

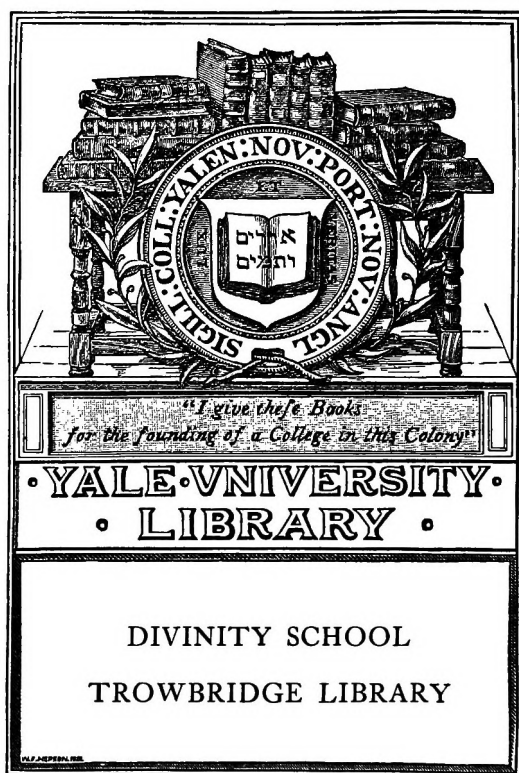
THE CLOSING CENTURY OF MIDDLE AGES  
D.S.SCHAFF

*of the  
Middle Ages*

*Schaff*

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# **The Closing Century of the Middle Ages**

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## ***An Inaugural Address***

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BY THE

**REV. DAVID S. SCHAFF, D.D.**

*Professor of Church History*

*in the Western Theological Seminary, Allegheny*



**The Western  
Theological  
Seminary**

**THE INAUGURATION  
OF THE  
REV. DAVID S. SCHAFF, D.D.  
AS  
PROFESSOR OF CHURCH HISTORY IN THE  
NORTH PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF  
ALLEGHENY, PENNSYLVANIA  
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The Rev. David S. Schaff, D.D., was elected to the chair of Church History in the Western Theological Seminary July 7, 1903. The chair had become vacant by the resignation of the Rev. William H. Jeffers, D.D., LL.D., who had filled it for more than a quarter of a century. Dr. Schaff, at the time of his call, was professor of Church History in Lane Theological Seminary, Cincinnati. The action of the Board of Directors of the Seminary, electing Dr. Schaff, was approved by the General Assembly in session in Buffalo, May, 1904.

The Inaugural Services were held in the North Presbyterian Church, Allegheny, on the evening of November 14, 1904. The professors and students entered the church in procession. The Rev. David S. Kennedy, D.D., president of the Board of Directors, presided, offered the invocation and made a statement for the Board.

Prof. Robert Christie, D.D., LL.D., read the Scripture lesson in Ephesians, third chapter. The Rev. William S. Fulton, D.D., a director, and pastor of the Point Breeze Church, Pittsburgh, delivered the charge to the professor-elect. Then followed the Inaugural Address. Prof. Matthew B. Riddle, D.D., LL.D., for many years the friend of Dr. Philip Schaff (the father of the professor-elect) and his close associate in literary work, offered the prayer. The congregation sang President Dwight's hymn, "I Love Thy Kingdom, Lord," and Luther's hymn, "A Safe Stronghold our God is Still." The services were brought to a close with the benediction, pronounced by the president of the seminary, the Rev. David Gregg, D.D., LL.D.

## CHARGE TO THE PROFESSOR-ELECT.

BY REV. W. S. FULTON, D.D.

My Dear Brother: You will permit me to say first of all that we congratulate ourselves upon having you to occupy the chair of Ecclesiastical History in the Seminary. If the example and influence of an honored father count in the making of a man, you ought to have a special fitness for this work. You have also come to this office in the prime of life, with ripe scholarship, and after years of experience in teaching church history. We therefore feel justified in expecting from you a strong man's share in the larger work we hope the Seminary is to do.

It would be folly for me to pretend to instruct you in the duties of the position you have been called upon to occupy. But it will not, I think, be out of place, if I mention several things you already know, and thus stir up your mind by way of remembrance.

Any teacher has a high calling and a great responsibility. But you have a place of special honor and responsibility, for you are to be a teacher of teachers, and from your class room will go out influences to affect the lives and destinies of many who have never seen that room. Through the ministers whom you have helped to train, you will put your molding hand on souls, not only in many parts of this country, but also in all the mission fields to which our students may be sent. As an author of books, and of articles in the scholarly Reviews you may reach a somewhat different public, but you will not forget that you are primarily a teacher of future ministers, and, like the great Neander, your heart will be in your class-room work, and in the students who meet you there.

You are to teach Christian history. It is conceivable that the men "who spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost" might have been Platos, and Aristotles, and Newtons, and God through them might have given us an inspired philosophy. But the writers of Scripture were not philosophers, nor

is our religion a philosophy. It is supposable that God might have given us a system of doctrine, scientifically complete and accurate in its statements. But this, evidently, is not what God did give. In recent days brilliant writers have been trying to make us believe that our religion is a sentiment, in its objective form a splendid palace built in air, and in its subjective form a merely mystical life. But our religion is neither a sentiment, nor a system of doctrine, nor a philosophy. It may include all these, but in itself it is a kingdom of God established here on earth, and this kingdom has its history, and by its history it is revealed. Christianity is preëminently historical. Our Bible! Is it not largely a book of history? Our Saviour! Is he not the supreme person of history, to whom preceding ages were pointing forward, and to whom succeeding ages have been pointing backward? And those parts of Scripture which are more didactic in their form, are they not the inspired interpretation of the great historic facts recorded in the book? Our God has been accustomed to reveal himself chiefly through the medium of history. But if this be so, what place, high or low, should be given to the study of history in any adequate scheme of Christian education? If this be so, what importance in the training of Christian ministers should be attached to instruction in this history? If this be so, would it be wrong for a teacher of church history to magnify his office?

But in this connection may I say another thing? If a man may bring himself into such sympathy with the Creator of the natural world that he will feel, as he makes discoveries in astronomy, that he is "thinking God's thoughts after" him, or if he can walk in the fields and have such sense of the Creator's presence that every common bush will be afire with God, how much more may the student of Christian history who has anointed eyes see the Lord as he marches through the centuries toward his coronation as King of kings and Lord of lords. It is a profoundly important department in this Seminary which the Directors have committed to you. And in this light I charge you to habitually think of it.

With regard to the manner of teaching Church History, I believe, for one thing, that it ought to be the constant aim of the teacher to make that history interesting to the pupil of

average ability and attainments. This has not always been done. And students who were asked to cram the mere facts and dates of the history have sometimes felt like saying what the prophet said when his attention had been called to the bones in the valley of vision. "They were very many, and very dry." But those facts and dates may be so brought together, and so filled with life, that they will be as interesting to the student in the Seminary, as that mighty army which sprang from the bones was to the prophet. Even if a teacher were successful in doing it, it would be small business to cram a pupil with a lot of uninterpreted facts. But to make a pupil see the great truths which lie back of the historic facts is not small business. That is splendid work for any man to do. Macaulay once said, "Facts are the mere dross of history. It is from the abstract truth which penetrates them and lies latent among them, like gold in the ore, that the mass derives its whole value." Good teaching of church history is helping one's pupils to find the gold of truth imbedded in the mass of facts. And when they see that they are gathering up this gold, students of only average ability and attainments are interested in the study.

But Church History ought really to be a delightful study to any fairly intelligent Christian man.

Is walking by a winding river that flows through a country of varied landscapes, a pleasant thing to do? The study of Church History is following a stream more beautiful than that. Coming from its fountain under the altar on which atonement was made for the sins of the world, this river of salvation goes flowing through the centuries, becoming broader and deeper as it flows, changing moral deserts into gardens, healing the waters of every bitter sea of evil through which it flows, on its banks nourishing those trees whose fruit is food, and whose leaves are medicine for the nations, and making all things live whithersoever the river cometh. That is the river by which you will say to the young men of your class, "Come, let us walk."

Men are interested in the chemistry which changes the ore bank into many useful forms of steel and iron, or takes the oil as it comes from the earth, and transforms it into a multitude of very different looking products. But the history of



God's kingdom shows a chemistry much more wonderful than that. It tells of a leaven introduced by Christ which has changed the laws, customs, manners, and civilization of mankind, and has been making of man himself a new creation.

Men are interested in the story of great men's lives, and biography is the form of literature which has a perennial popularity. But are there any lives of men more interesting than those of Origen and Athanasius, and Gregory of Nazianzus, and Jerome, and Augustine, and Chrysostom, and those other earlier and later heroes of Church History? When we enter the courts of this history we find ourselves surrounded by portraits of the epoch-making men of nineteen centuries. Surely my brother, this ought to be an interesting study, and I am persuaded that you will endeavor to make it that, to even the duller minds among your pupils.

Let me mention another thing of which I need only remind you. The history ought to be made to bear continually on the life of to-day. Because the tree is known by its fruit, the exhibition of the fruits of Christianity is to some minds the strongest proof of its divine origin, and many a student will say with a new intensity of conviction, "This is the planting of the Lord," because he has had a new vision of what Christianity has done for the world. You will aim to bring out this witness of history to Christ as clearly as possible.

The history of the Church also illustrates, and in illustrating confirms, many of the great principles of the kingdom of God. For example, it will show what men often need to see as well as hear, that "As righteousness tendeth to life, so he that pursueth evil pursueth it to his own death." It will make men see with new vision that though it be

"Truth forever on the scaffold, wrong forever on the throne,  
Yet that scaffold sways the future, and behind the dim  
unknown  
Standeth God within the shadow, keeping watch above his  
own."

