliation. Conferences between the leading theologians on both sides took place, and the Lutherans, warned of their danger, were more disposed than ever to make concessions and to accept such terms as the stronger party were willing to offer them. At length, on the 8th of September, the draft of a proposed plan of accord was laid before the Diet. In this the points in dispute were referred to that future œcumenic council which had so long been demanded as the panacea for all ecclesiastical ills, and which, after more than thirty years of continued expectation, was destined to fail so miserably in reconciling difficulties. Such monasteries as had not been destroyed were to be maintained in the exercise of the customary rites and observances of religion. Abbots and communities who had been ejected were to be allowed to return; and all religious houses which had been emptied of their occupants were to be placed in the hands of officers appointed by the emperor, who were to administer to their possessions until the future council should decide upon all the points relating to monachism; the Protestants thus relieving themselves of the accusation that they were actuated by motives of worldly gain. Similar proposals were made with regard to communion in the two elements and clerical

¹ Confess. Augustanæ P. II. Art. ii. vi.

marriage. These were left as open questions for the council to settle, a phrase of doubtful import subjecting them meanwhile to the governments of the several states.¹ The concessions in this project, however, though they might suit the views of temperate doctors and princes in Germany, were not likely to find favor with immovable Rome, and the legate Campeggi found little difficulty in causing its rejection by the Diet. The restoration of all abbots and monks was ordered; restitution of church lands was commanded, or their delivery to the emperor to be held until the assembling of the future council; and when the Diet adjourned, Charles issued a decree enjoining on all married priests to abstain from their wives, to eject them, and to seek absolution from their ordinaries.²

The threatening aspect of affairs warned the Protestant princes that no time was to be lost in making provision for mutual defence, and ere the year was out the famous League of Schmalcalden enabled them to present a united front to the powers which they had virtually defied. Into the political history of that eventful time it is not my province to enter. Suffice it to say that they were able to maintain their position, and in their own states to oppose the reactionary movement which at times seemed to be on the point of destroying all that had been accomplished.

In this their task was complicated by the extravagances of those whose enthusiasm, unbalanced by reason, carried them beyond restraint. If Luther had found it no easy task to break the chains which for so many ages had kept in check the spirit of free inquiry, he discovered that it was impossible to control that spirit once let loose; and the wild excesses of Anabaptism were at once the exaggeration and the opprobrium of Lutheranism. Originally earnest and self-denying, the primitive Anabaptists had captivated the fiery soul of Carlostadt, while Luther was in his Patmos of Wartburg, but the pure asceticism of Storck and Muncer gradually grew irksome to the followers who flocked to their standard, and, if

¹ *Deliberat. de Concordia, etc. c. iii.* | 510).—*Rescript. Caroli V. § 5* (*Ibid.*
v. (Goldast. I. 509). | III. 512). Henke, *Append. ad Calixt.*
pp. 595-6.

² *Sentent. Caroli V. § 5* (*Ibid.* I.

we may believe contemporary writers, the unchaining of human passions in that lawless horde resulted in the *igneum baptisma*, or fiery baptism, by which at Munster John Mathison encouraged the most hideous licentiousness in the elect, to be followed up by his successor John of Leyden, who, in imitation of the patriarchs, promulgated the law of polygamy.¹

Luther, however, was quite as resolute in setting limits to his movement as Rome had been in forbidding all progress, and the Anabaptists were to him enemies as detestable as Catholics. The Protestant princes, moreover, had too much worldly wisdom to imperil their dangerous career by any alliance with fanatics whose extravagances provoked abhorrence so general. The cause of the Reformation, therefore, although it suffered no little from so portentous an illustration of the dangers resulting from the destruction of the ancient barriers, escaped all contamination in itself, and its leaders pursued their course undeviatingly.

Meanwhile the League of Schmalcalden accomplished its purpose. Henry VIII. and Francis I. were eager to seize the opportunity of encouraging dissension in the empire. The Turk became more menacing than ever. Charles, always ready to yield for a time when opposition was impolitic, gracefully abandoned the position assumed at Augsburg; and the negotiations of Schweinfurth and Nürnberg resulted in the decree of the Diet of Ratisbon in 1532, by which, until the assembling of the future council, all religious disturbances were prohibited, and the imperial chamber was commanded to undertake no prosecutions on account of heresy. Toleration was thus practically established for the moment, but the abbots and monks who had been ejected, and who had been anticipating their restoration, became naturally restive. Charles cunningly sent from Italy full powers to the chamber to decide as to what causes arose from religious disputes, and what were simply civil or criminal. Thus intrusted with the interpretation of the Ratisbon decree, the chamber assumed that claims on church lands were not included in the forbidden

¹ Kerssenbroch Bell. Anabaptist. cap. 15, 31.

class, while old edicts prohibiting the observances of Lutheranism brought all religious questions within the scope of criminal law. The promised toleration was thus practically denied, but, fortunately for the Protestants, Ferdinand was anxiously negotiating for their recognition of his dignity as king of the Romans, and by the Transaction of Cadam in 1533 he purchased the coveted homage by accepting their construction of the edict of Ratisbon.

Still the Protestants complained of persecution and the Catholics of proselytism. The ensuing fifteen years were filled with a series of bootless negotiations, pretended settlements, quarrels, recriminations, and mutual encroachments which year after year occupied the successive Diets, and kept Germany constantly trembling on the verge of a desolating civil war. It would be useless to disturb the dust that covers these forgotten transactions, which can teach us nothing save that the Protestants still refused to recognize that the schism was past human power to heal; that Rome, as immovable as ever, would not abate one jot of her pretensions to save her supremacy over half of Christendom; and that Charles, as a wily politician, was always ready in adversity to abandon with a good grace that which he had arrogantly seized in prosperity.¹

In all this the only point which possesses special interest for us is another attempt at reconciling the irreconcilable which occurred in 1541. After a conference between Melancthon and Dr. Eck at Worms, Charles himself presented to the Diet of Ratisbon a statement of the questions in dispute, with propositions for mutual concession and compromise. In the course of this, he reviewed the practice of the church in various ages with regard to sacerdotal celibacy, admitting that the enforcement of it was not in accordance with the ancient canons, and indicating a willingness to see it abrogated.² The Protestants, who were ready to make many sacrifices for peace, hailed this intimation with triumph,

¹ An elaborate series of documents relating to these transactions may be found in Goldast. Constit. Imp. I. 511, III. 172-235.

² Lib. ad Rationem Concord. in-eundam Art. xxii. § 13 (Goldast. II. 199).

stoutly insisting on the repeal of the obnoxious rule, which they stigmatized as unjust and pernicious.¹ So nearly did the parties at length approach each other, that there appeared every reason to anticipate a successful result to the effort, when Paul III. again interfered and pronounced all the proceedings null and void, as the church alone had power to regulate its internal affairs.

Charles had long recognized that the perpetual menace of a powerful confederation such as the Schmalcaldic League, entertaining constant relations with the external enemies of the empire, was incompatible with the peace of Germany and with the imperial power such as he was resolved to wield. The time at last came for the development of his plans. The skill of Alva and the treachery of Maurice of Saxony were crowned with success. The battle of Muhlberg broke the power of the Protestants utterly, and laid them helpless at the feet of their bitterest foes. Yet the progress of the new ideas had already placed them beyond the control of even the triumphant Charles, though he had the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse in his dungeons. When, at the Diet of Augsburg, in 1548, he proposed the curious arrangement known as the *Interim*, by which he hoped to keep matters quiet until the final verdict of that œcumenic council which constantly vanished in the distance, he felt it necessary to permit all married priests to retain their wives until the question should be decided by the future council. A faint expression of a preference for celibacy, moreover, was significant both in what it said and what it left unsaid.²

¹ Ideo oramus ut ex ecclesia tollatur hæc injusta et perniciosa lex de cœlibatu.—Respons. Protestant. Art. x. § 3 (Ibid. II. 206). This was still more strongly insisted on in a paper subsequently drawn up by Bucer and presented in the name of the Protestants.—Respons. Protestant. c. 11-14 (Ibid. p. 213).

