

Chapter Twenty-nine

The Catholic-Protestant Conflicts in Western Christendom, to ca. 1700

For western Christendom the period from the middle of the sixteenth century to the end of the seventeenth presents a stark contrast between the religious obsessions of the general public and the scientific achievements of a few hundred individuals. Religious wars between Catholics and Protestants continued through much of this period, the most disastrous being the Thirty Years War (1618-1648). Violent deaths for religious reasons were not confined to the battlefield. The Dominicans continued to burn heretics in Spain and Portugal, and in many lands both Protestants and Catholics continued to burn witches. In western Europe the small Jewish minority continued to be oppressed. In eastern Europe, from the Baltic to Ukraine, a much larger Jewish minority was drastically reduced by massacres between 1648 and 1658. In the aftermath of the massacres, synagogues over much of Europe and the Dar al-Islam were convulsed by the most severe bout of Messianism since antiquity.

While religious changes tended to express themselves in mass movements, intellectual or scientific advances excited and engaged a tiny but influential minority. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries astronomers, physicians, philosophers and mathematicians in western Christendom added greatly to an understanding of the physical world and of the human condition. These advances came mostly from individuals who worked alone or with one or two assistants. Their discoveries and theories launched what has been called “the Scientific Revolution.” By 1700 this “revolution” had proceeded far enough that in retrospect we can see in it the fading of Christendom and the beginning of modern civilization, with all of its virtues and vices

Although progress in science, mathematics and philosophy ran simultaneously with the great religious upheavals, it will be convenient to separate the religious history of the period 1550-1700 from the history of science and the intellect. This chapter and the next will be devoted to the continuing religious enthusiasm and conflicts that had begun with the Protestant Reformation. In Chapter 31 we shall look at “the Scientific Revolution.”

The Jesuits and the beginning of the Counter-Reformation

The term “Counter-Reformation” was coined by Leopold von Ranke, a pioneer of critical history, who saw a variety of Catholic initiatives between the 1540s and the 1650s as part of an overall project of restoring a single Church throughout western Christendom. The Counter-Reformation consisted, so von Ranke believed, of both an attack on Protestantism and a reform of Catholicism intended to make it less vulnerable to the kinds of “revolts” that had unsettled it since the time of Wycliffe and Hus. In recent decades some Catholic historians have abandoned the term “Counter-Reformation” in favor of a less negative term, such as “Catholic Reformation.”

From its beginnings in 1517 the Protestant Reformation was on the offensive against the Catholic church. In their religious zeal the Protestants denounced and disavowed papal authority, the ecclesiastical hierarchy, monasticism, the cult of Mary, saints and relics, and much else that was associated with the Roman Catholic church but had no Biblical foundations. Although the Protestants generally refrained from bloodshed, they were violent in their attacks on the extensive property of the Church: frequent targets of their anger were the statuary and reliquaries in the churches, and entire monasteries and convents in the countryside.

The response of the Catholic church was at the beginning sporadic and local. For the Medici popes Leo X and Clement VII, religious matters were only a part - and not the greatest part - of their responsibilities. In addition to his ambition to aggrandize his family, benefactors, and the papacy itself, the pope effectively ruled the city of Rome and the Papal States, was involved in the interminable quarrels of the Italian city-states, and had to take sides in wars between the great Catholic powers, especially the Holy Roman Emperor, the king of France, and the king of England. Rome itself, it will be remembered, was in 1527 sacked by forces nominally aligned with Emperor Charles V in his war against Francis I of France (and against Pope Clement). Beyond western Christendom, the pope's main concern was the expansion of the Ottoman empire toward central Europe, culminating in Suleiman the Magnificent's abortive siege of Vienna in 1529.

Like the popes, the Holy Roman Emperor had too many worries to devote much energy to stopping the Protestant Reformation. Charles V, with help from his brother Ferdinand, had to confront not only the traditional hostility of the French kings to the Holy Roman Empire but also the new Turkish designs on Hungary and Austria. In comparison with these military and political threats, the Protestants' revolt from the Church was of limited importance. Charles' main criticism of the Protestants in Germany was that their Reformation was splitting the Empire and indeed all of western Christendom at a time when the Empire most needed unity against its external enemies. Although on occasion Charles took a relatively hard line against the Protestants, both he and Ferdinand (who succeeded Charles as emperor) for a long time hoped that the popes and the Catholic hierarchy would make enough concessions to bring the Protestants back to the fold.

