Prayer
Scripture: Psalm 2
Hymn: 432 "Lead On, O King Eternal"

Next to the popes, the Reformers hated the Emperor Charles V; they probably feared him even more than they feared the popes. Charles was the grandson of Ferdinand and Isabella, the son of Philip the Fair, son of the Emperor Maximilian and Mary of Burgundy, and of Joanna, the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella. He grew up in the Netherlands where Adrian of Utrecht, later to become Pope Adrian VI, was one of his tutors. The deaths of Isabella (1504), of Philip (1506) and of Ferdinand (1516) made Charles at the age of sixteen the ruler of Burgundy and of Spain with immense dependencies in America and large claims in Italy. The death of Emperor Maximilian (1519) added to his holdings the Hapsburg kingdom of Austria. On June 28, 1519, at the age of nineteen, Charles was elected Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. He was the head of a territory vaster than that of any single ruler since Charlemagne. The pope had favored Francis I of France but the German electors had chosen Charles. Charles V was an earnest Roman Catholic. He shared the reforming views and zeal of Isabella of Castile. His heart was set on the improvement in clerical morals, education, and administration. He was unsympathetic with any departure from the doctrinal or hierarchical system of the Middle Ages. He devoutly believed that the pope was the supreme spiritual head of the church and the emperor was the highest secular power in Christendom. He had inherited the task of defending and upbuilding of church and empire. From the first he was committed to crushing all heresy that threatened the unity of the church. For over forty years he would wage war after war and negotiate treaty after treaty to achieve his goals. Throughout these years the pope kept pressure on him to crush the rebellion in Germany. Over and over war with France and with the Ottoman Turks prevented his rooting out heresy in Germany.

THE BAN ON LUTHER AT WORMS:
Once Charles V had his affairs in hand in Spain and the Netherlands he travelled to Germany to the meeting of the Reichstag. Luther was ordered to appear before the Emperor with the guarantee of safe conduct. The papal bull against Luther had been issued in Rome on January 2, 1521, but did not arrive in Germany until after the meeting of the Reichstag. The Emperor and the papal nuncio, Aleander, failed to get Luther to recant. Because of the guarantee of safe conduct Luther was allowed to leave Worms for his home in Wittenberg, only to be kidnapped and imprisoned in the Warburg by his own friends to save him from his enemies. The emperor placed Luther under the imperial ban. The emperor declared Luther "a limb cut off from the Church of God, an obstinate schismatic and manifest heretic." All subjects of the empire were to refuse Luther hospitality, lodging, food, or drink; they were to take him prisoner and turn him over to the Emperor, and to deal similarly with all Luther's friends and adherents, confiscating their property. The ban prohibited the printing, buying, or selling of Luther's works. Soon after the disbanding of the Reichstag the
papal excommunication arrived. Luther lived the rest of his life under the double ban—the ban of the emperor and the ban of the pope. He was subject to being killed on sight. However, neither pope nor emperor were able to enforce their ban because of the popularity and strong support Luther enjoyed in Germany. Papal and imperial legates in Germany feared for their lives.

THE FIRST OF THE EMPEROR'S WARS WITH FRANCE:

Charles V was unable to take strong action in Germany and enforce the ban against Luther because of the first of four wars with Francis I of France. Francis was uneasy and felt war inevitable because his country was almost completely surrounded by the territories of Charles. Charles had inherited Sicily and Naples. Francis held Milan and Genoa. Each wanted to be the dominant power in Italy. Pope Leo and Henry VIII wanted to preserve a balance of power. After Worms both Henry VIII and Pope Leo gave their backing to Charles against France. Charles needed both men and money from Germany and could not afford to press for the enforcement of his ban on Luther. Leo died and was succeeded by Adrian in January, 1522. Adrian did not want to see either power dominant in Italy and tried to turn attention to a crusade against the Turks.

Pope Adrian, who had been the tutor of Charles V, sent a nuncio to the meeting of the Reichstag in Nuernberg in November, 1522, demanding that the German princes enforce the edict of Worms against Luther. The Reichstag replied that the edict was impossible of enforcement—Luther was too popular. The German princes demanded a council for church reform within a year and declared that until such a council should meet the "true, pure, genuine, holy Gospel" would be preached in Germany. The emperor was too busy to back his old tutor.