² Et quanquam cum Apostolo sentiendum eum qui cœlebs est curare quæ sunt Domini etc. (I. Cor. vii.) eoque magis optandum multos inve-

niri clericos qui cum cœlibes sint vere etiam contineant, tamen quum multi qui ministerii ecclesiastici funciones tenent, jam multis in locis duxerint uxores, quas a se dimittere nolint; super ea re generalis concilii sententia expectetur, cum alioqui mutatio in ea re, ut nunc sunt tempora, sine gravi rerum perturbatione nunc fieri non possit.—Interim, cap. xxvi. § 17.

Charles must have entertained the expectation that a change would be authorized by the council of Trent, or prudence would have dictated the

The Interim, of course, satisfied neither party. The Catholics regarded it as an unauthorized reformation, the Protestants as disguised popery. Charles, however, in the plenitude of his power, obliged many of the Lutheran states to accept it; while, as regards the Catholics, he was perhaps not sorry to show the pope that he, too, like Henry VIII., could regulate the consciences of his subjects, and prescribe their religious faith. He had broken with Paul III.; the council of Trent, against his wishes, had been removed to Bologna on a frivolous pretext; and a schism like that of England was apparently impending. At the least, Charles might not unreasonably desire to manifest that at last he was independent of that papal power with which mutual necessities had so long enforced the closest relations, and to show that deference to his wishes was henceforth to be the price of his all-important support. The steps taken by Paul prove not only the disposition which then existed to relax the rigor of the canons respecting celibacy, but also the importance which the question had assumed in the religious disputes of the time. He forthwith despatched to Germany three nuncios, on whom he conferred power to grant the use of the cup to the laity, and, under certain restrictions, to permit the marriage of the clergy, with instructions to give dispensations to such married priests as they might consider to be deserving.¹

Temporary expedients and compromises such as these are interesting merely as they mark the progress of opinion. Paltry make-shifts to elude the decision of that which had to be decided, they exercised little real influence on the history

policy of not leaving the matter open with the consciousness that the difficulty could only become daily greater by tolerance.

¹ Pallavicini (*Storia del Concilio di Trento* Lib. XII. c. 8) states that these nuncios were sent at the request of the emperor, who desired them to have full power to concede the cup to the laity and marriage to the priesthood, but that the authority was only granted subject to certain limitations, although many Catholics thought that these con-

cessions were all that were wanted to effect a reunion of the church. Zaccharia (*Nuova Giustificaz.* pp. 145, 266), while admitting the fact, states that the original of this document has been sought for in vain.

Both from this and from the language of the Interim, it would seem that even the Catholic priesthood had begun to attribute to themselves the right of marriage. That such was the case to a great extent will be seen hereafter.

of the time. It is true that when Charles, in 1551, at the Diet of Augsburg, issued a call for the reassembling of the council of Trent, he confirmed the Interim until that council should decide all unsettled questions,¹ yet this confirmation was destined to be effective for a period ludicrously brief. A fresh treason of Maurice of Saxony undid all that his former plotting had accomplished; and, while Henry II. was winning at the expense of the empire the delusive title of Conqueror, Charles found himself reduced to the hard necessity of restoring all that his crooked policy had for so many years been devoted to extorting. The Transaction of Passau, signed August 2d, 1552, gave full liberty of conscience to the Lutheran states, until a national council or Diet should devise means of restoring the unity of the church; and in case such means could not be agreed upon, then the rights guaranteed by the Transaction were granted in perpetuity.² If Charles was disposed to withdraw the concessions thus exacted of him, the miserable siege of Metz and the increasing desire for abdication prevented him from attempting it; and, at the Diet of Augsburg, in 1555, the states and cities of the Augsburg Confession were confirmed in their right to enjoy the practices of their religion in peace.³

The long struggle thus was over. The public law of Germany at last recognized the legality of the transactions based upon the Reformation, and not the least in importance among those transactions were the marriages of the ministers of Christ.

Let us now inquire what influence the contest exercised upon the discipline of the Catholic church itself.

¹ Recess. ann. 1551 c. 10 (Goldast. II. 341).

² Transac. Pataviens. Artic. de Relig. (Ibid. I. 573).

³ Ibid. I. 574.

XXVI.

THE COUNCIL OF TRENT.

IT has already been shown that the dissolute and unchristian life of the priesthood was one of the efficient causes which led to the success of the Reformation. At an early period in the movement, the Catholic church felt the necessity of purifying itself, if it was to retain the veneration of the people; and the veneration of the people was now not merely a source of revenue, but a condition of the very existence of the stupendous structure reared upon the credulity of ages. As soon as it became clearly apparent that Lutheranism was not to be suppressed by the ordinary machinery, and that it was spreading with a rapidity which portended the worst results, an effort was made to remove the reproach which incorrigible immorality had entailed upon the church. Allusion has been made above to the stringent measures of reform proclaimed by the legate Campeggi at Ratisbon, in 1524, in which he acknowledged that the new heresy had no little excuse in the detestable morals and abandoned lives of the clergy—a truth repeatedly admitted by the ecclesiastical authorities.¹ His well-meant endeavors had little result, and

¹ The orator of the council of Cologne in 1527 sharply reminded the assembled prelates that they must set the example of obeying their own laws, and that they could not expect the people to reverence the true church so long as it notoriously bade defiance to the laws of God and man. "Quasi præscribatur lex cujus sancitor voluerit esse exlex. Parendum enim est legi quam quisque sancit . . . Audis præterea non licere plurimas habere uxores, quæ animum tuum

alliciant; non decere domi alere tot scorta tot Veneres, quæ te continue exedunt, tuamque substantiam disperdunt. . . . His et aliis datur scandalum populo; præbetur offendiculum vulgo, cui hac tempestate vilet et contemptui est ordo quilibet sacer. Vilis plebs te sacerdotem nunc cachinnis atque ludibriis incessit et odit, qui calumniandi ansam ultro præbueris. Dicit namque: tot hic, aut ille, scorta domi suæ ex patrimonio Crucifixi nutrit, quo non sordida scorta, sed pau-

we have seen that, some years later, Erasmus still urged the abolition of the rule of celibacy as the only practicable mode of removing the scandal.

Not long afterwards the Gallican church made a strenuous effort of the same nature to check the spread of Lutheranism. In 1528 the Cardinal-legate Duprat, Chancellor of France, held a council in Paris, where he condemned, seriatim, the new doctrines as heresies, and elevated the rule of celibacy to the dignity of a point of faith.¹ He also caused the adoption of a series of canons designed to remove from the church the disgrace caused by the laxity of clerical morals and manners. The bishops were instructed to enforce the decrees of the councils and of the fathers until concubinage and incontinence should be completely exterminated, and a rule was laid down which would have been eventually effectual if conscientiously carried out. No one was thereafter to be admitted to holy orders without written testimony as to his age and moral character from his parish priest, substantiated by the oaths of two or three approved witnesses.² At the same time similar councils were held at Bourges by the Cardinal Arch-

peres Christi forent sustentandi."—*Concil. Colon. ann. 1527* (Hartzheim, VI. 210-213).

So at the council of Augsburg, in 1548, the orator dwelt upon the advantage which the heretics derived from the sins of the clergy—"Non estis nescii, quemadmodum nos hæretici apud populum perpetuo traducant: nos scortatores, nos ambitiosos, nos avaros, nos ignavos et rudes esse, nos otio semper, luxui et ventri servire, identidem vociferantur . . . Superbe itaque illi: sed utinam non nimium sæpe vere: nam si vera potius hoc loco, quam plausibilia, dicenda sint; negare certe non possumus, quin maximam ad nos accusandos occasionem sæpe dederimus."—*Concil. Augustan. ann. 1548* (Hartzheim, VI. 388).