The history of the Church is the best commentary on the promise of its Head that the gates of hell shall not prevail against her. You will endeavor to show your pupils how the history illustrates these, and other principles and promises of the kingdom.

Much is also gained if the Christian knows that present enemies of the truth are merely old and vanquished foes who have put on new faces. And when timid believers are frightened by the charging around of what looks like a terrible lion of unbelief, their courage returns when some wiser observer notices that the would-be lion's voice is merely an old and harmless bray. You will sometimes show your students this. And to put all that might be said on this point in a single sentence, you will often use the lamp of the Church's past experience to throw light on its path now.

But not to prolong my remarks further, I believe I express the sentiment of the whole Board of Directors when I bid you God-speed in your work. We hope and pray that the Maker of history who reveals himself in history will keep you in sympathy with his mind, and enable you to correctly see and rightly present his truth. We pray that the Great Head of the Church may, through your teaching and influence, honor himself and make more glorious his Church.

## ADDRESS BY PROFESSOR DAVID S. SCHAFF, D.D.

Gentlemen of the Boards of Directors and Trustees of the Western Theological Seminary, Fellow Professors, Students and Friends:—My conception of the duties of a professor of Church History is quickly stated. His first duty is to present an accurate statement of the facts in the life and progress of the church during the last nineteen hundred years. William of Tyre, the historian of the first crusade, writing eight hundred years ago, expressed the idea well when he said: "It is the office of the church historian not to write about what pleases him, but the materials the time affords."<sup>1</sup> It is true that the principle still prevails, in calling one to fill a chair in our theological seminaries, that it shall be known what in general his theological views are. For myself, I hope that this principle will not be abandoned in America. And yet, I conceive that there is little disposition to bind a professor to all the details of his denominational association, or to demand that he find in the past only facts which confirm a particular exposition of Christianity. The historian does not pursue his study, as a dogmatist, or carry with him continually the code of a denominational apologist.

The teacher of Church History has, for his second duty, to organize the material he finds according to general principles and by a process of deduction to set forth the laws of progress and decline, of development and retrogression, which the movements of the past have followed. He is more than an annalist. The ultimate standard, by which he judges all movements and measures, is the body of principles laid down by Christ and his Apostles.

But Church History is something more than an accurate and

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<sup>1</sup> *Annalium conscriptores non qualia optant ipsi sed qualia ministrant tempora*, etc. Book XXIII., Recueil des Hist. des Croisades I:1132. William, it is charged, does not always follow this good rule himself, as in the case of his account of Peter the Hermit. It is quite possible, however, that von Sybel's criticism has gone too far in belittling the part Peter took in the First Crusade.

orderly presentation of the past. He is the perfect teacher who, in other periods of the church's life, finds lessons and shows how they are to be applied to the plans and activities of the church to-day, and how the errors of other periods are to be avoided to-day. The chair of Church History is no guide-post to a mausoleum or picture gallery. It is a living voice calling attention to God's providential guidance of His church and to the failures of the church when its leaders speculated and acted in defiance of the laws established by Christ for his kingdom. And in all our treatment, we must not forget to exercise that spirit of Christian unity and sympathy which is so congenial to our age and which expresses itself to those, who differ from us, in words like those of the saintly Peter the Venerable, when he was attacked by St. Bernard. *Habe charitatem*, he said, *et fac quicquid vis*, "Have love and then you may do what you please."<sup>2</sup>

For the honor of the call which unexpectedly summoned me to the chair of Church History in this seminary, I wish again to express to the Boards of Directors and Trustees my deep acknowledgment, and I pledge myself, so far as I am able, to meet your just and considerate demands. I wish also to acknowledge the welcome which my fellow professors have extended to me as I have joined them in the exalted work of preparing young men to preach the Gospel.

For my address this evening I might have chosen some general theme which would have given opportunity for the free play of personal opinion. But I prefer to present a historic study of a distinct period of Church History. My subject is

## THE CLOSING CENTURY OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

The Middle Ages come to an end with Martin Luther. Their closing century may be included between 1414, the date of the Council of Constance, and 1517, the year when the German Reformer nailed his Theses against the church door at Wittenberg. Next to the age of the Apostles, this century is perhaps the subject of the most searching inquiry at the present time.

As one among the centuries, it has a conspicuous place on account of the mighty and novel forces at work, and the lasting value of its contributions to the progress of mankind. When its

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<sup>2</sup> Peter quoted St. Augustine.

years began, the Crusades were over. The great Schoolmen were dead. Innocent III and the other constructors of the fabric of the mediæval papacy were no more. The cathedrals were finished, or almost finished. The great universities of Paris and Bologna and Oxford had already turned out generations of students. There were, however, lines of its own along which this century was original.

It witnessed the splendid Reformatory councils of Pisa, Constance and Basel, splendid, not so much for what they accomplished, as for having expressed, for the first time in centuries, in conciliar form, the judgment of Christendom as distinct from the judgment of the hierarchy. It witnessed the fall of the weary Byzantine empire into the hands of the Turks. It looked on as the Turks occupied the Acropolis in 1458; seized Otranto on the Italian coast and advanced from point to point in their onward march towards the walls of Vienna, and all Europe trembled.<sup>3</sup>

It saw the most notable of all attempts to heal the schism between Eastern and Western Christendom, as the present age is witnessing the most notable of all efforts to encourage the spirit of Christian union.

It felt the first movement of the printing press, the most important invention in the history of civilization since the invention of the alphabet. It saw on its sky the bright glow of the Revival of Letters. It followed the first tracks made across the Atlantic to the Western world as our recent century witnessed the opening in the Pacific of paths to the empires of the farther West. It may be that the historian of the future, contemplating the contribution which the centuries have made to the progress of mankind, will not give to our boasted 19th century a place above the 15th.

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3 The dread of the Turks was the daily misery of Europe in the 15th century, as the dread of the Tartars had been in the 13th. At the First Council of Lyons (1245) one of the five wounds of the Church which Innocent IV. exposed was the threatened invasion of Germany by the Tartars. Nicholas V., pope at the time of the Fall of Constantinople, called Mohammed II. "the dragon of the Apocalypse." His successor, Calixtus III., in assuming the tiara, vowed to "Almighty God and the Holy Trinity, by wars, maledictions, interdicts and excommunications and all other ways to resist and punish the Turks." In vain did pope after pope, during the second half of the 15th century, call upon Christian princes to unite in a campaign against these Asiatic intruders. Luther joined with his prayer against the pope's blasphemy a petition against the cruelty of the Turk—*Von des Papstes Lästerung und des Türken Mord behüte uns, Herr Gott.*

It is not to portray these remarkable forces that I am interested now. I am concerned to show how the century carried within it the signs of the passing away of the old mediæval conceptions of God, man and the church and was flushed with the symptoms of new conceptions; how in this process of transition from the old to the new, the old was reasserting itself with mighty grip, and how the potencies which were soon to run into the full stream of the new era had no interpreter at the time, much less an organizing mind.

This study gains new interest from the contention of a recent school of Catholic historians in Germany, in whose number are included some of the most learned and shrewd historical students of the age. Its leading representatives are Janssen, now dead, whose work on *The History of the German People at the Close of the Middle Ages*<sup>4</sup> has passed through twenty editions in Germany and has been one of the most stimulating and influential historical books of recent times; Ludwig Pastor<sup>5</sup>, the most learned of Roman Catholic writers, on the last popes of the Middle Ages; and Father Denifle<sup>6</sup> and Nicholas Paulus<sup>7</sup>, who are

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4 Six vols., 1876-88. English Translation, 6 vols., London, 1896. The 17th German edition, 1897, was edited by Pastor, who modifies many of Janssen's statements by presenting the dark aspects of the Church's life in the latter part of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century. Janssen had rare skill in manipulating his materials. It is possible to draw a conclusion exactly the opposite to the one he draws from the materials he presents.

5 *Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters*. 4th ed., 1899-1901. Pastor is an investigator of the first rank and has added much new material to the documents first presented by Gregorovius. His pages are crowded with interesting details and valuable notes.

6 Father Denifle has startled the scholarly world by his vehement attack on Luther's moral character in his work, *Luther und Lutherthum in der ersten Entwicklung quellenmässig dargestellt*, Mainz, 1904. He is one of the most learned specialists of the age in mediæval history in some of its phases. For his services in this department he had been held in high regard by Protestant scholars, and it was supposed that in leaving the period of the Middle Ages and taking up the Reformation he would offer some new materials for Luther's biography. This he has failed to do. Instead, he has presented a thick volume of more than 900 pages (to which another volume is to be added) which teems with charges against Luther's intellectual honesty and moral integrity. He outdoes Janssen in the manipulation of his materials and an utter misrepresentation of the meaning of Luther's words. The work has made a great stir in Germany and called forth replies from Harnack, Seeberg, Kolde, Walther and other leading scholars. See my article on the book in *Homiletical Review*, June, 1904, pp. 419-424



devoting themselves to the effort to undermine the moral reputation of Luther. The position of the school is that a wholesome current of church reform was in progress before Luther, that Luther and the Protestant movement checked it, and further that Luther was responsible for a condition of affairs in church and society, a condition of morals and industrial welfare, which shows marked decline as compared with the century before Luther.<sup>8</sup> Their attempt is to make out that the Reformation was a great calamity for civilization. Catholic historians do not call the Protestant movement a Reformation, but the "Revolution of the Sixteenth Century," or the "Innovation of the Sixteenth Century."

Investigation must be met by investigation, and the Middle Ages must be restudied in order that we may ascertain exactly what its main forces were. I think we shall come to the conclusion that the Reformation followed the Middle Ages, but was not a product of them. It was a historical necessity and a providential change. It was neither by men nor of men, but of God.