While Charles V and the popes were distracted by other problems, a few zealous Catholics were able to focus their attention squarely on the Protestants. The Societas Iesu ("Society of Jesus") grew out of an informal group gathered in Paris by Ignatius de Loyola in 1534. At the nucleus of the group were six men from Spain: these first Jesuits were Ignatius himself, born Iñigo López de Loyola (1491-1556), and five other and somewhat younger Spanish men studying at the University of Paris.¹ Although at the beginning the six were not yet priests (they were ordained in 1537), they pledged to devote themselves to stemming the Protestant heresy that was rapidly gaining adherents all over western Christendom. As nominal subjects of the emperor, but now under the protection of his rival, King Francis of France, the six did not regard either of these temporal rulers as a suitable leader for all Catholics. For such a role, only the pope would do. The elderly Pope Paul III (1534-49) was not without faults of his own (as a young cardinal, and long before he had heard of Martin Luther, Alessandro Farnese had fathered

three children by his lover, Silvia Ruffini). But as head of the Church, the pope was the only leader to whom Ignatius and his associates could pledge their absolute obedience, and so they did. While - and perhaps because - Protestants were rejecting the authority of the pope and the Catholic hierarchy, the Jesuits made a special point of devoting themselves to papal authority.

The Societas was recognized as a religious order by Pope Paul III in 1540. The goal of the “Jesuits” was not - like monks - to withdraw from normal society and retire to a monastery. Instead, they were determined to go into the world and change it. The order was constructed along military lines - in some ways resembling the Knights Templar, Knights Hospitaller, and the Teutonic Knights - with Ignatius de Loyola as its Superior General, a position he held until his death in 1556. The members of the society, the “Jesuits,” owed the Superior General the same absolute obedience that he owed to the pope. The motto of the society was *omnia ad maiorem gloriam Dei* (“everything to the greater glory of God”), but in particular its objectives were the elimination of Protestantism, the re-establishment of the Church throughout western Christendom,² and the spread of Catholicism to the newly discovered lands of the Americas and eastern Asia. In this latter objective Francis Xavier - one of the original six founding members of the Societas - was especially active, embarking on missionary voyages that carried him as far as India, China and Japan.

Because its members regarded themselves as militants, or as soldiers of the Church, the society engaged in activities not normally associated with religious orders. The established religion of a state in the sixteenth century was determined by its ruler, and the Jesuits were therefore alert for opportunities to convert a ruler from Protestantism to Catholicism, or to replace a Protestant with a Catholic ruler. In that project, the Jesuits were often suspected of intrigue and assassinations. A Jesuit priest, John Ballard, apparently played a key role in the Ridolfi and Babbington plots against England’s Queen Elizabeth I, both plots designed to assassinate Elizabeth and replace her with the Catholic Mary, Queen of Scots. Along with several associates, Ballard was hanged, drawn and quartered in September of 1586. Nineteen years later, in the Gunpowder Plot against King James I another Jesuit priest was implicated and executed. When Henri IV of France was stabbed to death in 1610, some of his subjects (especially Huguenots) accused the Jesuits of recruiting and directing the assassin.

All across western Christendom were millions of people who deeply loved the Catholic church, or who detested Protestantism, and from them came a rush of recruits to the Jesuit order. Various grades and levels were set up within the order’s novitiate, and along the way many novices were weeded out (final vows were taken after the age of thirty). Initially the Societas Iesu was not to exceed sixty members, but so eager were young men to join the new order that in 1542 that ceiling was lifted. Within the lifetime of Ignatius the society’s membership passed a thousand, and by the end of the seventeenth century it had reached twenty thousand.

Jesuit education

Although Ignatius and his associates had originally intended to serve as itinerant preachers, very soon their efforts were channeled toward education and indoctrination. In the 1540s education of a confessional kind was becoming central in Protestantism, especially

Calvinism, and the Jesuits made it one of their aims to surpass the Protestants in this regard. Jesuit educational reform necessarily began at the elementary level. While in many places Protestant children were being taught to read and write, much of the Catholic laity remained illiterate, and the Jesuits recognized this as a serious impediment for Catholicism. Although Jesuits seldom taught in elementary schools they vigorously encouraged them. A large ingredient of these schools was indoctrination, or the memorization - when one became available - of a Catholic catechism.