Even after the council of Trent the same humiliating admissions continued to be made. At the council of Salzburg, in 1569, Christopher Spandel, in the closing address, asked

the assembled prelates "Quis non animadvertit ex tali vitiosa licentia secutum extremum contemptum cleri? quo quid quæso (præsertim apud nos Germanos) contemptius, quid nomine sacerdotis otiosius esse potest? aut quid magis, ab omnibus fere ludibrio exponitur et subsannatur ipso clero?"—*Synod. Salisburg. ann. 1569* (Hartzheim, VII. 407).

¹ Quisquis igitur contra sacrorum conciliorum et patrum decreta, sacerdotes, diaconos aut subdiaconos lege cœlibatus non teneri docuerit aut liberas illis concesserit nuptias, inter hæreticos, omni tergiversatione rejecta, numeretur.—*Concil. Paris. ann. 1528, Decret. 8.*

This, I think, is the first authoritative promulgation of Damiani's doctrine, which, as we shall hereafter see, was adopted and extended by the council of Trent.

² *Ibid.* can. 3, 27.

bishop Tournon, and at Lyons by Claude, Bishop of Macon. To what extent these excellent rules were put in force may be guessed by a description of the French clergy in 1560, as portrayed by Monluc, Bishop of Valence, in a speech before the royal council. The parish priests were for the most part engrossed in worldly pursuits, and had obtained their preferment by illicit means, nor did there seem much prospect of an improvement so long as the prelates were in the habit of bestowing the benefices within their gift on their lackeys, barbers, cooks, and other serving men, rendering the ecclesiastics as a body an object of contempt to the people.¹ We need, therefore, not be surprised to find in the councils of the period a repetition of all the old injunctions, showing that the maintenance of improper consorts and the disgrace of priestly families were undiminished evils.²

In 1530 Clement VII. addressed himself vigorously to the task of putting an end to the scandalous practice of hereditary transmission of benefices, which he describes as almost universal. A special Bull was issued, prohibiting the children of priests or monks from enjoying any preferment in their father's benefices, and providing that if he or his successors should grant dispensations permitting such infraction of the canons, they should be considered as issued unwittingly, and be held null and void.³ Like so many others, this Bull seems to have been forgotten almost as soon as issued, and the pecu-

¹ "Que les curés ignorans, avares, occupés à toute autre chose qu'à leur charge, avoyent estés pour la plus part pourvus de leurs cures par moyens illicites; qu' autant de deux escus que les banquiers avoyent envoyés à Rome, autant de curés nous avoyent-ils renvoyés. Les cardinaux, les évesques n'avoient faict difficulté de bailler leurs bénéfices à leurs maistres d'hostels, voire à leurs varlets de chambre, cuisiniers, barbiers et leurs laquais; si bien que les personnes ecclésiastiques s'estoyent rendues odieux et contemptibles à tout le monde."—Pierre de la Place, *Estat de Rel. et Rep.* Liv. III.

² Concil. Narbonnens. ann. 1551, can. 22 (Harduin. X. 468).

³ Bull. ad Canonum (Mag. Bull. Roman. Ed. 1692, I. 682). "Cum passim sacerdotes ut ecclesiis suis eorum filii potirentur . . . videlicet quod ipsi presbyteri eorum crimen, quod erat occultum, non sine turpitudine, ob inordinatum spuriorum filiorum amorem detegere non erubescerent," etc.

Alexander III., in prohibiting the sons of priests from enjoying their fathers' benefices, had permitted it if a third party intervened, and a dispensation for the irregularity were obtained. The letter of this law was frequently observed, but its spirit eluded by nominally passing the preferment through the hands of a man of straw, and it was this abuse which Clement desired to eradicate.

niary needs of the Roman court rendered it unable to abandon so lucrative a source of revenue. In 1559 a Scottish council prayed the queen-regent to use her influence with the pope to prevent any more papal dispensations being granted to enable illegitimate children to hold preferment in their fathers' benefices.¹

In Spain, the most dangerous opponent of the Reformation, Ignatius Loyola, succeeded to some extent in repressing the public and unblushing manifestation of concubinage. His biographer states that the female companions of the Peninsular clergy were accustomed to pledge their faith to their consorts, as if united by the marriage tie, and that they wore the distinguishing costume of married women, as though glorying in their shame. Scandalized by this, on his return to his native land, in 1535, Ignatius exerted himself to abolish it, together with other priestly peccadilloes, and his influence was sufficient to procure the enactment and enforcement by the temporal authorities of sundry laws which relieved the Spanish church from so great an opprobrium.²

A year later, in 1536, Hermann von Wied, Archbishop of Cologne, undertook the reformation of his extensive diocese. He assembled a council which issued a series of 275 canons, prescribing minutely the functions, duties, and obligations of all grades of the clergy. As regards the delicate subject of concubinage, he contented himself with quoting the Nicene canon prohibiting the residence of women not nearly connected by blood, and added that if the degeneracy of the times prevented the enforcement of a regulation so strict, at all events he forbade the companionship of females obnoxious

¹ Wilkins, IV. 209.

² "In his severæ leges fuerunt ejus opera latæ a magistratibus, de alea, de concubinato sacerdotum. Nam cum patrio more virgines, quoad viro traderentur, capite aperto essent, pessimo exemplo multæ, cum apud clericos turpiter viverent, perinde caput obnubebant, acsi legitimo eis matrimonio junctæ fuissent; quibus fidem quasi maritis præstabant. Quod nefarium institutum ac sacrilegum funditus tol-

lendum curavit."—Ribadeneira Vit. Ignat. Loyol. cap. v. (Bayle, Dict. Hist. s. v. Loyola).

Ribadeneira was one of Loyola's early disciples, and is therefore good authority. His description would show that permanent unions were formed, respected by the people but not recognized by the church, in the same manner as those alluded to by Bishop Pelayo, two centuries earlier. (Ante, p. 324.)

to suspicion.¹ The good bishop himself could hardly have expected that so mild an allocution would have much effect upon a perverse and hardened generation.

During this time the Christian world had constantly and earnestly demanded the convocation of an œcumenic council which should represent all parties, should have full powers to reconcile all differences, and should give to the ancient church the purification of which it stood so sorely in need. This was a remedy to the last degree distasteful to the Holy See. The recollections of Constance and Bâle were full of pregnant warnings as to the almost inevitable antagonism between the Vicegerent of Christ and an independent representative body, believing itself to act under the direct inspiration of the Holy Ghost, claiming autocratic supremacy in the church, and convoked for the special purpose of reforming abuses, the most of which were fruitful sources of revenue to the papal court. Such a body, assembled in Germany, would be the pope's master; if in Italy, his tool; and it behooved him to act warily if he desired to meet the unanimous demand of Christendom without risking the sacrifice of his most cherished prerogatives. Had the council been called in the early days of the Reformation, it could hardly have prevented the separation of the churches; yet, in the temper which then existed, it would probably have effected as thorough a purification of the ecclesiastical establishment as was possible in so corrupt an age. By delaying it until the reactionary movement had fairly set in, the chances of troublesome puritans gaining the ascendancy were greatly diminished, and the papal court exposed itself to little danger when, under the urgent pressure of the emperor, it at length, in 1536, proposed to convoke the long desired assembly at Mantua.

A place so completely under papal influence was not likely to meet the views of the opposition, and it is not surprising that both the Lutherans and Henry VIII. refused to connect themselves with such a council.² The formality of its opening,

¹ Concil. Coloniens. ann. 1536, P. II. c. 28.