THE PAPACY. The first of the imposing forces of the 15th century is the papacy. Was there in that time any movement towards a modification of the mediæval theory of the papal power? That theory asserted by Gregory VII, Innocent III and all the great popes of the Middle Ages, and given theological statement by Thomas Aquinas, is in irreconcilable antagonism to the fundamental principle of Protestantism<sup>9</sup>. Innocent senten-

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and Presbyterian Banner, April 7, 1904. Leo XIII. praised Janssen as a "light of historic science and a man of profound learning." Leo X. gave to Denifle the distinction of receiving the first copy of his book from the author's hand.

7 *Die deutschen Dominikaner im Kampfe gegen Luther*, 1903 and other works.

8 Döllinger laid the foundation for this view in his work on the Reformation, 3 vols., 1846, sqq., and in his sketch of Luther's life, 1851. Without recalling either work, this great scholar gave another view of the Reformer in 1872 in *Die Wiedervereinigung der christlichen Kirche*. Engl. transl., *Lectures on the Reunion of Christendom*. His tribute to some elements of Luther's power has never been excelled. The old tale that Luther committed suicide was dishied up again by the Berlin newspaper editor Majunke in 1890. The publication created a sensation in Germany. Pastor has gone through all the evidence and pronounced the tale a falsehood. There is no higher historical authority in the Catholic Church, but the story may again be revived to stimulate denominational passion.

9 Thomas' argument is given at its best in his *de regimine principum*. He declares that "all kings ruling over Christian peoples owe subjection to

tiously expressed it when he declared the papacy was vested with the fulness of power, *plentitudo potestatis*. That is the papacy was established by God, on earth, to rule over the church and over princes. It is the interpreter of the divine will and the judge of all human creatures, and it is itself amenable to no earthly tribunal.

The first half of our century was filled with the attempt to reform the papacy. This was what the three Reformatory councils of Pisa, 1409, Constance, 1414, and Basel, 1431, stand for. The second part of the century was filled with the deliberate attempt of the pope to counteract this movement and it witnessed the complete triumph of the papacy.

A century before the Reformatory councils, Marsiglius of Padua, with unheard of boldness, called in question all the extreme claims of the papal power.<sup>10</sup> He declared no one was under obligation to pay tithes to the pope. The pope had no authority over other bishops, for Peter had none. He had no right to call himself the successor of Peter, for it is doubtful whether Peter ever was in Rome. The emperor had the right to call councils. Against such heretical depreciation, the theory of papal absolutism found ready and ardent defenders. Augustus Triumphus and Alvarus Pelayo restated the papal theory in its baldest form, the former expressly declaring there could be no appeal from the pope to God, because the pope and God were in agreement, the pope having charge of the keys and door of the kingdom of heaven.<sup>11</sup> Alvarus solemnly affirmed that he "who looks upon the pope with intent and trusting eye, looks upon Christ and that wherever the pope is there is the church."<sup>12</sup>

The continued flagrant abuse of the papal power in the periods of the Avignon Exile and Schism produced great dis-

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the Roman pontiff, even as the pope himself is subject to Jesus Christ, whose vicar he is."

10 In his tract, *Defensor pacis*. The best work on this tract and the tracts defending papal absolutism in the 14th century is Riezler: *Die literarischen Widersacher der Päpste, Leip.*, 1894. Haller in his *Papstthum und Kirchenreform*, Berlin, 1903, gives a good account of their contents.

11 *Quia unum consistorium sit ipsius papae et ipsius dei, cujus consistorii claviger et ostiarius est ipse papa*, in his *Summa de potestate ecclesiastica*.

12 *Vere representat papa Christum in terris, ut qui videt cum oculo contemplativo et fidei videat Christum* in his *De planctu ecclesiae*.

content throughout the Christian world and stirred Gerson, Nicolas of Clemanges, Dietrich of Nieheim and other writers at the beginning of the 15th century to call for a reformation in the church.<sup>13</sup> The low estate of christendom which they lamented was due, so they declared, to abuses of the papal prerogative, or, more accurately, to the abuses of the curia. These attacks were upon the methods pursued by the papacy and not upon the papacy itself, as a divine institution.<sup>14</sup> Backed by the curia, the pope had usurped the rights of the episcopate and reduced the church all over the Latin world to a servile condition.<sup>15</sup> His legates at the courts of princes took precedence of all the local and national prelates.<sup>16</sup> The right of appeal to Rome in cases of ecclesiastical litigation was extended to almost all cases and was used to defy the authority of the bishops and led to great delays and perversions of justice while it contributed to the aggrandizement of the Romans.<sup>17</sup>

As early as 1266 pope Clement IV laid down as papal prerogative the right to fill all the ecclesiastical appointments of Christendom, high and low. The principle was reaffirmed by Clement V. An enormous abuse of this usurped authority followed. Italians seemed to have been predestinated to fill the rich church livings of all lands.<sup>18</sup> The wretched practice of annates,

13 One of these tracts, the *Squalores curiae romanae*, is treated at length by Haller in an appendix, pp. 483-524.

14 Baur in his *D. Christ. Kirche des Mittelalters*, p. 258 sqq., brings out this contrast sharply.

15 Matthew Paris complains again and again of the disparagement done to the authority of prelates and the hurt done to the Church in England by the abuse of the papal power, especially through legates. Grosse-teste had fought against it, but he did not call in question the rights of the papacy as Wyclif did in the succeeding period.

16 Bernard, in his treatise on the papacy, *De consideratione*, complains bitterly of the papal legates who used their office for their own enrichment. He could find only two examples of honest legates. Gregory VII. inaugurated the legatine system.

17 Jessop, in his *Coming of the Friars*, gives a number of cases in which English convents were engaged in litigation with the bishops and worried the bishops almost to despair by the appeal of cases to Rome. These *casus papae reservati* were often indefinitely extended and used by the curia as a means for extracting bribes. Bernard (d. 1153), in a letter to Innocent II., complained of the evil done to the Church by these appeals. In his *De consideratione* he emphasizes the greed of "the Romans."

18 One of the first cases of the exercise of this authority was the demand made by Adrian IV. upon the bishop of Paris of a canonry for the

expectations and reservations became general, whereby the papal treasury was filled with the payments of levies made upon new appointees to ecclesiastical place; and successors to the occupants of church dignities and livings designated before they were vacant.

The papal exchequer came to be its most conspicuous feature and how far obsequiousness could go is attested by the words of Augustus Triumphus, who declared that it is impossible for the pope to commit simony, "for he is above canon law and no positive laws can be binding on him."<sup>19</sup> The opening of the archives of the Vatican by the enlightened policy of Leo XIII has brought to view a mass of papal registers and accounts of the curia, which confirm our former judgments of the papal court in the 14th century. The right of the pope to levy taxes upon the church at large, asserted during the crusades, became a regular practice employed to support a hungry horde of retainers at Rome and the luxuries of the Avignon court. Everything at Avignon was bought and sold.

The Reformatory Councils were the product of the outraged opinion of Christendom. The keen tracts of the day referred back to the golden period of the church and affirmed the time

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chancellor of Louis VII. Innocent III. (d. 1216) filled episcopates when elections were not held at the proper time or not held in a way to suit him, as in the case when his nominee, Stephen Langton, was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury and the two other candidates were set aside. Matthew Paris (*anno* 1240) speaks of three hundred Italians being supplied with livings in England, three of them bishoprics. Italian followed Italian. Grosseteste fought against this practice. But Robert of Lincoln held to the theory that the pope had the right to bestow all places. See Haller, p. 43. Alvarus Pelayo, in his *De planctu ecclesiae*, declared the pope to be *distributor et dignitatum et officiorum beneficiorumque ecclesiasticorum omnium*. At the Council of Vienne, 1311, the bishop of Angiers complained that in twenty years thirty vacancies had occurred in his see and that the pope had filled all but two of them.

19 *Quia est super jus et jura positiva cum non ligant*. Haller, p. 45, says of the Avignon Exile, *Geldsammeln war jetzt die vornehmste Sorge*. In 1313 the archbishop of Canterbury paid 32,000 marks for his pallium and the archbishop of York 9,500. Cardinal Hergenröther, writing of the middle of the 15th century says (*Kirchengeschichte* by Kirsch, II., 1003 sq.): "The 15th century brought changes in the details of the papal administration but no change in the system. . . . Simony became more and more frequent. The bishops were secularized and neglected their episcopal residences, thought only of show and money and were at times profligate. The illegitimate sons of the higher ecclesiastics were easily legitimated that they might receive consecration and Church livings."

had come when judgment should begin at the house of God.<sup>20</sup> Even the college of cardinals, in 1403, announced that there was no health from the "sole of the foot to the crown of the head." One of the chief features of these councils was the assertion of their own authority. In a sermon preached at the Council of Constance, Gerson took the ground that a general council might assemble and act without being convoked by a pope and without his consent, that the Church as a totality is represented in such a council and the council is the supreme authority on the earth. The Council of Constance, by formal act at its 5th session, solemnly affirmed these principles. The act runs that the council was legally assembled in the Holy Spirit and had its authority directly from Jesus Christ, that a general council is superior to the pope and that the pope is amenable to it.<sup>21</sup> These acts the Council of Basel reaffirmed and at the same time it excommunicated the reigning pope as a perjurer and heretic as the Council of Constance had virtually elected pope Martin V.

These decrees mark a radical dissent from the theory of the papacy, built up in the momentous struggle between the spiritual and civil power during three centuries or more. And yet it would be natural to suppose, that stated as they were, by councils so eminent and in an age of widening horizons, their decision would prevail. But it did not prevail. The Reformatory Councils were proved to be merely a passing episode. The popes resented the decrees of Constance as an unwarranted infringement of their power. Backed by the curia, they not only ignored them, but secured a complete triumph for the opposing theocratic ideas of the papacy of Innocent III and Boniface VIII.