The Jesuits themselves founded and taught in “colleges,” which were secondary schools for adolescent boys. The colleges were designed to train recruits for the religious order, but were also open to boys who did not intend to become Jesuits. In 1547 the first Jesuit “college” opened at Messina in Sicily, in response to the city’s request to Ignatius to establish a secondary school for its sons. A year later a second college was founded at Palermo. In 1551 Jesuits established the Roman College (in 1583 Gregory XIII gave land and buildings to the Roman College, which grew to become the Pontifical Gregorian University). In Paris a Jesuit college was established in 1563 (a century later it received a large endowment from Louis XIV and subsequently was known as the Collège Louis-le-Grand). By the death of Ignatius between thirty and thirty-five such colleges were in operation, by the end of the sixteenth century more than a hundred, and by the middle of the eighteenth century approximately eight hundred, dozens of which were in the Spanish and Portuguese possessions in the Americas. Some of these colleges evolved into seminaries and universities. The Jesuit schools in central and eastern Europe contributed much to the Counter-Reformation in those lands.

Because Jesuit instructors were often transferred from one college to another, a uniform manual of instruction was devised, stipulating both what should be taught in every Jesuit college and how it was to be done. This was the *Ratio studiorum* (“system of studies”), composed by the Superior General Claudio Acquaviva and published in 1599. Heavy emphasis was placed on the mastery of Latin, not only because it was the liturgical language of the Catholic church, but also because it was necessary for serious study in all disciplines. Science was not always congenial for the Jesuits, who saw some of its assumptions and conclusions as threats to Catholicism. Until the middle of the eighteenth century Jesuit teachers and writers devoted much effort to opposing Copernicus’ theory that daily the earth rotates on its axis.

Guided by the *Ratio studiorum*, the Jesuit colleges placed an emphasis on what today would be called the humanities. Whereas the Protestants focused intently on the Bible, and tended to deplore or ignore the millennium and a half that had elapsed between Paul and Luther, the Jesuit curriculum helped to integrate the history of Christianity with the history of the intellect. The Greek and Latin classics, the Church Fathers, the medieval philosophers and theologians (especially Thomas Aquinas), and the Renaissance humanists were all part of this long continuum. The Jesuit educational mission thus contributed much to the modern idea of the liberal arts. It also brought the Catholic church to a far higher intellectual level than the medieval and Renaissance Church had ever seen. Before the middle of the sixteenth century there had been many important Catholic thinkers and writers, but much of the laity was illiterate and most of the clergy was poorly educated. The Jesuits set a much higher standard, and provided the means to reach it.

The Roman Inquisition and the Index of Prohibited Books

A notorious instrument of the Counter-Reformation was the Roman Inquisition. This was launched in 1542, when Pope Paul III established the Congregation of the Holy Office of the Inquisition. The duty of the Holy Office was to identify and stamp out Protestant and other heresies especially in the Papal States, but more generally throughout all of Italy except for the Republic of Venice (the republic, like the kingdoms of Spain and Portugal, already had its own inquisitorial office). One of the Roman cardinals, Giovanni Pietro Caraffa, urged Paul III to set up the Holy Office, to consist of six cardinals (including Caraffa himself), and reporting directly to the pope. The cardinals would dispatch inquisitors, initially Dominicans, to find and put on trial clerics, teachers, and lay persons who were explicitly or implicitly condoning Protestantism or some equally false doctrine. In 1555 Cardinal Caraffa was himself elevated to the papacy as Paul IV, and until his death in 1559 he pursued his goals vigorously. His successors increased the powers and jurisdiction of the Holy Office. Cardinal Roberto Bellarmine, a Jesuit, was one of the office's most feared prosecutors. On February 17 of 1600, on orders from Cardinal Bellarmine and the rest of the Holy Office, the philosopher and polymath Giordano Bruno was burned at the stake in Rome's Piazza di Campo dei Fiori, in punishment for his denial of the Trinity and his refusal to recant a variety of other non-Catholic opinions (including Copernicanism). Bellarmine also summoned Galileo to trial in 1616, but on that occasion Galileo was acquitted. In 1633 the Holy Office again tried Galileo, on charges that he advocated Copernicanism, and sentenced him to house arrest and to silence. Just as the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisitions were effective in keeping Protestantism out of the Iberian peninsula, so for almost three hundred years the Roman Inquisition kept all of Italy exclusively Catholic.