² Their views are expressed more quaintly than elegantly by Henry

VIII. in his epistle of April 8, 1538, to Charles V., refusing to submit himself to the council.—“Nowe, if he [the pope] calle us to one of his owne

May 17th, 1537, was therefore an empty ceremony; its transfer to Vicenza was little more; and as no delegates presented themselves up to the 1st of May, 1538, it was prorogued until Easter, 1539, with the promise of selecting a satisfactory place for the meeting. The pressure still continued until, in 1542, Paul finally convoked it to assemble at Trent. The Reformers were no better satisfied than before. They had so long professed their readiness to submit all the questions in dispute to a free and unbiased general council, that they could not refuse absolutely to countenance it; but they were now so completely established as a separate organization, that they had little to hope and everything to fear from the appeal which they had themselves provoked, and nothing which Rome could now offer would have brought them into willing attendance upon such a body. They accordingly kept aloof, and on the assembling of the council, November 22d, 1542, its numbers were so scanty that it broke up almost immediately. When again convoked, March 15th, 1545, but twenty bishops and a few ambassadors were present; these waited with what patience they might command for accessions, which were so tardy in arriving that when at length the assembly was formally opened, on the 13th of December, the number had increased by only five. For fifteen months the council continued its sessions, completely under the control of the pope, and occupied solely with measures designed to draw the line between the Catholic and the Reformed churches more sharply than ever.

The appeals of the German bishops and of the imperial ambassadors for some effective efforts at reform became at length too pressing, and to evade them, in March, 1547, the council was transferred to Bologna, against the earnest protest of the emperor and the Germans, who refused to follow. At Bologna nothing was done except to adjourn the council from time to time, until it was suspended in 1549. Julius III., who received the tiara on the 22d of February, 1550, signaled his accession by convoking it again at Trent; and there it once more assembled on the 1st of May, 1551.

townes, we be afraid to be at suche an
hostes table. We saye, Better to ryse
a hungred, then to goo thense with
oure bellyes fulle." (Select. Harl.
Miscell., London, 1793, p. 137.)

At that time Lutheranism in Germany was under the heel of Charles V.; Maurice of Saxony was ripening his schemes of revolt, and concealing them with the dexterity in which he was unrivalled; it was the policy of both that Protestant theologians should take part in the discussions—of the one, that they should there receive their sentence; of the other, that their presence might assist in cloaking his designs. The flight from Innsbruck, followed by the Transaction of Passau, changed the face of affairs. The Lutheran doctors rejoicingly shook the dust from their feet as they departed from Trent, complaining that they had been treated as criminals on trial, not as venerable members of a body assembled to decide the gravest questions relating to this life and that to come. Other symptoms of revolt among the Catholic nations were visible, and on the 28th of April, 1552, the council again broke up.

Ten years passed away; the faithful impatiently demanded the continuation of the work which had only been commenced, and at last the pressure became so strong that Pius IV. was obliged to reassemble the council. His Bull bears date November, 1560, but it was not until twenty years after Trent had witnessed the first convocation, that the holy men again gathered within its walls, and on the 18th of January, 1562, the council resumed its oft-interrupted sessions.

During this long-protracted farce there were times when those who sincerely desired the restoration of the church could not restrain their impatience. In 1536, Paul III., who earnestly admitted the necessity of some reform, called to his aid nine of his prelates most eminent for virtue and piety, as a commission to prepare a scheme for internal reformation. According to a papal historian, his object in this was to stop the mouths of the heretics who found in the Roman court an inexhaustible subject of declamation.¹ For two years the commission labored at its work, and finally produced a "Consilium de emendanda ecclesia," which went far enough to arouse the opposition of those whose abuses it attacked,

¹ Per serrar la bocca agl' heretici i quali non facevano altro in voce et in scritto che dir male della corte di Roma.—Carraciolo, Vita di Paolo IV. MS. Br. Mus. (Young, Life and Times of Aonio Paleario, I. 261.)

but which was so utterly inadequate to the needs of the time that it gave satisfaction to no one. The heretics reproduced it with comments as an effective pamphlet for their cause, and only clamored the more loudly for a General Council; and when the head of the commission and principal author of the "Consilium," Cardinal Caraffa, became pope under the name of Paul IV., he quietly put his own work, in 1559, into the Index Expurgatorius, as the best mode of getting rid of the heretical commentaries upon it.¹

As the pope himself was thus powerless, the only hope of a radical change, such as was needful, was seen to lie in the untrammelled debates of a great assembly, which should meet as a parliament of the nations; and this grew more and more distant. When the unmannerly urgency of Germany in 1547 caused the translation of the council to Bologna, and apparently put a stop to its further labors, Charles V. resolved to take the matter into his own hands, and to effect for his own dominions, at least, that which had been vainly expected of the council for Christendom. The "Interim," which has already been alluded to, was intended to answer this purpose as far as Lutheranism was concerned, in healing the breach of religion. The other great object of the council, the restoration of the neglected discipline of the church, he attempted to effect by means of the secular authority of the empire acting on the regular machinery of the Teutonic ecclesiastical establishment. How utterly neglected that discipline had become is inferable from an expression in the important and carefully drawn project laid by Charles before the Diet of Ratisbon in 1541, to the effect that if the canon requiring celibacy was to be enforced, it would be necessary also to revive those canons which punished incontinence, thus admitting that there existed no check whatever upon immorality.²

¹ Luther immediately translated the "Consilium," and published it, with a commentary, at Wittenberg in 1538. Mr. Young (*loc. cit.*), to whom I am indebted for an account of the matter, speaks as though Caraffa desired to suppress his own work, but his Protestantism is of so aggressive a character that he can scarcely be regarded as an impartial guide. In the Index

it is prohibited "cum notis vel præfationibus Hæreticorum."

² After referring to the variable practice of the church in different ages, the document proceeds: "In hac ergo canonum diversitate, si postremi canones omnino posthac retinendi sunt, necessarium quoque erit, ut censuræ quæ in fornicarios in vete-

With this object he accordingly caused the adoption by the Diet of Augsburg of a code of reformation, well adapted, if enforced, to restore the long-forgotten purity of the church, while at the same time it acknowledged that the degeneracy of the times rendered impossible the revival of the ancient canons in their strictness. Thus, after reciting the canon of Neocæsarea (see p. 49), it adds, that as such severity was now impracticable, those in holy orders convicted of impurity should be separated from their concubines, and visited with suspension from function and benefice proportioned to the gravity of the offence. A repetition of the fault was punishable with increased severity, and incorrigible sinners who were found to be incapable of reformation, were finally to be deprived of their benefices. As concubines were threatened with immediate excommunication, it is evident that a severity was designed towards them which was not ventured on with respect to their more guilty partners. Relaxation of the rules is also observable in the section which, despite the Nicene canon, permitted the residence of women over forty years of age, whose character and conduct relieved them from suspicion.¹ The imperative injunctions of chastity laid upon the regular clergy, canons and nuns, show not only the determination to remove the prevailing scandals, but also the magnitude and extent of the evil.²

Nor was this all. Local councils were ordered for the purpose of embodying these decrees in their statutes, and of carrying out with energy the reformation so earnestly desired. Thus, in November, 1548, about five months after the Diet, a synod assembled at Augsburg, which inveighed bitterly against the unclerical dress and pomp of the clergy, their habits of drunkenness, gluttony, licentiousness, tavern-lounging, and general disregard of discipline; and adopted a canon embracing the regulations enacted by the emperor.³ The Archbishop of Trèves did not wait for his synod, but

ribus canonibus dstringuntur in usum quoque revocentur."—*Lib. ad Ration. Concord. ineundam* Art. xxii. § 13. (*Goldast. II. 199.*)

¹ *Formul. Reformat. cap. xvii. § 4.* (*Goldast. II. 335.*)