These are the stages in the process by which this remarkable result was secured. In closing the Council of Constance, Martin V declared he would execute its decrees so far as they had been

20 Nicolas of Clemanges in his *de ruina ecclesiae*, Döllinger (*Papstthum*, p. 81), quotes Gerson as saying in a sermon, the state of the Church was brutal—*status ecclesiae factus et totus quasi brutalis et monstruosus*. Gower said, "The Roman court has not a single sound spot from head to foot." Wright's ed. I. 356.

21 *Quod ipsa in S. Spirito legitime congregata . . . concilium generale ecclesiam catholicam representans potestatem a Christo immediate habet cui quilibet cujusunque status vel dignitatis, etiamsi papalis existat, obedire tenetur*, etc., Mirbét: *Quellen zur Geschichte des Papstthums*, 2d ed., p. 155. von der Hardt: *Magnum oecumenicum Constantiense concilium*, IV., p. 89, sq.

enacted in a conciliar way.<sup>22</sup> These words were ominous, although it is probable he was referring only to the case presented by the Teutonic knights, just as the council was closing. There could be no doubt, however, about the meaning of Eugenius IV, Martin's successor. In 1446, that pope declared that he accepted the decrees of the Council of Constance, so far as they were without prejudice to the dignity of the apostolic see.<sup>23</sup> He had resisted the calling of an œcumenical council as long as he was able, and in these words he constituted himself the interpreter and judge of the acts of a council. A council represented the consensus of Christendom and was in that sense the highest voice of Christendom, but the pope was superior, for his was the voice of God. Pius II went further. Before being elected pope, he advocated the superior authority of a general council, but once firmly seated in the papal chair, he solemnly (1459) threatened with excommunication all appealing from the decision of the pope to a general council.<sup>24</sup> The Council of Constance had decided that

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22 *Omnia et singula decreta in materiis fidei per præsens sacrum concilium generale Constantiense conciliariter tenere et inviolabiter observare volebat.* Catholic historians differ among themselves as to the moment when the Council of Constance began to be an œcumenical council. The Ultramantanes reject the decrees of the fifth session on the ground that the council had no œcumenical character at that time. Pastor, *Gesch. der Päpste*, I. 153, declares them "acts of violence passed by unauthorized persons," *eine Gewaltthat unberechtigter Personen*. As for Martin's words adjourning the council, opinions also differ. The Ultramantanes extend their application to all the acts of the council. Some of the most eminent Catholic historians restrict the application to the Falkenberg incident, which evened just as the council was closing. So Funk unequivocally in his *Martin V. und d. Konzil von Kostnitz*, in his *Abhandlungen*, I. 489-508. Also Kupper in *Wetzer und Welte*, VII. 1004, sq. Hefele, in the second edition of his *History of the Councils* (I. 51 sq.) also advocates this view and recalls his argument for the application of Martin's words to all the acts of the council which he had made in the first edition, VII. 104 sq., 368-373. The Council of Constance stood for what came later to be known as Gallicanism.

23 During the sessions of the Council of Basel John of Turrecremata, 1439, issued his famous tract on the authority of general councils and the apostolic see, *De potestate papali et de conciliis*. His work is one of the most notable pleas for the supreme authority of the pope.

24 In the bull *execrabilis*, 1459, those who presume to appeal to a general council are said to "be imbued with the spirit of rebellion" *spiritu rebellionis imbuti*. In his letter to Cologne, 1463, Pius II., referring to his change of attitude, called upon the people to "accept Pius and reject Æneam," his former name being Æneas Sylvius.

a council should be convened at stated periods, the interval between them being not more than ten years. This decision the popes deliberately treated with contempt. The demand for a council was made again and again. We recall, for example, the appeal of Savonarola to a general council. Conclave after conclave passed resolutions in favor of calling one, but popes were no sooner elected than they seem to have forgotten all about the resolutions. Why should the pope call an assembly which was so apt to follow the example of the Council of Basel and sit in judgment upon his acts? Was not the pope by divine right God's vicar on earth and supreme ruler in the Church? Why subject himself to the inconvenience of a convocation of ecclesiastics and doctors?"

At last, after more than half a century of disappointment, Julius II, in 1511, called the Fifth Lateran Council, the eighteenth among the general councils recognized by the Roman Church. He was forced to do it in order to counteract the Council of Siena, which was then in session and claimed to be a general council. It included many prelates and all the French cardinals and had the support of the French king. At this Fifth Council of the Lateran, the theory, solemnly stated by the Council of Constance, was repudiated. The boldest claims ever made for papal absolutism before were reasserted. The assembled ecclesiastics listened to the most exaggerated laudations of the papal office. Marcello, addressing the council, declared the pope must be "physician, pilot, in short all things, to the church, even a second God on earth."<sup>25</sup> Cardinal Cajetan claimed for the pope the two swords. And to cap all, Leo X issued the bull, *pastor aeternus*,<sup>26</sup> which asserted that it was altogether necessary to salvation for every Christian to be subject to the Roman pontiff, that the pope has authority over all councils and that to him are committed the two swords, the spiritual sword of authority within the church and the temporal sword,

25 Hefele-Hergenröther, *Hist. of the Councils*, VIII. 528-531, pronounces this expression to be rhetorical. It was first used by Gregory VII.

26 The text is given in Mirbt 178 and Mansi. Hefele's treatment, Vol. VIII., 710 sqq. of his *Hist. of the Councils*. The bull *Unam sanctam*, issued by Boniface VIII., 1302, is the most emphatic statement of the supremacy of the bishop of Rome and of the doctrine that outside the Church of which he is the head "there is no salvation or remission of sins." This bull Leo reaffirmed.



which, at his wink, Christian princes were bound to unsheathe. This famous deliverance was issued in 1516, ten months before Luther nailed up his 95 Theses. And the council listened to it without a dissenting voice.

So the Middle Ages went out. Mediæval theology, at its highest point of sacerdotal assumption, was reaffirmed. The pope was above canon law. He was amenable to no tribunal on earth. The power of excommunication, the interdict and the inquisition, the power of setting up and deposing princes, of levying taxes on all Christendom, and of filling all the livings in the church, was in the hand of the man at Rome, and he might exercise the power as he pleased. Does this history of the 15th century indicate any movement in the direction of the principle of the Reformation and of modern society, the principle of the dignity of the individual man as the interpreter of God's will?

Another aspect of the papacy in this century shows how far the popes were off from any concern for the *spiritual things* of the Church. Their lives flagrantly contradicted our Lord's declaration when he said "my kingdom is not of this world." From Pius II to Leo X, or from 1460 to the Reformation, the popes were of the earth, earthy. They lived in shameful defiance of the spirit of holiness.

We are not limited to Protestant historians for this sweeping condemnation. Here again the opening of the Vatican archives has put within the reach of the student new documents which confirm the worst that was ever said of these men by their contemporaries, Infessura, Burchard, Platina and Guicciardini (1483-1540), or has been said since. Pastor, the ultramontane historian, joins with Gregorovius and the late Bishop Creighton, of London, in establishing their worldliness and profligacy. These pontiffs seemed to have abandoned themselves to all evil.

Closing his brilliant chapters on Alexander VI, Pastor pronounces all attempts to rehabilitate that pope as simply ridiculous, *geradezu lächerlich*.<sup>27</sup> I have time to give only a few strokes.

The six or eight popes of the last half century of the Middle Ages practiced *neptoism* without a blush.<sup>28</sup> Irrespective of age

27 In view of Ollivier's attempt to do so, Pastor, I. 589; III. 261.

28 Ranke, *Hist. of the Popes*, Germ., ed. I., p. 29, says that in earlier times the popes had before them great ideals, such as the struggle with heathenism, the conversion of the modern barbarians, etc. Now they di-

or moral fitness, they appointed their relatives and the sons of princes to the highest offices in the church. The son of the Duke of Este was made cardinal at 15, the son of Lorenzo, of Florence, at the same age, a son of the king of Portugal at seven. Piety was not the fashion in high ecclesiastical circles and not a qualification for high ecclesiastical preferment.

Pluralities were heaped upon cardinals and the favorites of popes and princes and the exercise of spiritual functions was completely forgotten in the greed for church dignities and revenues.<sup>29</sup>

The leaders in extravagance and luxury in Rome were the cardinals, and Rome was the most luxurious court in Europe. Their splendid palaces and their furnishings, their lavish entertainments, their kennels and their stables, and their mistresses fill the pages of the contemporary annalists who lived in Rome. The cardinals gambled for large sums, and the sons of popes were losers of fortunes over night at the gaming table.<sup>30</sup>

The law of celibacy was laughed at and popes conferred dukedoms and the red hat on their own sons and arranged marriage alliances for their own daughters with the natural and illegitimate sons of the chief princes of the age.<sup>31</sup>

The papal elections were the scene of open bribery and enormous sums were paid for the spiritual crown of Christendom.

Pius II did not hesitate to detail in a letter to his father the measures to which he had resorted to corrupt one woman, and in one of his books gave an account of another episode of the same kind, in which he had figured."

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rected their attention to the development of their temporal power and glory as never before.

29 Julian Rovere, afterwards Pope Julius II., was appointed archbishop of Avignon, archbishop of Bologna, bishop of Lausanne, of Viviers, of Munde, of Ostia, abbot of several abbeys, etc. See Pastor, II. 429.

30 Cardinal Raffaele won 8,000 ducats at one sitting from Cardinal Balue, and at another 14,000 ducats from Franceschetto, Innocent VIII.'s son. When Innocent demanded the return of the money the gay cardinal excused himself on the ground it had already been spent upon his new palace.