The emperor's forces defeated the French and took the Milanese territory except for the citadel of Milan in April, 1522. Next they were able to take Genoa. Pope Adrian died in September, 1523. Pope Clement VII was concerned to restore the balance of power and to preserve the states of the Church which he feared the Spanish might seize. Pope Clement sent his legate, Cardinal Campeggio, to the meeting of the Reichstag in Nuernberg in the spring of 1524. He was able to persuade the Reichstag to promise to enforce the Edict of Worms against Luther "as far as possible." The Reichstag demanded a general assembly of the German nation in Speier the following autumn. The emperor succeeded in blocking such a meeting. Campeggio turned his efforts to forming a league to support the Roman cause. The League was formed in Regensburg on July 7, 1524, and included the emperor's brother, Ferdinand, dukes of Bavaria, and a number of south German bishops. Some call this league the beginning of Counter-Reformation. Philip of Hesse, the most farsighted and ablest politician among the Lutheran princes, sensed the importance of the Catholic league and began forming a league of Protestant princes that included Albert of Prussia, George of Brandenburg, Henry of Mecklenburg, Albert of Mansfeld, and such cities as Magdeburg, Nuernberg, Strassburg, Augsburg, Esslingen and Ulm. The Protestants worked more feverishly when a Saxon official, Otto von Pack, circulated a forgery containing plans for a Catholic attack against the Protestants.

The French invaded Italy in an effort to regain what had been lost. Charles defeated the French at Pavia in February, 1525,
second son, the future Henry II, to Catherine de' Medici, the pope's niece, cementing relations between the French king and the pope. Francis presented Pope Clement with a unicorn's horn that when placed on a banquet table would reveal the presence of any poison in food or drink by breaking into a cold sweat. Francis again sought an alliance with the infidel Turks against the Christian emperor. To the general horror of Christendom a formal alliance was concluded in February, 1536. Francis invaded Savoy and moved into Italy while the Turks attacked the Hapsburgs by land and sea. The French invaded the Netherlands. The troops of the emperor invaded Piedmont and Provence. Pope Paul III, moved by fear of the Turks, mediated a peace between Charles and Francis on June 18, 1538.

During the years of the third war the Lutherans made great gains in Germany. In 1534 Anhalt-Dessau, Hanover, Frankfurt, and Augsburg joined the Protestants. Philip of Hesse conquered Wurtemberg from Ferdinand, the emperor's brother, and restored the Protestant Duke Ulrich. In 1539, the year following the peace, at the death of Catholic Duke George, ducal Saxony turned Protestant. The same year Brandenburg declared for Protestantism.

Catholics tried to blame the Protestants for the Muenster Revolt of 1534-35. Actually the Protestants joined with the Catholics to conquer the city. The odium of the revolt and its defeat freed the Lutherans of any considerable Anabaptist rivalry. Lutheranism became more positively a party of princely and middle-class sympathies.

CHARLES V'S ATTEMPTS TO GET A GENERAL COUNCIL:
Charles V failed in his attempts to get Pope Clement VII to call a reforming council. When Paul III became pope (1534) the emperor began to push him to call a council. The pope delayed. Finally in 1536 Pope Paul III issued a call for a council to meet in Mantua in May, 1537, and appointed the famous commission made up of members of the Oratory of Divine Love to report on reforms that were needed. The committee submitted its report in 1537 but the pope postponed the council using the war between France and Spain as an excuse. The pope appointed a committee to investigate the abuses listed in the report on reform. He called for another council to meet on May 1, 1538 but again postponed it.

By the time the emperor's hands were freed from the third war it was clear that the pope did not intend to call a reforming council. The emperor was determined that a reforming council that would unite the church would meet. In February, 1537, he demanded that the Protestant leaders who had assembled in Schmalkalden should agree to attend a general council. Luther and the Protestants had often called for such a council. Now it was clear that any council held in Italy would be dominated by the pope; they refused to share in a council in any Italian city where it was clear they would be outvoted. Seeing that the desired council was impossible at the time the emperor decided to hold a series of debates or reunion discussions in preparation for a council. Count Frederick of the Palatinate, brother of the Elector, and Cardinal de Granvelle were appointed presidents. Three Protestants and three Catholics were appointed assessors. Eck, Groppe, and Pflug were selected to present the Catholic side with advisers they might select. Melanchthon, Bucer, and Pistorius were to speak for the Protestants with Calvin as an assistant. Cardinal Contarini was appointed chairman to conduct the
discussions. The first discussions were held in Hagenau in June, 1540. The next in Worms later the same year. The final and most important was held in Regensburg in April, 1541. At first it seemed it might be possible to get a compromise that would permit the clergy to marry and to give the cup to the laity in Germany; the Pope might even be accepted as Primate of the Church provided he would not have power to interfere in the affairs of national churches. The hierarchy might be preserved if it shared authority with a vicar appointed by the Bishop and a layman appointed by the secular authority. When they took up doctrinal questions there seemed to be the possibility of agreement on original sin, grace, and even on Luther's doctrine of Justification by faith, with the possibility of excluding meritorious works. Eck agreed but did not want to sign. Greater difficulties appeared when they came to the organization and worship of the church. The Protestants could not accept the Pope as the permanent head of the church on earth. The Protestants were adamant that they could never accept Transubstantiation. The conferences ended in complete failure. A Catholic Reformation that would unite the church was impossible. Romanists could only hope for a Counter-Reformation. Cardinal Contarini was thoroughly discredited by his failure to secure unity. His failure opened the way for the rise of Caraffa and Inquisition.