² *Ibid. cap. iii. § 1, cap. v. §§ 7, 9.*

³ *Synod. Augustan. ann. 1548, c. 10.*

issued, October 30th, a mandate especially directed against concubinary priests, in which he announced his intention of carrying out the reform commanded by Charles. He could find no reason more self-evident for the dislike and contempt felt by the people for so many of the clergy than the immorality of their lives, differing little, except in legality, from open marriage. "This vice, existing everywhere throughout our diocese, in consequence of the license of the times and the neglect of the officials, we must eradicate. Therefore all of you, of what grade soever, shall dismiss your concubines within nine days, removing them beyond the bounds of your parishes, and be no longer seen to associate with loose and wanton women. Those who neglect this order shall be suspended from office and benefice, their concubines shall be excommunicated, and they themselves be brought before our synod to be presently held."¹

These were brave words, but when, some three weeks later, the synod was assembled, and the malefactors perchance brought before it, the good bishop found apparently that his flock was not disposed to submit quietly to the curtailment of privileges which had almost become imprescriptible. His tone accordingly was softened, for though he deprecated their immorality more strongly than ever, and asserted his intention of enforcing his mandate, he condescended to argue at much length on the propriety of chastity, and even descended to entreaty, beseeching them to preserve the purity so essential to the character of the church.² How slender was his success may be inferred from the fact that the next year he felt it necessary to hold another synod, in which he renewed and confirmed the proceedings of the former one, and endeavored to reduce the monks and nuns of his diocese into some kind of subjection to the rules of discipline.³

¹ Synod. Trevirens. ann. 1548.

² Qui [illicitus sacerdotum concubinatus] quantum jam inde ab initio, apud omnes fidei Catholici cultores, consecratis hominibus pepererit invidiæ atque consciverit odii vix dici potest. . . . Illis nimirum abactis ejusmodi incontinentiæ latrinis, pie consulimus (quoniam Deus benignus et

misericors est), ut secundum hujus sanctissimæ synodi decretum, se ad integritatem totos convertant, pœniteant, culpam deprecantur, erroris sui veniam apud Deum et homines consequantur.—Synod. Trevirens. ann. 1548, cap. ii.

³ Synod. Trevirens. II. ann. 1549, cap. xi. xix.

The Archbishop of Cologne was as energetic as his brother of Trèves, with about equal success. On September 1st he issued the Augsburg Formula of Reformation, with a call for a synod to be held on October 2d. At the same time he manifested his sense of the primary importance of correcting clerical immorality by promulgating a special mandate respecting concubinage. He asserted this to be the chief cause of the contempt popularly felt for the church,¹ and he ordered all ecclesiastics to send their women beyond the bounds of their parishes within nine days, under the penalties provided in the imperial decree. The synod was held at the time indicated, and though it adopted no regular canons, it accepted the Augsburg Formula and the mandate of the archbishop, with a trifling alteration.²

This proved utterly ineffectual, for in March, 1549, he assembled a provincial council, in which he deplored the license of the times, which rendered the strictness of the ancient canons unadvisable, and announced that it had been decided to proceed gradually with the intended reforms. As to the morals of the clergy, he stated that everywhere the cure of souls was delegated to improper persons, many of them living in the foulness of concubinage, in perpetual drunkenness, and in other infamous vices, encouraged by the negligence of bishops and the thirst of archdeacons for unhallowed gains. The unions of those who, infected by the new heresies, did not hesitate to enter into matrimony, were of course pronounced illicit and impious, their offspring illegitimate, and the parents anathematized; but for those who remained in the church, yet submitted to no restraint upon their passions, a more merciful spirit was shown, for the punishments ordered by the Diet of Augsburg were somewhat lightened in their favor. The extreme license of the

¹ Cum inter omnia crimina nullum fere sit, quod clerum foedius apud populum traducat, et majus in plebe scandalum pariat quam scortatio manifesta, visum est nobis operæ præstium, ut quod majorem præbet ecclesiastici ordinis contemnendi materiam, specialiori et accuratiori animadver-

sione coerceamus.—Mandat. de abjic. Concup. (Hartzheim, VI. 353.)

² Ibid. p. 358. A Diocesan Synod was also held at Liége, Nov. 15, which gave offending clerks fifteen days to part with their concubines (Ibid. VI. 395).

period may be understood from another canon directed against the comedians, who, not content with the ordinary theatres, were in the habit of visiting the nunneries, where their profane plays and amatory acting excited to unholy desires the virgins dedicated to God.¹ No one acquainted with the coarseness of the drama of that rude age can doubt the propriety of the archbishop's reproof. Supplementary synods were also held in October, 1549, and February, 1550, to perfect the details of a very thorough inquisitorial visitation of the whole province.

This visitation, so pompously heralded, did not take place. At a synod held in October, 1550, the archbishop made sundry lame excuses for its postponement. Another synod was assembled in February, 1551, at which we hear nothing more of it; but the prelates of the diocese were requested to collect such ancient and forgotten canons as they could find, which might be deemed advantageous in the future;² and with this the work of reformation in the province of Cologne appears to end.

In October and November, 1548, and April, 1549, the Bishops of Paderborn, Wurzburg, and Strasburg held synods which adopted the reformatory measures decreed at Augsburg.³ These were preparatory to the metropolitan synod of Mainz, assembled in May, 1549, which commanded that no one should be thereafter admitted to orders without a preliminary examination by his bishop on the subject of doctrine, and testimonials from the people as to purity of character. After thus wisely providing for the future, attention was directed to the present. It was declared intolerable that, in spite of the reiterated prohibitions of the fathers and councils, concubines should be universally kept; the Basilian canon was therefore revived, and its enforcement strictly enjoined

¹ Concil. Coloniens. ann. 1549, cap. Quibus possint.—Cap. de Monach. conjugat.—Cap. de Concub. Monach.—Cap. Comœdias.

² Hartzheim, VI. 767, 781.

³ Gropp, Collect. Script. Wirceburg. I. 311.—Hartzheim, VI. 359, 417. In the epistle convoking his council,

Bishop Melchior of Wurzburg alluded passionately to the evils everywhere existing: "Vidētis percussum pastorem; vidētis oves dispersas; vidētis impudentem peccandi licentiam; vidētis adversus pietatem audaciam tum loquendi tum disputandi impiissimam, et indes scelerata gliscere schismata" (Ibid. X. 753).

on the ordinaries, who were forbidden in any manner to connive at these disorders for the sake of profit.¹

The pressure was continued, for when Cambrai, which owed temporal obedience to the emperor, while ecclesiastically it formed part of the province of Rheims, neglected to adopt the Formula of Augsburg for two years, it was not allowed to escape. In October, 1550, a synod was finally assembled there under stringent orders from Charles, and the Formula was published, together with an elaborate series of canons, which would have been well adapted to correct abuses that were not incorrigible.²

Charles had thus exerted all the resources of his imperial supremacy, and, whether willingly or not, the powerful prelates who ruled the German church had united in carrying out his views. The temporal and spiritual authorities had thus been concentrated upon the vices of the church, and if its reformation had been possible in the existing condition of its organization, some improvement must have resulted from these combined and persistent efforts. When their failure, therefore, was found to be complete, there arose in the minds of thinking men a conviction, such as Erasmus had already declared, that, since all other measures had proved fruitless, the only mode of securing a virtuous clergy was to remove the prohibition of marriage. This opinion gained ground, until at length it won even the highest dignitaries of the empire, and in 1560 the Emperor Ferdinand himself undertook its advocacy with the pope, after having for some years countenanced the practice within his own territories.