31 For example, the second husband of Alexander VI.'s daughter, Lucrezia Borgia, was the illegitimate son of the King of Portugal.

32 Pius II. was one of the chief literary men of his age, and one cannot help but admire the vigor with which he ruled as pope. He was urgent in his effort to arouse the Christian princes to undertake a crusade against the Turks. He called them together in an assembly, at Ferrara, but all to

Of Paul II, his contemporary says, that "he slept in the daytime and kept awake at night looking over his jewels," of which he left drawersful at his death.<sup>33</sup>

Sixtus IV practiced nepotism as it had never been known before and involved cities and states of Italy in wars that his unworthy nephews might be enriched and advanced.<sup>34</sup>

Innocent VIII (1484-1492) licensed houses of ill fame and had eight sons and as many daughters, so that the pasquinade ran through the streets of the holy city that it was with propriety, the Romans called him "father."<sup>35</sup>

Of Alexander VI, what shall we say?<sup>36</sup> He was pope when no purpose. With purpose undaunted, Pius went to Ancona, intending to lead the movement in person, but he found only two ships awaiting him. He died in 1464, with a prayer on his lips for "the holy expedition." Pastor calls him *den geistlichen lebenswürdigen Siener*. II. 22-33. Pius went so far in the letter to his father, above referred to, as to call "wantonness an old vice. He was no eunuch nor without passion. He could not claim to be wiser than Solomon or holier than David." Pius wrote to the young Duke of Tyrol, Sigismund, not to resist the blandishments of Venus.

33 So Platina in his *Hist. of the Popes*. Paul's successor found 54 silver chests filled with pearls worth 300,000 ducats and a drawer containing seven large sapphires and other precious stones. Of the popes who followed Paul the Catholic historian Hefele-Knöpfler, *Kirchengeschichte*, p. 483, says, "The tiara seemed to them to be first of all a means for the enrichment and elevation of their families. To accomplish this end all the papal power was made subservient in the most unscrupulous manner."

34 His nephew, Riario, was made cardinal at 17, two other nephews at the ages of 23 and 28. Pastor, II. 425, speaks of Sixtus' numerous and worthless relatives *zahlreiche and unwürdige Verwandten*. He created a commission for the disposal of Church livings. Döllinger, *The Church*, p. 364.

35 Funk, *Kirchengeschichte*, 373, says, "Everything seemed to be set up for sale." Under this pope the pasquinade ran:

*Octo nocens pueros, genuit totidem puellas  
Hunc merito potuit dicere Roma Patrem.*

These children were born to Innocent before he was made pope. Infessura, a Roman contemporary, in his *Diarium urbis Romae* says: "In darkness Innocent was elected, in darkness he lives and in darkness he will disappear." The nuptials of one of his daughters was celebrated in the Vatican and also the nuptials of one of his granddaughters, in 1488, with a member of the house of the Medici. Infessura is our authority for Innocent's decree licensing houses of ill repute.

36 Infessura says that as soon as Alexander was elected he began "to distribute his goods among the poor." In a dispatch to the Duke of Este, published for the first time by Pastor, Giovanni Boccaccio, bishop of Modena, gives a list of the bribes which Alexander paid for his election. The Catholic historians, Hefele, Hergenröther and Pastor make no pretense of concealing his vices and crimes.

Columbus reached these shores and his office gave him the power, by one stroke of his pen, to divide the Americas between Portugal and Spain. Borgia was his family name, and that name has a place among the most infamous that history knows. His children filled Rome with their intrigues and scandals. His son Cæsar, he allowed to fence in the square in front of St. Peter's and use it for a bull fight in which Caesar himself killed five bulls. And this was in the sacred Jubilee Year of 1500! Alexander freely gave entertainments in the Vatican and at one of them 50 courtizans were present.<sup>37</sup> Children were born to him there and at least one of these was legitimated in two bulls recently discovered in Modena and pronounced by Pastor as well as Gregorovius, to be of undoubted genuineness.

Alexander's son Cæsar, a virtuoso in crime, but cardinal and archbishop, the father dispensed from his sacred vows, that he might marry a relative of the king of France. Alexander made him duke of the Romagna and allowed him to use all the weapons at the pope's control to harry and plunder families and to reduce towns for his enrichment and pleasures. The most holy things were desecrated that this son might be gratified. On each of two occasions, when cardinals were appointed, he received more than 100,000 ducats in bribes. It was this Alexander who declared Savonarola should be put to death, even if he were another John the Baptist. He died in 1503 and the evidence is very strong that he died of the poisonous cup which he and his son had prepared for a rich cardinal and which the pope took by mistake.<sup>38</sup> Alexander is a terrible weight for the good papist to carry and we might easily suppose that his pontificate would be a final refutation of the dogma of papal infallibility. But not so. Pastor declares him to have "been a sensualist to the end" and yet, ultramontane as he is, he still holds on to the ultramontane theory of the infallibility of the pope,<sup>39</sup> for was not Alexander kept from announcing any heretical doctrine!

37 So Burchard, a contemporary, III. 167.

38 Guicciardini, Ranke, I. 35 and Hase (*Kirchengeschichte*, III. 353) adopt this view. Pastor, III. 471, Creighton, IV. 43, Hergenröther, II. 752 are against it. Gregorovius, Eng. ed., VII. 516, regards the evidence as evenly balanced and comes to no positive decision.

39 He says, "Yet the Church's teaching continued unharmed. It was as if Providence wanted to show that men may injure the Church but that it is not in their power to destroy it. As a bad setting does not diminish

Julius II and Leo X close the list of the popes of the Middle Ages. Julius was a warrior.<sup>40</sup> He went to the camp, clad in a coat of mail. Michel Angelo, showing Julius the model of the statute he was preparing of him, represented his right hand as uplifted. "What are you going to put into it?" said the pope. The artist suggested a book. "No," replied Julius, "a sword. I am no scholar."

The Medicis were lovers of ease, luxury and art. And Leo X was a Medici. "Let us enjoy the papacy, now that God has given it to us." So he wrote to his brother. He wore boots and spurs, loved the chase and fishing and played cards. Were these things vices? No, but Leo might have shown some interest in higher things. Was he not the supreme priest of Christendom? And yet he looked on at the performance of meretricious plays, one of them *la Calandra*, performed in the Vatican Sunday evening.<sup>41</sup> "He would have been a perfect pope," wrote Sarpi, the historian of the Council of Trent, "if he had combined with his other qualities some appearance of religion." For sixty years the pope had been living in defiance of the simplest precepts of religion. Is it surprising that Leo X, this votary of pleasure, on hearing the news from Wittenberg should have exclaimed, "It is a brawl of Saxon monks. When they get sober, they will think differently."

Such was the papacy in these closing years of the Middle Ages. It reaffirmed the theory that the pope stands in the place of God on earth. At the same time it was sunken in profligacy and trafficked in holy things as if they were common objects of barter. There was no other period in the history of the Roman

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the value of the precious stone, so the sinfulness of a priest cannot do any essential hurt to his dispensation of the sacraments and the doctrine committed to him. Gold remains gold, whether dispensed by a clean hand or an unclean. The papal office is exalted far above its occupants and cannot lose its dignity or gain by the essential worthiness or unworthiness of its occupants. Peter sinned, and yet the supreme pastoral office was committed to him. It was from this standpoint Leo I. declared that the dignity of St. Peter is not lost even in an unworthy successor." III. 475.

<sup>40</sup> Julius had three children, but the domestic scandals of the Vatican ceased in his reign. He was a man of great ability and was in a sense the founder of the modern papal state. He drove the French out of Northern Italy and was contemplating a campaign against the Spaniards in Naples when he died.

<sup>41</sup> Among the first cardinals whom he appointed was the grandson of Innocent VIII., then 21.

priesthood but one, when it seemed to have abandoned all spiritual conceptions of Christianity. That other period was the 10th century and then the Ottos from the North went down and purged Rome and the church of the intolerable scandal presented by the papacy. There was no disposition within the papacy to reform itself and perhaps it is true, as a great historian of the Renaissance has remarked, "the Reformation saved the papacy."<sup>42</sup> The power which again cleansed proceeded from the North.

POPULAR PIETY AND EDUCATION. In the popular piety and education of the age, we meet a second great force of the 15th century, but here we are confronted with opposing tides. A fair statement of the case seems to be that among the people, in Germany at least, there was some longing for a better state of affairs than that which existed in the church. But there was less of conscious alienation from the church or open attack upon its institutions than in some of the preceding centuries. It is true the Hussites of Bohemia remained, but they were scattered. Lollardism in England was effaced, or almost entirely effaced. In France the heretical sects had been a prominent feature of her history in the 13th century, but the Albigenses were now a memory.

It would be a mistake to suppose that in the last century of the Middle Ages, there was a decline of religion.<sup>43</sup> As for worship, the cult of Mary flourished and received a great impulse from the commendation of the rosary. The worship of relics continued. As late as 1509 no less a personage than Albrecht, of Brandenburg, had gathered 8,933 relics and 42 whole bodies of saints, all of which were supposed to have religious potency. And Frederick the Wise, soon to become the defender of Luther, brought back with him, from the East, 5,005 sacred relics, all of them giving 100 days absolution.<sup>44</sup> In Rome, even, under the

<sup>42</sup> Burckhardt. Reumont, in his *Geschichte der Stadt Rom*, III., pt. 2, page 128, says of Leo X.: "He did not apprehend the duty of regenerating the papacy and himself and with these Christendom." Gerhard Ficker, in his *Das ausgehende Mittelalter*, etc., Leipzig, 1903, speaks of "the incalculable advantage which accrued to the Catholic Church from the Reformation," p. 13.