To the emperor, Charles V, conciliation was hopeless. Before Protestants would share in a general council he would have to reduce their political and military strength. He developed a plan. He would so reduce the strength of Protestantism by force that they would accept a general council as a final arbiter. His council would make a few minor concessions and correct such abuses as both Protestants and Catholics alike condemned. Protestants would then be forced to accept the final decision and conform and unity would be restored. Two dangers threatened his plan. One was another French attack and the other a renewed Turkish invasion.

THE FOURTH WAR BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND THE SPANISH:

Francis I renewed his alliance with Suliman who began a new invasion of Hungary. A combined French and Turkish fleet ruled the Mediterranean and attacked cities along the coast friendly to Charles. In the summer of 1542 Francis attacked Spain and Luxemburg. Charles made an alliance with Henry VIII and launched a massive counter-attack. Charles sent one army down the Rhine to crush William of Cleves, a rebellious Protestant who had joined the French. In June 1544 an imperial army of some 35,000 penetrated France to within fifty miles of Paris. Both sides were near bankruptcy and collapse. Charles did not want to risk reversal of his fortune and offered peace terms. The king's son would marry the emperor's daughter. She could have either the Netherlands or Milan as a dowry. France renounced claims to Italy. France gave up Savoy and Piedmont but kept Metz, Toul, and Verdun. Francis died on March 31, 1547 and was succeeded by Henry II. France would not be able to challenge the Hapsburgs for many years.

The war had kept Charles from carrying out his plans against the Protestants.
THE FOLLY OF PHILIP OF HESSE:
The weakening of the Protestants that Charles V planned to accomplish by military force was brought about by Philip of Hesse, the leader of the Schmalkaldic league. Like most of the princes of the age Philip was a man of low personal morality. At an early age he had married the daughter of Duke George of Saxony. His wife bore him seven children but he had little affection for her. He constantly committed adultery. After becoming a Lutheran he became anxious about his soul's salvation without improving his conduct. He was so troubled in conscience that between 1526 and 1539 he took the Lord's Supper only once. He was attracted to the seventeen year old Margaret von der Saale, daughter of one of the ladies of his sister's court. The mother would not consent for her daughter to be his concubine. She was willing for her to become his wife. Philip noted that Old Testament heroes had a plurality of wives. Why could not a German prince do the same? The mother was willing for her daughter to be a second wife just so all knew it was a real marriage. Philip was convinced that this was the solution to his problem but he wanted the approval of the Wittenburg theologians. He submitted his plan to Bucer as the most moderate of the theologians. Bucer was shocked at the proposal but when Philip suggested that if the theologians would not give him their approval he would seek the approval of the pope, Bucer sent him to consult Luther and Melanchthon. On December 10, 1539 Luther and Melanchthon declared that polygamy was contrary to the law of creation which had been approved by Christ. When Philip threatened to secure approval from the pope the theologians weakened and decided that a second marriage would be better than adultery. They urged Philip to keep the second marriage secret so that the public would think the second wife was a concubine.

Philip was too honest to follow their advice. On March 4, 1540 he married Margaret with his court preacher performing the ceremony. Melanchthon, Bucer, and a representative of the Saxon Elector were witnesses. When news of the marriage spread Luther recommended "a good strong lie." Philip would not lie.

The marriage was a scandal to both Protestants and Catholics. Bigamy was condemned by imperial law; a bigamous prince forfeited his crown. The emperor threatened Philip with imprisonment and on June 13, 1541 gave him the choice of prison or of resigning from the Schmalkaldic league and agreeing to enter into no foreign alliances. The League split over whether to support or to condemn Philip. The scandal and the split kept Cologne Catholic at a time when it was on the verge of turning Protestant. It gave Charles the opportunity to take both Cleves and Gelders from the Protestants.