Almost immediately on the consecration of Pius IV., in addressing to him an urgent request for the reassembling of the council of Trent, or the convocation of a new council, Ferdinand seized the opportunity to ask especially for the communication of the cup to the laity, and permission for the clergy to marry. The latter of these points he considered to be the only remedy for the fearful immorality of the church, for though all flesh was corrupt, the corrup-

¹ Concil. Mogunt. ann. 1549, c. 82, 102.

² Synod. Camerac. ann. 1550 (Hartzheim, VI. 654).

tion of the priesthood surpassed that of all other men.¹ That he had not waited for the papal assent to favor these innovations within his own dominions is shown by his statement that the Archbishop of Salzburg had recently, in a synod, earnestly called upon him to put a stop to the progress which they were making, but, he added, his long experience in such matters had shown him what was possible, and what impossible, and he had accordingly set forth the difficulties of the task in a paper addressed to the archbishop, a copy of which he inclosed to the pope.²

The nuncio Commendone, in transmitting this document to Rome, accompanied it with a letter from the Cardinal Bishop of Augsburg, recommending the postponement of the question until the reassembling of the council of Trent, and no further action was taken. When Commendone, however, passed through Cleves on his way to the council, then about to be reopened, the Duke of Cleves earnestly besought him to lend his influence to the accomplishment of the measure, urging as a reason that in the whole of his dominions—and he was sovereign of three populous duchies—there could not be found five priests who did not keep concubines. In order to secure his favor for the approaching council, Commendone did not scruple to hold out expectations that the concessions would be granted.³

During the progress of the Reformation, when the fate of

¹ Benche ogne carne fosse corrotta, nondimeno la corruzione allora trovarsi maggiore che in tutti negli ecclesiastici.—Pallavicini, Storia del Concil. di Trento Lib. xiv. c. 13.

Twelve years before, his uncle, the Bishop of Liége, in promulgating the Augsburg formula of reformation, had made a similar assertion—"Preterquam quod hoc infœlici sæculo, quo omnis caro corrumpit viam suam, præsertimque ordo clericorum et ecclesiasticorum nimium degenerant, plusquam unquam est necessaria."—Concil. Leodiens. ann. 1548 (Hartzheim, VI. 392). The increased emphasis of Ferdinand is a measure of the success which had attended the reformatory movements of Charles V. during the interval.

² Pallavicini, loc. cit. That the Catholic church of Germany had become widely infected with this Lutheran heresy is also shown by the fact that in 1548 the Archbishop of Cologne had found it necessary to prohibit throughout his province all marriages of priests, monks and nuns, and had pronounced illegitimate the offspring of such unions.—Hartzheim, VI. 357.

³ Pallavicini, Lib. xv. c. 5. "Al secondo allegava recar necessità l'incontinenza de' preti, de' quali cinque non si numeravano nel suo dominio che non tenessero pubbliche concubine."—The duke, though no bigot, was a good Catholic.

the Catholic church of Germany had sometimes seemed to hang in the balance, no princes had earned a larger title to the gratitude of Rome than the powerful Dukes of Bavaria, who were the leaders of the reaction. Yet now the influence of that important region was thrown in favor of the abrogation of celibacy, and Duke Albert was the first who boldly brought the matter before the council by a demand for ecclesiastical marriage, presented on the 27th of June, 1562. To this the evasive answer was returned that the council would take such action as would be found to redound to the glory of God and to the benefit of the church.¹ During the same year the Emperor Ferdinand also urged its consideration. A plan for the reform of the church presented by his delegates not only called attention to the necessity of purifying the morals of the regular and secular clergy, but demanded that to some nations, at least, the privilege of sacerdotal marriage should be conceded.²

Another document is extant, without date, which was laid before the council in the joint names of Ferdinand and Albert, in which the question was argued at considerable length and with much vehemence. After proving from the records of the primitive church that celibacy was not then recognized as imperative, it proceeded to declare that if marriage ever were permissible, the present carnal and licentious age rendered it a necessity, for not one Catholic priest out of fifty could be found who lived chastely. All were asserted to be notoriously dissolute, scandalizing the people and inflicting great damage on the church. The request was made not so much to satisfy the priests who desired marriage as to meet the wishes of the laity, for many patrons of livings refused presentation to all but married men. However preferable a single life might be for the clergy, it therefore was thought

¹ Pallavicini, Lib. xvii. c. 4. At the request of Duke Albert, the question was also mooted at the provincial synod of Salzburg, held in 1562 for the purpose of sending delegates to Trent.—Hartzheim, VII. 230.

² Articuli de Reform. Eccles.—No.

14. Cogitandum qua ratione clerus ad vitam priorem reducatur.

No. 15. Quo pacto monasticus ordo ad primivitam institutionem redintegretur, ne tantæ monasteriorum divitiæ tam flagitiose dissipentur.

No. 18. Conjugium clericorum aliquibus nationibus concedendum.—Goldast. II. 376.

better to give it up than to leave open the door to the scandalous impurities traceable to celibacy. Another weighty reason was alleged in the great scarcity of priests, caused alone by the prohibition of marriage, in proof of which it was urged that the Catholic schools of divinity were all but empty and the episcopal function of ordination nearly disused, while the Lutheran colleges were crowded by those who subsequently obtained admission into the true church, where they worked incredible mischief. The argument that the temporal possessions of the church would be imperilled by sacerdotal matrimony was met by indignantly denouncing the worldly wisdom which would protect such perishable interests at the cost of innumerable souls sacrificed by the existing condition of affairs. For these and other reasons it asked that marriage should in future be allowed to all the priesthood, whether already in orders or to be subsequently admitted: that married men of good character and education should be ordained to supply the want of pastors: that those who had contracted matrimony, in contravention of the canons, should no longer be ejected, seeing that it was most absurd to turn out men because they were married, while retaining notorious concubinarians, and that if, with equal justice, both classes should be dismissed, the people would be left almost, if not entirely, destitute of spiritual guides. The paper concluded by asserting that if the prayer be granted the clergy could be retained in the church and in the faith, to the great benefit of their flocks, and that the scandal of promiscuous licentiousness, which had involved the church in so much disgrace, would be removed.¹

I have given a tolerably full abstract of this curious document, not because it produced any effect, but because it affords a vivid picture of the condition of the church, with the evils which were everywhere felt, and the remedies which suggested themselves to clear-sighted and impartial men. To all such arguments the council of Trent was deaf. The Gallican church was willing to see celibacy abolished, and the Cardinal of Lorraine, its powerful representative, was in-

¹ Considerat. Cæsar. Majest. sup. Matrim. Sacerd. Nos. 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17 (Goldast. II. 382-3).

structed, in case the council would not agree to such a change, to urge that none but elderly men should be eligible to the priesthood, and that the testimony of the people in favor of their moral character should be a prerequisite to ordination, in hopes that by such means the necessary purification of the clergy at least could be effected.¹ The cardinal himself was favorably disposed to the abrogation of celibacy, but Rome shrank from an experiment so hazardous, and so completely at variance with her principles for a thousand years.²

On the 8th of February, 1563, after the council had been in session for more than a year, the theologians at last arranged for disputation the articles on matrimony, and laid them before the council for discussion. They were divided into five classes, of which the fourth was devoted to the bearing of the subject on the clergy, consisting of two propositions artfully drawn up to justify rejection—That matrimony was preferable to celibacy, and that God bestowed grace on the married rather than on the single.—That the priests of the Western Church could lawfully contract marriage, notwithstanding the canons; that to deny this was to condemn matrimony, and that all were at liberty to marry who did not feel themselves graced with the gift of chastity.³

The disputation on the various questions connected with matrimony commenced the next day and was continued at intervals for six months. By August 7th all the canons on the subject were agreed to, except the one on clandestine marriages, which gave the fathers much more trouble than the more important decision respecting the retention of celibacy.⁴ This latter, indeed, would seem to have been a fore-

¹ Capi dati da' Francesi cap. 1.—Cum sacerdotes in primis castos esse oporteat . . . provideat S. synodus ut non alii in posterum ordinentur sacerdotes quam qui seniores sunt, et a populo bonum habeant testimonium, ut ex anteacta vita quales postea sint futuri non levis conjectura: et sacerdotum libidines et flagitia acerrimis canonum poenis coerceantur. (Baluz. et Mansi IV. 374) Comp. Zaccaria pp. 133-4.