<sup>43</sup> Karl Müller, *Kirchengeschichte*, II. 159, says, "It would be quite wrong to imagine that at the close of the Middle Ages the Church was only in a process of decline."

<sup>44</sup> See Bezold, *Geschichte d. Reformation*, p. 99, sq. Ficker, p. 7, sqq., gives prominence to the interest in pilgrimages in the latter years of the century in Germany.

unsavory popes of the latter half of the century, relics were received by processions of cardinals. In 1462 St. Andrew's head was received by Bessarion and two other cardinals at Narni, and by Pius II and all the cardinals at the Ponte Molle.

In a Latin address, Pius felicitated St. Andrew upon finding at last his appropriate place at the side of the other Apostles, from whom he had been separated so long. And so it was with the Holy Lance. It was received with great honors and Innocent VIII said mass over it in St. Peters. And this instrument was the gift of no less a personage than the sultan of Turkey! St. Anna, the mother of Mary, was placed among the saints by Alexander VI, the saint to whom Luther, before becoming a monk appealed.

In the years 1478 and 1485 three documents were issued from Rome, which imply the strong hold religion had upon the hearts of men. In the first, Sixtus IV, formally announced that indulgences inure to the good of souls in purgatory and people believed it, and the traffic in indulgences got a new impulse. In the second, the bull of Innocent VIII against witches, the pope sanctioned the wildest tales about witches, even to their intercourse with demons, and great numbers of these unfortunate people were tortured and burned in Germany and Northern Italy.<sup>45</sup> The third, issued by Sixtus IV, established the inquisition in its

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45 Innocent's bull, *Summis desiderantes*, is given entire by Hansen in his *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Hexenwahns*, pp. 25-27 (Bonn, 1901). Also Mirbt, p. 171, sq. Hansen has offered in the volume referred to a most valuable collection of documents bearing on witches and their persecution. Nothing at all equal to it exists. It was preceded by his very valuable history of the subject, Munich, 1900. He has put it beyond question that the Inquisition was the invention of the popes. Innocent's bull against witches would seem to be of itself a final blow against the doctrine of papal infallibility. But the advocate of that theory easily finds an explanation and saves the theory. Innocent, he says, was acting upon information he received of the supposed activity of witches in Germany. The information may have been false, but Innocent cannot be blamed for that or for basing his bull calling for the torture and execution of witches upon it. In 1487 the notorious Witches Hammer, *Malleus maleficarum*, was published, a manual for the use of the inquisitors, and started on its nefarious crusade. Thomas Aquinas, and Augustine before him, believed in witchcraft. Alexander VI., Julius II., Leo X. and Adrian VI. (1523) urged on the prosecution of the unfortunate creatures. Hansen gives the documents of these popes, pp. 30-35. Hans Sachs, of Nurnberg, breathed a better spirit when he wrote, 1521:

*Des Teufels Eh und Reuterei  
Ist nur Gespenst und Fantasy.*



Spanish form and the bloody work of the Torquemadas in Spain and the Duke of Alva, in the lowlands began.<sup>46</sup> Thus far we certainly find anything but a movement toward a purer form of Christian worship and practice.

In England, the 15th century passed away with scarcely an event of historic importance in its ecclesiastical annals. There was no vigorous protest against Rome. Grosseteste and Wyclif were gone and had no successors. The universities had run down to one-fifth of their former attendance. The monasteries were no longer seats of learning. The explanation of this state of affairs is that England was distracted by the wars of the Roses. In their book on the collection of the ecclesiastical acts and charters of England down to 1700, Gee and Hardy give 124 such acts, and only two belong to this century.<sup>47</sup>

There was another side to the popular religion of the century. In the quiet places along the Rhine and in the Lowlands, rills of a purer piety were running. Tauler, an honored name, belongs to the century before this one. So do Suso and Gerhard de Groot and Ruysbroeck and Radewyns and other mystics, who from out their own experience called for a closer life of communion with God. Tauler had said "wisdom is not learned in Paris but in the sufferings of the Lord." These leaders were dead but they had pupils and the Brothers of the Common Life at Zwolle and many other convents lived a quiet life of peaceful communion with God and taught it. The *Imitation of Christ* was penned by one of their number; the little book called *The German Theology*, which Luther praised, by another.<sup>48</sup> The Franciscans complained bitterly of the Brothers of the Common Life, but they toiled on and from their schools went Erasmus John of Goch, John of Wesel and a long list of school teachers beginning with Hegius and von Plangen. These mystics, however, did not attack the sacramental system of the church; and their convents at the opening of the sixteenth century were in a state of decline. We honor them, for they walked with God in silent pathways and

46 The contention of Hefele, in his *Cardinal Ximenes*, that the Spanish Inquisition owed its origin to the Spanish king, Pastor has effectually refuted. Sixtus IV. was its author.

47 The act for burning heretics was passed in 1401.

48 From this school proceeded other manuals of devotion, such as the *Selenwurzgürtlein*, *Selenschatz*, 1491, etc., upon which Janssen lays so much stress.

left on the pages of the history of their time the fragrance of spiritual habits, but they did not have any permanent effect upon the religious habits of Europe.

There was another group of men, university teachers, scattered in the region about Cologne but agreeing in expressing dissent from this or that mediæval belief. John of Goch, John of Wesel and Wessel spoke of the invisible church and of the Scriptures as the final seat of authority. But they gathered no school around them and it is probable that their utterances, still in part unprinted, would not now arrest any attention had the movement, started by Luther, not called attention to them.

In one more locality there seemed to be some promise of better things. The sky of Italy was suddenly aflame with the descriptions of the monk of Florence, the preacher who made the *duomo* ring with his expositions of the prophets and his prediction of coming judgments. But Savonarola never included in his movement doctrinal or ecclesiastical reforms, and what there was of his movement died with him, though his name lives on as an inspiration and a rebuke.

A good deal has been made of the eighteen editions of the German Bible which left the press before Luther's New Testament appeared in 1522. Men were no doubt beginning to look into the Scriptures for themselves, but the Church authorities did not encourage the practice. The notorious edict of Bertholdt, archbishop of Mainz, effectually checked any movement for the free distribution of the Scriptures in the vernacular.<sup>49</sup> That prelate declared the rude German to be an unfit vehicle for the divine writings. The Bible was not to be put into the hands of private and unlearned men or to be given to women, *femineo sexui*.<sup>50</sup> And after the promulgation of this edict in 1485 only three editions appeared as against fifteen before. As for the translation of the Bible into English, we know that, long after Luther appeared, there was no place in all England where that book might be translated, and when Tyndale's New Testament appeared from the printing presses along the Rhine in 1526, all the copies the

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<sup>49</sup> See the document in Mirbt, p. 173.

<sup>50</sup> The disparagement of women even in the closing years of the Middle Ages has a remarkable illustration in the statements of the *Witches Hammer*.

bishop of London could lay his hands upon were cast into the flames.

There was some preaching in Germany. Preachers were scarce but there was a demand for them, which Luther found and satisfied. A book of devotion, the *Selentrost*, 1483, tells this story: A holy man met the devil carrying a bag. "What have you got there?" he said. The devil replied: "I am carrying boxes filled with different kinds of ointment. In this black box is a salve with which I close men's eyes during sermons, for the preachers are too clever in getting men away from me. One sermon will rob me of souls I have had in my power for thirty or forty years."<sup>51</sup>

Society in Europe was still closely bound to the church and did not think of any separation. But there was religious unrest in Germany and also beyond.<sup>52</sup> This can be proved by chance statements predicting the coming of a better time and by the reception given to Luther and the other Reformers when they spake, as well as by the audience given to the ridicule of priestly obscurantism by Erasmus and Ulrich von Hutten. The geographical discoveries of the age helped to develop this unrest and give men hope of better things. The forecast of Lefèvre d'Etaples the teacher of Farel, is perhaps the most remarkable of its kind. The signs of the time, he wrote, "announce, that a reformation of the Church is near at hand and, while God is opening new ways for the preaching of the Gospel by the Spanish and Portuguese, we must hope that he will also visit his Church and raise her from the basement into which she has fallen."<sup>53</sup> These words were written five years before Luther's protest against the traffic in indulgences.<sup>54</sup>

51 Quoted by Janssen, I.:37. Geiler of Kaisersberg said, It is dangerous to give children a knife to cut bread for themselves, for they are likely to cut their own hands. So with the Scriptures, which contain the bread of God. They must be read and expounded by those more advanced in knowledge and experience and who can make doubtful meanings clear.

52 Ficker, p. 78, says the people at large were not alienated from the Church.

53 Janssen, II. 300, quotes Hassenstein, who wrote from Prag in 1502, "Nobody is hindered from professing here whatever pleases him. Some think one way of salvation as good as another, and some think hell a fabrication. They preach their views openly. Men and women, old and young, dispute on matters of faith and expound the Holy Scriptures according to their lights." Prag had not forgotten the lessons taught by Huss.

54 I have not set forth the moral decline of conventual life which some writers emphasize. See Ficker, pp. 27-29, who speaks of the "extra-

COMMERCE. The third potent force of this century was connected with its commerce. The industrial change then going on deserves a larger treatment than it has received as a movement preparing the mind, at least of the German people, for the Reformation. Exploration and the extension of commerce have in more periods than one preceded a revival of missionary enterprise.<sup>55</sup> The fifteenth century was a time of revolution in the methods of trade and the comforts and prices of living. The world would never be again just what it had been before. There was marked restlessness among the artizan and peasant classes. This industrial unrest was adapted to encourage, if not to beget, unrest in things ecclesiastical and to accustom the mind to the thought of change there.