THE COUNCIL OF TREANT
Pope Paul III finally yielded to the emperor and called a General Council to meet in Trent in 1542. The fourth French war caused the council to be postponed until December 1545. Charles wanted the council to move slowly until he had the Protestants ready to recognize it. The pope wanted the council to quickly define the Catholic faith and quickly disband and go home. To minimize imperial influence the pope tried to move the council to Bologna in March 1547. The emperor refused to recognize the move and threatened to refuse any decisions reached if the council moved. The pope declared the council adjourned.
THE DEFECTION OF MORITZ:

The Protestants received another severe blow. Moritz, son of Duke Heinrich of Ducal Saxony, and son-in-law of Philip of Hesse and cousin of Elector John Frederick of Saxony quarrelled with the Elector. Charles persuaded Moritz to join the Catholics, promising him Saxony and a large portion of Hesse. The emperor and Moritz defeated John Frederick and Philip and imprisoned them and Moritz received their territories. Protestantism was crushed except for minor princes and cities in the northern part of Germany.

Charles, who was at odds with the pope over the disbanding of the council, appointed an ecclesiastical commission to draft an Interim that was to be a temporary reunion program. It was essentially Roman but made small concessions to the Protestants. The cup was granted to the laity, clerical marriage was permitted, and powers of the Pope were slightly limited. The pope denounced the Interim and Catholics refused to recognize it. Charles did get the Reichstag in Augsburg to adopt it on June 30, 1548. It was called the Augsburg Interim. The emperor enforced it with strong hand. A modification of this Interim was allowed in the territory ruled by Moritz. The modification became known as the Leipzig Interim. It even allowed the doctrine of justification by faith only. Melanchthon reluctantly accepted this Interim, calling its Roman features "adiaphora," or non-essentials. Some Lutherans had already been critical of Melanchthon claiming he had yielded too much to Calvin in the discussions with the Catholics. Lutherans in the territories not conquered by the emperor and Moritz bitterly denounced Melanchthon and the Interim. They were led by Matthias Flacius Illyricus and Nikolaus von Amsdorf. Bitter quarrels spread among the Lutherans with many considering Melanchthon a traitor.

MORITZ'S ATTEMPT TO BECOME LEADER OF PROTESTANTS:

Just when it looked like Charles had finally reached his goal of destroying heresy and uniting the church, Pope Paul III died (1549) and Julius III became pope. The new pope summoned the council to meet again in Trent. Some Protestants actually attended the council in 1552. Catholic princes began to fear and be jealous of the successes and power of the emperor. Moritz became dissatisfied with the emperor because he refused to release his father-in-law, Philip of Hesse, from prison as he had promised. Moritz knew he had received all he could get from Charles. His subjects were Lutheran and restless. Moritz saw an opportunity to become the Lutheran leader. He made agreements with the Lutheran princes of northern Germany and attacked the emperor. King Henry II of France sent aid and invaded Lorraine. Moritz marched rapidly on the emperor at Innsbruck and almost captured him. All that Charles had labored to build quickly toppled in ruins. On August 2, 1552 the Treaty of Passau brought the brief war to an end. The treaty left the religious question to be settled at the next meeting of the Reichstag.

THE PEACE OF AUGSBURG:

At the meeting of the Reichstag in Augsburg in 1555 tedious negotiations that lasted from February into September finally resulted in what was known as "The Peace of Augsburg." All parties pledged themselves to eternal and unconditional peace. Though the actual terms were not used, the principle of "cuius regio, eius religio" (the religion of the ruler is to be the religion of the people) was
applied to both Lutherans and Catholics. The Lutheranism that Charles had spent his life trying to destroy was finally recognized. Only two religions would be tolerated—Lutheran and Catholic. Both were determined to give no recognition to Calvinism. If the prince of a territory were Catholic, the people had to be Catholic. Lutherans could conform or migrate. If the prince were Lutheran the people could be Lutheran but had to tolerate Catholics. If a Lutheran prince became Catholic he carried all his territory with him into Catholicism. If a Catholic prince became Lutheran he forfeited everything so that all his holdings stayed in the Catholic Church.

The Emperor Charles, weary and demoralized, in a dramatic and emotional scene in 1556 renounced his worldly titles; he made his son, Philip, his successor to the thrones of Spain, the Netherlands, and Spanish Italy; he made his brother Ferdinand emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. Charles retired to a villa adjoining the monastery of San Jeronimo de Yuste in Spain to prepare his soul for the world to come.

The Peace of Augsburg opened the way for the Jesuits to make conquests where armies alone had failed. The Jesuit program of education aimed at winning the young princes who would become the rulers proved most successful. Then as counsellors of princes they skillfully guided them in rearranging boundaries so as to keep the largest possible amount of territory under Catholic princes. While Protestant princes bickered Jesuits led Counter-Reformation, retaking for Catholicism large sections that had once been Lutheran territory. Catholicism came out strong in southern Germany.