² Henke, App. ad Calixt. p. 599.

³ Art. v. Matrimonium non pro-

[post]ponendum sed anteferendum castitati, et Deum dare conjugibus majorem gratiam quam aliis.

Art. vi. Licite contrahere posse matrimonium sacerdotes Occidentales, non obstante lege ecclesiastica, et opposita nil aliud esse quam damnare matrimonia, posseque omnes contrahere matrimonium qui non sentiunt se habere donum castitatis.—Lettere del Arcivesc. Calini (Baluz. et Mansi IV. 295).

⁴ Lettere di Calini (Ibid. 326).

gone conclusion. In the minute account, transmitted from day to day by Archbishop Calini to Cardinal Cornaro, in which all the details of internal discussion and external intrigue attainable by a quick-witted member of the council were reported, there is no allusion to the subject. No debates or diversity of opinion are mentioned, no intimation that the matter was regarded as open to a doubt, and even the appeals made by the emperor and other potentates are passed over in silence. So, in the correspondence of the nuncio Visconti, the only allusion to the matter is a simple reference, under date of March 22, 1563, to the demand previously made by the Duke of Bavaria.¹

In fact, when, on March 4th, the 5th and 6th articles were reached, they were both unanimously pronounced heretical without any prolonged debate. Doctor Juan de Ludegna pronounced a "disputation" on the subject, the tone of which showed that the result was already decided, and that the only disposition of the council was to vilify those who desired the abrogation of celibacy.² A discussion, however, then arose as to the power of the pope to dispense the clergy, both regular and secular, from the obligation of celibacy, and on this point there was considerable diversity of opinion, occupying numerous successive meetings in its settlement. The majority were in favor of the papal power; and its exercise in the existing condition of the church was even recommended by those who recognized the evils of the system, but shrank from the responsibility of themselves introducing the innovation. This was promptly rebuked by the conservatives, according to Fra Paolo, with the remark that a prudent physician would not attempt to cure one disease by bringing on a greater.³ The legates, indeed, were blamed for allowing any discussion on so dangerous a topic, since if priests were

¹ Lettere del Nunzio Visconti (Ibid. III. 453).

² Disputat. Joann. de Ludegna (Harduin. X. 359). The learned doctor presents his argument in the form of a colloquy between himself and Calvin, and its spirit may be gathered from the first speech of Calvin, in

which he is made to declare that he is endeavoring to find arguments with which to defend himself and his apostate strumpets.

³ Non è da savio medico guarir un male con causarne un peggiore.—Sarpi, Lib. vii. (Opere, II. 280, Helmstat, 1761).

permitted to marry, their affections would be concentrated on family and country, in place of the church; their subjection to the Holy See would be diminished, the whole system of the hierarchy destroyed, and the pope himself would eventually become a simple Bishop of Rome.¹ If such consequences as these were anticipated by the able men who represented the papal interests, we may readily believe that Pallavicini speaks the sense of the managers of the council when he remarks, concerning the princes who exerted themselves in favor of sacerdotal marriage, that they seemed to consider that the council had been convoked for the purpose not of condemning but of contenting the heretics, whom they proposed to convert by gratifying in place of repressing their contumacious desires.² If this be so, the Protestants were amply justified in refusing to submit their cause to a body so different in its objects from that free and unbiased œcumenic council to which they had so often appealed from their persecutors.

It was not, however, until the 11th of November that the canons on matrimony were finally adopted and formally published. Of these there are two relating to our subject. The first one pronounced the dread anathema on all who should dare to assert that clerks in holy orders, monks or nuns could contract marriage, or that such a marriage was valid, and it added that God would not deny the gift of chastity to those who rightly sought it, nor would He expose us to temptation beyond our strength. The other similarly anathematized all who dared to assert that the married state was more worthy than virginity, or that it was not better to live in celibacy than married.³

¹ Sarpi (loc. cit.).

² Avvisandosi tutti costoro ch'l Concilio fosse adunato, non per condannare ma per contentare gli eretici; e che la conversione di questi potesse aversi col saziar que' loro contumaci appetiti, che piuttosto si convenivan reprimere. — Pallavicini Lib. XVII. c. 4.

³ Concil. Trident. Sess. XXIV. De Sacrament. Matrimon.

Can. ix. Si quis dixerit clericos in sacris ordinibus constitutos, vel regulares castitatem solemniter professos, posse matrimonium contrahere, contractumque validum esse, non obstante lege ecclesiastica vel voto; et oppositum nihil aliud esse quam damnare matrimonium; posseque omnes contrahere matrimonium, qui non sentiunt se castitatis, etiamsi eam voverint, habere donum; anathema sit; quum Deus id recte petentibus non

Thus the church, in endeavoring to meet the novel exigencies caused by the progress and enlightenment of mankind, in place of making the concessions demanded by almost all beyond the narrow pale of the papal court, devoted its energies to the miserable task of separating itself as widely as possible from those who had left it. Its rulers seemed to imagine that their only hope of safety lay in intrenching themselves behind the exaggerations of those particular points of policy which had afforded to their adversaries the fairest chances of attack. The faithful throughout Germany might suffer from the absence of the ministers of Christ, or might endure yet more from the unrestrained passions of the wolves in sheep's clothing let loose among their wives and daughters, but the church militant in this conjuncture dreaded even more to lose the aid of that monastic army which, in theory at least, had no earthly object but the service of St. Peter; it selfishly feared that the parish priest who might legitimately see his fireside surrounded by a happy group of wife and children would lose the devotion which a man without ties should entertain for the prosperity and glory of the ecclesiastical establishment; and perhaps, more than all, it saw with terror avaricious princes eager for the secularization of that immense property to which it owed so large a portion of the splendor which dazzled mankind, of the influence which rendered it powerful, and of the luxury which made its high places attractive to the ambitious and talented men who controlled its destiny. To put an end, therefore, at once and forever, to the mutterings of dissatisfaction among those who compared the calm and virtuous life of the Protestant pastors with the reckless self-indulgence of the ministers of the old religion, it was resolved to place the canon of celibacy in a position where none of the orthodox should dare to attack it, and to accomplish this the simple rule of discipline was elevated to the dignity of a point of belief. As the church had already been forced, in defending the rule from

deneget, nec patiatnr nos supra id quod possumus tentari.

Can. x. Si quis dixerit statum conjugalem anteponendum esse statui

virginitatis vel cœlibatus, et non esse melius ac beatius manere in virginitate aut cœlibatu, quam jungi matrimonio, anathema sit.

the assaults of the reformers, to attribute to it apostolic origin, we may not perhaps be surprised that it was made a point of doctrine, but we cannot easily appreciate the reasons that would justify the anathema launched against all who regarded the marriage of those in holy orders as binding. The dissolution of such marriages, as we have seen, was not suggested until the middle of the twelfth century, and the decision of the council thus condemned as heretics the whole body of the church during three-quarters of its previous existence.