The center of trade had shifted from Italy to the cities north of the Alps and to the Portuguese coast.<sup>56</sup> Nürnberg, Ulm and Augsburg in Southern Germany, Bruges, Antwerp and other cities along the lower Rhine and in Flanders and the cities of the Hanseatic League were bustling marts, turning out new and wonderful products of manufacture and drawing the products of the outside world through London, Lisbon, Lyons and Venice. Energy and enterprise were making Germany rich and her mercantile houses had their permanent representatives and depots in Venice, Antwerp and other ports.<sup>57</sup>

ordinary immorality of priests and nuns," and Capes: *Hist. of Engl. Church in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, p. 301, sqq. The evidences of moral degeneracy in monastic life are not so glaring in the beginning of the 16th century as in some other periods of the Church. Nicolas of Clemanges early in the 15th century declared the monasteries of nuns to be nothing else than "houses of prostitution of Venus."

55 As, for example, in the 18th century, when Carey and the modern missionary era followed hard upon the voyages of Captain Cook and La Perouse. The same was the case with the missions to China, started during the Crusades and in consequence of them, etc.

56 For the transfer of the centre of the Levantine trade from Venice to Lisbon at the beginning of the 16th century, see Heyd: *Geschichte des Levantenhandels im Mittelalter*, II. 505-540. He says that the discovery of the route to India around the Cape of Good Hope by the Portuguese *hatte wie ein Donnerschlag am heiteren Himmel die Gemüther der Venetianer berührt*. II. 514. To counteract the turn of the stream of trade in the direction of Lisbon, the Venetians proposed a scheme for cutting a canal through the Isthmus of Suez in 1500, and in the same interest the Turks actually began that enterprise in 1529. Manuel, king of Portugal, in 1505 stationed a fleet at Calicut to prevent the Venetians from interfering with the export of Indian goods to Portugal.

57 For the German Board of Trade at Venice, the *fondaco dei Tedeschi*, see Heyd, II. 520, etc.

Methods of business, such as to-day are suggesting grave problems to the political economist and moralist, were introduced in the fifteenth century. Trading companies and monopolies came upon the stage and startled the advocates of the old regime by the extent and boldness of their operations. Trusts flourished in Augsburg and other German cities. Individuals and companies cornered the import trade, the grain crop, the wine harvest, the silver, copper and iron product, sugar, linen, leather, pepper, even soap, for they used soap also in those days. The Höchstetters, the Ebners and the Fuggers were among the great speculative and trading firms of the age.<sup>58</sup> They carried things with a high hand. Ambrose Höchstetter of Augsburg, for example, one season bought up all the ash wood, another all the grain and another all the wine. Nor was the art of adulteration left for these later and, perhaps more degenerate, times to practice. They condescended to small things, even to the mixing of brick dust with pepper.<sup>59</sup> Commodities rose suddenly in price. In Germany, wine rose in 1510 49 per cent., and grain 32 per cent. Imperial diets took cognizance of these conditions and tried to correct the evils complained of by regulating the prices of goods.<sup>60</sup> Municipalities did the same. Preachers like Geiler of Kaisersberg made the charge that the monopolists feared neither God nor man and called upon the cities to banish them. Professors of jurisprudence, for there was at that time no department of social science,

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58 Writing in 1458, Aeneas Sylvius (Pius II.), one of the most observant of travelers, said, "The German nation takes the lead of all others in wealth and power." He spoke of Cologne as unexcelled in magnificence among the cities of Europe. At Nurnberg he found simple burghers living in houses, the like of which the kings of Scotland would gladly have had to house in. Froissart, writing in 1497, was amazed at the wealth and prosperity of the German cities. For other testimonies see Janssen, II. 58, sqq.

59 In 1504 Lisbon controlled two-thirds of the pepper trade. In that year the Portuguese ships carried 380 tons of pepper to England. Heyd, II. 526.

60 So the Diet of Cologne, 1512. It declared, however, at the same time that its acts were not designed to prevent the association of merchants in trading companies. The Diet of Innsbruck, 1518, did the same, and complained of the trading companies for driving out the small dealers and fixing prices arbitrarily. Trithemius argued for laws protecting the people from the overreachings of avarice, and declared that whosoever bought up meat, grain and other articles of diet to force up prices is no better than a common criminal. See Janssen, II. 102, sq. Janssen himself applauds the sumptuary legislation of the 15th century as an evidence of the Christian spirit of that period.

inveighed against monopolies as spiders' webs to ensnare the innocent.<sup>61</sup> It was a fast age. There was no precedent for what was going on. Men sighed for the good old times. Speculation was rampant and the prospect of quick gains easily captivated the people.<sup>62</sup> They took shares in the investment companies and often lost everything.<sup>63</sup> It was noticed at the time that the directors of the companies were able, from their full knowledge of the concerns, to avoid losses which the common and unsuspecting investor had to bear. The confusion was increased by the fact that town aldermen and city councillors often took stock in the concerns. It also happened that the great traders whose ventures involved others in loss were conspicuous in church affairs, and the complaint was made that the leaders in the speculative world were not called by appropriate names but denominated "clever folk."

To the wealth arising from manufactures and foreign commerce were added the riches which were being dug up from the newly opened mines of silver, copper and iron in Bohemia and Saxony.<sup>64</sup> Avarice was cried down as the besetting sin of the age and commerce was in some quarters looked upon as carried on in defiance of the simplest precepts of the Gospel.<sup>65</sup>

With wealth came extravagance in dress and at the table. Municipalities legislated against it and imperial parliaments

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61 So Christopher Kuppner of Leipzig, in his tract on usury, 1508. He insists that magistrates should proceed against trading companies and rich merchants who through agents in other lands bought up saffron, pepper, corn and what not and sold them at whatsoever price they chose. Janssen, II. 82.

62 The capital of the Fuggers increased in seven years 13,000,000 florins. This was according to the testimony of the secretary to the house. Conrad Meyer. Rem of Augsburg, between 1511-1517, realized from an investment of 500 florins, placed in the hands of Ambrose Höchstetter, no less than 24,500 florins.

63 See Janssen, II. 87. A preacher in 1515 declared the spirit of speculation then prevailing to be of recent growth, only ten years old, and that it had not existed in former times.

64 In 1452 the king of England sent for miners from Bohemia and Austria.

65 Thomas Aquinas and the Mediæval Church condemned all taking of interest as usury and unlawful, and the feeling was that the new methods of merchandise came under the head of usury. See Janssen, II. 98, sqq. The *montes pietatis*, the loaning institutions conducted by the Franciscans, are well set forth by Holzapfel: *Die Anfänge der Montes Pietatis*, 1462-1516, Munich, 1903.

sought to check it by arbitrary rules. Wimpheling says services of gold were not unusual and that he himself had eaten from golden plates at Cologne. Complaint was frequently made at the diets that men were being brought to poverty by their expenditures for dress upon themselves and the expenditures of the female members of their households.

Peasants were limited to a certain kind of cloth for their outer garments and to a maximum price.<sup>66</sup> The women had their share in making the disturbance and dignified town councils sat in judgment upon the number of gowns and other articles of apparel and ornament the ladies of the day might possess without detriment to the community or hurt to the solvency of their indulgent husbands. The council of Ratisbon, for example, in 1485 made it a rule that the wives and daughters of distinguished burghers should be limited to eight dresses, six long cloaks, three dancing gowns, one plaited mantle with not more than three sets of sleeves of silk velvet and brocade, two pearl hair bands not to cost more than 12 florins, one tiara of gold set with pearls, not more than three veils costing 8 florins each, etc.<sup>67</sup> But why enumerate the whole list of articles? Perhaps the women conformed, as they sometimes do. And perhaps they ventured the suggestion that the councillors had municipal business enough to engage their full attention without stepping aside into departments with which they were not so familiar. Geiler of Kaisersberg, the great preacher of his day, had his word to say for these innovations of an extravagant age, the women with two dresses for each day and others for dancing, the long trains trailing in the dust, the cocks' feathers worn in the women's hats and the long hair falling down over their shoulders.<sup>68</sup> The times were bad. It is, however, pleasant to recall that a contemporary annalist commended as praiseworthy the habit of bathing at least "once every two weeks."

I have spoken of the commercial class. Among the artisans

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66 The Diets of 1498 and 1500 forbade artisans to wear gold, silver, pearls, velvet and embroidered stuffs. They were forbidden to pay more than one-half a florin a yard for the cloth of their coats and mantles.

67 Janssen, II., 63, sq.

68 The Narrenschiff said, "There is no more simplicity anywhere in the world."



and the peasants the unrest asserted itself in strikes and uprisings, strikes for shorter hours, for better food and for better wages. Sometimes a municipality and a gild were at strife for years. Sometimes a city was bereft at one stroke of all the workers of a given craft as was Nürnberg of her tin men in 1475. The gilds of tailors are said to have been most given to strikes.

The new order involved the peasant class in more hardship than any other. The peasants were made the victims of the insolence and violence of the land-owners, who encroached upon their fields and their traditional but unwritten rights, and deprived them of the right to fish and hunt and gather wood in the forests. Their unrest found expression in threats of popular leaders and uprisings. The church came in for its share of condemnation. One-fifth of the soil of Germany was in the possession of convents and other religious establishments and the peasant leaders called upon the monks and priests to divide and distribute their lands. In their marching songs they appealed to Christ to keep them from putting the priests to death. The Peasant War of 1525 was not the product of the abuse of the principle of personal freedom introduced by the Reformation. It was one of a long series of uprisings and it has been said that if the Reformation had not come and diverted the attention of the people, it is likely Germany would have been shaken by such a social revolution in the sixteenth century as the world has seldom seen.<sup>69</sup>

In England the restlessness was not so demonstrative, but the condition of the laboring classes was deplorable. Their hardships in a previous century had called forth the rebellion of Watt Tyler. More's Utopia gives some idea of what they were, on the eve of the Reformation. The acts of Parliament fixing wages as late as 1515<sup>70</sup> seemed to More to be "nothing else than a conspir-

69 Ficker, p. 107, sq. Müller: *Kirchengeschichte*, II., p. 196, sq. Among these peasant leaders the Piper of Niklashausen was one of the most prominent. In the last quarter of the 15th century a number of tracts were circulated among the peasants, calling upon them to resist the oppressions on the ruling classes and to demand the secularization of Church lands. In spite of such testimonies Janssen declares that the condition of the laboring man in 1450 was much better than it was a century later, after the Reformation had divided Germany.