Although the doctrinal canon threw the responsibility of priestly unchastity upon God, yet as the council had so peremptorily refused to adopt the remedy urged by the princes of the empire, it did not hesitate to employ human means to remove, if possible, the scandals which God had permitted to afflict the church. The decree of reformation, published in December, 1563, contained provisions intended to curb the vice which the Tridentine fathers, with all their reliance on Divine power, well knew to be ineradicable. These provisions, however, were little more than a repetition of what we have seen enacted in every century since Siricius. Any ecclesiastic guilty of keeping a concubine or suspected woman was admonished; disregarding this first warning, he was deprived of one-third of his revenue; if still contumacious, suspension from functions and benefice followed; and a persistence in guilt was then visited with irrevocable deprivation. No appeal from a sentence could gain exemption; these cases were removed from the jurisdiction of inferior officials and confided to the bishops, who were enjoined to be prompt and severe in their decisions; while guilty bishops were liable to suspension by their provincial synods, and, if irreclaimable, were sent to Rome for punishment. The illegitimate children of priests were pronounced incapable of preferment. Those already in orders, if employed in their fathers' parishes, were required, under pain of deprivation, to exchange their positions within three months for preferment elsewhere, and any provision made by a clerical parent for the benefit of his children was pronounced to be a fraud.¹

¹ Concil. Trident. Sess. xxv. Decret. de Reformat. cap. 14, 15.

Such were the regulations which the last general council of the Catholic church considered sufficient to relieve the establishment of the curse which had hung around it for a thousand years. There is nothing in them that had not been tried a hundred times before, with what success the foregoing pages may attest. In some respects, indeed, they were not as prompt and efficacious as the decrees which Charles V. and his bishops had promulgated a few years before, and which had proved so lamentably inefficient.

Strange as it may seem, the anathema so decidedly enunciated by the council did not deter the Emperor Ferdinand from continuing his efforts to procure for his subjects the benefit of a relaxation of the canon. The decision of a majority of the doctors of the council favoring the papal power of dispensation suggested the mode of obtaining it. Although the form of the canons had been adopted on the 7th of August, and the previous proceedings left no doubt as to their authoritative promulgation in full session, yet on the 26th of August the nuncio Visconti writes that he had heard from his colleague Delfino, then in Vienna, that the three ecclesiastical electors (Mainz, Trèves, and Cologne), the Archbishop of Salzburg and the Duke of Bavaria had held a conference, in which it was resolved to unite with the emperor in an appeal for Bulls permitting the marriage of the clergy and the use of the cup by the laity.¹ Early in September the emperor wrote to his ambassadors, stating that he had called together at Vienna the deputies of the electors and princes of the empire, where, after mature deliberation, it had been determined to ask the cup and clerical marriage of the pope and not of the council; that a protocol had already been drawn up, which accompanied the despatch, but as it was a matter not yet fully settled, he desired it to be communicated to no one but the Count de Luna, the ambassador of Philip II.²

¹ Lett. No. LXIX. (Ed. Amsterd. II. 299.) This and the concluding letters are not in Mansi's edition.

² Essersi da lui chiamati a Vienna i consiglieri degli elettori e de' principi, e dopo maturo discorso aver inclinato a richieder l'uno e l'altro, non

dal concilio ma dal Papa: sopra che s'era distesa l'abbozzo d'un'istruzione, la quale mandava loro, ma ch'essendo illo di cosa non ancora fermata, a niuna la comunicassero fuorchè al conte di Luna. — Pallavicini, Lib. XXII. c. 10.

It was not, however, until after the conclusion of the council, which brought its weary labors to an end on the 4th of December, 1563, that Ferdinand presented his request to Pius IV. In this, after demanding, in the name of the princes of the empire, the communion in both elements for the laity, he proceeds to argue earnestly for the other concession. Perhaps the decided opposition of the council to the principle of sacerdotal marriage had produced an influence upon him; perhaps he had found himself obliged to yield some of his own views in order to secure the co-operation of the Teutonic hierarchy; be this as it may, his demands were greatly abated. In place of asking, as before, the privilege for the clergy at large, he now reduced his entreaties to the simple point of allowing such Catholic priests as had entered into matrimony to retain their wives and perform their functions, which he assured the pope was absolutely essential to the preservation of the fragments of the church still doing battle with the prevailing heresies throughout Germany.¹ He like-

¹ Quod sanctitati vestræ maximum quoque momentum adfert, tam ad conservandas in Germania ac regnis et dominiis nostris saltem exiguas hasce religionis Catholicæ reliquias, quam ad cohibendas et extirpandas hæreses et earum auctores, ebuccinatores et propugnatores, si non solum modum et rationem aliquam invenerit qua sacerdotes qui assertis suis conjugii seipsos ab ecclesia separarunt, ecclesiæ possint reconciliari, recentis utenque in contubernio suo assertis illis uxoribus.—Goldast. II. 380.

It is observable from this that many priests left the church and married without formally embracing the Lutheran faith, and a return of these was anticipated from a relaxation of the canons. Others, as may be gathered from various references above, married and still performed their regular duties. Of these some no doubt acted in virtue of dispensations granted by the nuncios of Paul III., after the promulgation of the Interim, but many did so in utter contempt of discipline. An illustrative example of the latter class may be found in the well-known Stanislas Orzechowski,

whose marriage, notwithstanding his high character for piety and learning, shows the laxity of opinion which prevailed on the subject. As Canon of Premislaw in Poland, his marriage naturally gave great offence to his colleagues. Somewhat contaminated with the new ideas by a residence at Wittenberg, he sturdily refused to give up either his wife or his position, and alleged in his defence a dispensation from a national council. When, in 1556, the legate Lippomani held a synod at Lovictz, he called to account those who had connived at so great an irregularity. They denied granting the dispensation, saying that they had only suspended the censures until the pleasure of the pope should be known; but at the same time many prelates used all their influence with Lippomani to obtain one. Lippomani declared that he had no power to grant it, nor would he do so if he could, seeing that Orzechowski defended himself on heretical grounds. (Concil. Lovitiens.—Labbei et Coleti Supp. T. V. p. 702.) In 1561 Orzechowski complained to the synod of Warsaw of the persecutions to which

wise asked that in such places as could not obtain a sufficiency of pastors, the bishops should be empowered to ordain laymen of approved piety, learning, and fitness; and this would seem necessarily to carry with it the ordination of married men, since, if the laymen indicated were celibates, there could have been nothing to prevent their entering the church, and performing their duties without a special papal dispensation.

Although this appeal produced no result, Ferdinand was not deterred by continued rebuffs from prosecuting the attempt, and his unwearied perseverance may safely be taken as the measure of his estimate of its importance. George Wicelius had thrown aside the monastic gown in 1531 to embrace the errors of Lutheranism, but had returned to the old religion. His learning and piety earned for him a deserved reputation, and elevated him to the position of imperial councillor, where his talents were devoted to the endless task of bringing about a reconciliation between the churches. George Cassander, equally eminent, had never incurred the imputation of apostasy, but had labored with tireless industry to convert his erring brethren from heresy to the true faith. Men like these might perhaps be heard when the voice of princes and prelates, actuated by motives of personal advantage, met a deaf ear; and Ferdinand applied to them for disquisitions on the subject. Before their labors were concluded the monarch was dead (July 25, 1564), but his son Maximilian II. inherited his father's ideas, and gladly made use of the opinions which the learned Catholic doctors had no hesitation in expressing.

Both took strong ground against celibacy. Cassander de-

he was exposed on account of his wife, and he petitioned both the pope and the council of Trent for a dispensation. While the Tridentine fathers refused it, some authors assert that it was granted by Pius IV. to him as an exceptional case "tibi soli Orichovio," but careful investigation has failed to discover the Bull, and, according to Zaccaria, the pope merely sent secret orders to his legate Commendone not to allow Orzechowski to be molested,

but at the same time to give no publicity to an act of tolerance in contravention of the canons of the council of Trent (Grégoire, *Hist. du Mariage des Prêtres en France*, pp. 51-55).

The history of Orzechowski, with probably a less fortunate result, is no doubt that of innumerable others, whose obscurity has prevented their sufferings from being known beyond their own narrow circle.