70 More says: "The rich are ever striving to pare away something more from the daily wages of the poor by private fraud and even by public law. They devise every means to secure to themselves what they have amassed by wrong, and then take to their own use and profit at the lowest possible price the work and labor of the poor." See Green, *Hist. of the*

acy of the rich against the poor," and according to him "the laboring man was doomed to a life so wretched that even a beast's life in comparison seemed to be enviable."

Enough has been said to show what a mighty change was going on in the industrial and social conditions of Europe. And I have not spoken of the discoveries of the New World and the effects they must have had upon the minds of men in enlarging their horizon. The intellect could not remain inert in regard to matters spiritual at a time when it was moved by the bustle and enterprise of the new trade. A new order of things had set in. When the Reformation came, the chief centers of business in Germany became for the most part citidels of the new religious movement, Nürnberg, Ulm, Strassburg, Augsburg, Frankfurt, Lübeck. The free atmosphere of the new period was being felt and intellectual emancipation was longed for. Men were musing in their hearts.

THE RENAISSANCE. The last of the mighty forces of the closing century of the Middle Ages was the Renaissance, as it was called in Italy, or Humanism, as it was called in northern lands. This movement forms one of the most picturesque chapters in all civilization. The study of Greek was once more pursued in the West. The collection of ancient manuscripts became a passion. The classic world of Greece and Rome lived again.<sup>71</sup> Europe arose as out of a long sleep. Men opened their eyes and saw, as Mr. Taine put it. A like movement has occurred in our time with the recovery of the Sinaitic manuscript, the Didache, the Hammurabi code and other priceless documents and the uncovering of the mounds along the Nile and in Mesopotamia. The Renaissance made the discovery of man and the world. The Schoolmen had forgotten both. The world wanted something more intelligible and human than theological dialectics had offered. Popes and princes vied with each other in cultivating the arts and founding libraries. Italian sculptors and painters created a

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*English People*, I. 101, sq. The famous statute of laborers of 1350 fixed the wages of reapers at threepence a day. The statute of 1444 raised it to fivepence a day.

71 To Greek and Roman culture was also added the revival of Hebrew scholarship in the Christian Church. Poggio made collections of Hebrew MSS. for the Vatican. Nicholas V. offered 5,000 florins for a copy of the Hebrew Matthew.

new world of artistic productions which are the glory of Italy and the admiration of the earth. The laity now asserted its rights in the domain of learning and culture.

But in Italy the Renaissance had paganism in its heart<sup>72</sup> and Italy has remained bound in ecclesiasticism. Providence seems to have had the design of showing again that intellectual and artistic culture may flourish while the process of moral and social decline goes on. No regenerating wave passed over her society or cleansed her palaces. The outward forms of civilization did not check the inward decline. The Italian character, says Gregorovius,<sup>73</sup> "in the last thirty years of the fifteenth century displays a trait of diabolical passion. Tyrannicide, conspiracies and deeds of treachery were universal." Astrologers flourished and popes regulated their movements by the horoscope. In the period of Athenian greatness the process of the intellectual sublimation of the few was accompanied by the process of moral decay in the many. So now the glorious art of Raphael and Lionardo da Vinci did not purify. The Renaissance loved color. It discarded repentance. The outward forms of art were perfect. The inward soul was burning with the fever of levity and lust. The patrons of pictured beauty and sculptured proportion were sunken in self-indulgence and not seldom adepts in crime. Italy's priestcraft admired Madonnas and had no preacher but one and him they burnt. Savonarola's admiring disciple, Pico della Mirandola, presented a memorial to the Fifth Lateran which declared that if they should "delay to heal the wounds of the Church, Christ would cut off the corrupted members with fire and sword. Christ had cast out the money changers, why should not Leo exile the worshippers of the many golden calves?" But Italy and southern Europe chose to retain the pope and rejected the Bible.

The North had no Dante and Petrarch and Boccaccio or Thomas Aquinas, but it had its Tauler and Thomas à Kempis.

<sup>72</sup> See for some good remarks Sohm: *Kirchengeschichte*, section 33. Peter Pomponazzo seriously uttered the absurdity that a thing may at the same time be true in theology and false in philosophy.

<sup>73</sup> VIII., 282. Pastor, III., 255, says the state of morals which prevailed in Rome and the Vatican prevailed in all the Italian cities, Burckhardt, in his *Hist. of the Renaissance*, p. 491, says that in Italy the sense of sin with men of culture had passed away. The Fifth Lateran Council felt itself called upon to reassert the doctrine of immortality. Ranke, *Hist. of the Popes*, I. 49, says "that one did not count for a cultured person in Italy who did not cherish some erroneous views about Christianity."

There the Renaissance movement was met by a serious religious concern. German Humanism had conscience. In England, led by Grocyn, Colet and others, it introduced Greek into Oxford as a means of unlocking the New Testament and established grammar schools like St. Paul's. In Germany Reuchlin became the father of modern Hebrew study<sup>74</sup> and Erasmus conferred an inestimable blessing upon the Christian world by his Greek edition of the New Testament. In his preface to that wonderful little volume, which had been hid for ages, the great scholar advocated the free distribution of the Scriptures, the principle the Reformers afterwards urged with such ardor and constancy. He advocated their translation into all languages so that they might be "accessible to women of lowest station and be understood by Scots and Irishmen, yea by Saracens and Turks."

Here indeed was a providential preparation for the Reformation. And a second, and one of more importance, was the invention of the printing press in 1450; the invention which cleaves all the centuries in two and yet binds all the centuries together. Before the year 1500 Augsburg had twenty presses, Cologne twenty-one. German printers went as far as Barcelona. In his work on the new invention, 1507, Wimpheling<sup>75</sup> declared "that as the apostles went forth of old, so now the disciples of the sacred art go forth from Germany into all lands and their printed books become heralds of the Gospel, preachers of the truth and wisdom." Germany became the intellectual market of Europe and in the last quarter of our century the lay aristocracy of culture greatly increased.<sup>76</sup>

The printing press and the Greek edition of the New Testament were the two chief providential instruments made ready for Martin Luther. But he had to find them. They did not make him a reformer, the leader of the new age. Erasmus, whom Janssen mercilessly condemns, remained a moralizer. He lacked both the passion and the heroism of the religious reformer. The religious reformer must be touched from above. Reuchlin, Erasmus and Gutenberg prepared the outward form of the Greek

74 His Hebrew Grammar appeared in 1505. Reuchlin regarded Hebrew as the language in which God spake to man, and declared all the other languages poor in comparison with it.

75 *De Arte Impressoria*.

76 See Müller: *Kirchengeschichte*, II. 202.

and Hebrew Bible. Luther discovered their contents, and made them known.

These, then, were the complex forces at work in this closing century of the Middle Ages. The absolute power of the papacy was reaffirmed, that mediæval institution whose nature it is forever to hold in bondage the free judgment of the individual, and to check progress of thought. The popular piety of the age remained strong and bound in the old forms and the refreshing rills, flowing with the water of life from convents along the Rhine, did not join in a stream or give any signs of so doing. They were in fact drying up. On the other hand the commercial unrest had a strong tendency to communicate itself to the domain of religion and to prepare the mind for changes there. The Revival of Letters aroused men's minds and sent them moving in new channels. In Italy it had no message of repentance and the old ecclesiasticism went on. In Germany, where conscience laid hold of the movement, it prepared instruments which the leader of the new age found and wielded. There were men who sniffed the atmosphere of the coming age but they remained bound to the old institutions and forms. Driftwood, as from a new theological continent, was drifting about, but men did not appreciate in it the signs of a new religious age or see beyond in dim outline the new spiritual world.

In vain do we look for any power in the old to beget the forces of the new age. Providence had to intervene by selecting an agent who was to prove himself mightier than the wisdom of theology and wiser than the rulers of the visible church. The angel of God had to come down and trouble the waters into new life. When Luther came, no man expected him. He was the child of the old and yet he was more the child of God. If ever a mortal man was not the product of a process of development, Luther was that man. He came at the nick of time. Everything had been made ready, and yet when the voice spake which called into being the modern age, it was as the voice of a stranger whose message the rulers of this world did not understand. In a sermon preached at the twelfth session of the fifth Lateran Council, the bishop of Isernia said "The Gospel is the fountain of true wisdom, of all knowledge. All the higher virtue has flowed from it. The Gospel, I say the Gospel." He spoke better than he knew. In that council the scholasticism of the Middle Ages and the corpo-

rate powers of the church had spoken again for sacerdotalism, for papal absolutism.<sup>77</sup> Seven months later a single man raised his voice, moved in the depths of his religious being, and the new age sprang into life, the age of individual sovereignty, of the reëxaltation of Christ, of the free distribution and the supremacy of the Scriptures. Who knows what is to come after the social unrest and scientific research of the present time, and whether or not God is making preparation for another personage to anew interpret His will and speak a message which shall call Christendom to a more ardent devotion to Christ and to which all parts of Christendom shall pay heed. If He should choose to send such a messenger, let us pray that unto us He may grant to be among those who listen, and who obey His message.

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<sup>77</sup> Its decree, limiting the freedom of the printing press and authorship was another illustration of the assumption of papal despotism.

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