In addition to his role in establishing the Roman Inquisition, Pope Paul IV drew up and published the Index of Prohibited Books. The rapid spread of the Reformation confirmed many bishops' belief, prevalent even before Luther's spate of publications, that they had to bring under control the "printing revolution" that had transformed Catholic Europe. The control that eventually materialized took the form of a list of books that the faithful were not to read and that printers were not to publish: the *Index auctorum et librorum prohibitorum* ("Index of prohibited authors and books"). An edict requiring the prior approval of the Church before a book could be printed was in fact passed just before the Reformation began: in May of 1515, at the tenth session of the Fifth Lateran Council:

We therefore establish and ordain that henceforth, for all future time, no one may dare to print or have printed any book or other writing of whatever kind in Rome or in any of the other cities and dioceses, without the book or writings having first been closely examined, at Rome by our vicar and the master of the sacred palace, in other cities and dioceses by the bishop or some other person who knows about the printing of books and writings of this kind and who has been delegated to this office by the bishop in question, and also by the inquisitor of heresy for the city or diocese where the said printing is to take place.³

The edict of 1515, however, was followed by no concerted effort, as many bishops failed to police their printers or to specify which books already published were to be destroyed. The

first general list of banned books, to be valid in all states where the established church was Roman Catholic, was issued by Pope Paul IV in 1557. Here were several thousand authors, arranged in alphabetical order from Abydenus Corallus to Zwingli. Because this project of thought-control required frequent updating, a group of scholarly priests was in 1571 appointed to the Congregation of the Holy Office of the Roman Inquisition, and the business was put into their hands.

The Index focused on books that were overtly Protestant or were otherwise critical of the Catholic church. Giordano Bruno's writings were on the list. Most of the works of Erasmus were included in the initial Index, as was everything written by Luther, Melanchthon, Zwingli and Calvin. Also on the list were writings that were difficult to reconcile with traditional Catholic teaching: Copernicus' *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium* ("Concerning the revolutions of the heavenly circles") was soon added to the list, and eventually most of Europe's famous philosophers were either partially or totally "prohibited." Perhaps more surprising is that the original Index banned several Latin Bibles, as well - of course - as all Bibles translated into the vernaculars (*biblia omnia vulgari idiomate*) of Europe, whether German, Dutch, French, Spanish, Italian, or English.

Jewish books were also confiscated and burned. In 1553 Cardinal Caraffa ordered that all copies of the Talmud in Rome be seized and destroyed, because the Talmud contained material deemed blasphemous. After his elevation as Pope Paul IV, Caraffa extended the ban to all of the Papal States, and it continued until the eighteenth century.

The Council of Trent (1545-63)

In the early 1520s Luther and his followers had called for a council of bishops to decide the future of the Church. After the Diet of Augsburg in 1530 the "Protestants" had little confidence that a council would achieve their objectives. The idea was taken up, however, by Emperor Charles, who believed that a substantial reform of the Church - not in doctrines, but in practices - would satisfy the majority of Protestants and would end the religious schism that was weakening his empire. To some of his advisors, for example, it seemed that the celibacy requirement for the Catholic priesthood was responsible for the defection to the Protestant clergy of many a young man who wished to live with a woman openly and legitimately. Relaxation of the celibacy requirement, so it appeared, would stem such defections and bring back many of the priests who had become Protestants and husbands.

Pope Clement VII (1523-34) and the College of Cardinals strongly opposed the convening of a council. Although Pope Paul III (1534-49) also found the idea of a council distasteful, eventually he acceded to Charles' pressure. Paul called the bishops to Trent, ancient Roman Tridentum, on the Italian side of the Alps and barely within the jurisdiction of the Holy Roman Emperor rather than of the pope (today Trent belongs to Austria, although its language has been steadily a dialect of Italian). The council that materialized at Trent was mostly Italian and very much under papal control. Instead of finding or making accommodations with the Protestants, the Council of Trent made permanent - to the dismay of the Habsburgs - the split between the Protestants and the Catholic church.

The Council of Trent was nominally ecumenical, the nineteenth such council in Catholic enumeration (more than three hundred years would elapse before the next and twentieth “ecumenical” council - the First Vatican - was called by Pope Pius IX in 1869). At its largest, in 1562 and 1563, the Council of Trent included 33 archbishops and 235 bishops, plus scores of Jesuit theologians. The great majority of bishops were from Italy, with the rest coming mostly from Spain. Only a handful of German bishops attended, and England was not represented at all (by 1545 King Henry VIII had taken control of the English church).

The Council of Trent opened in December 1545 and concluded in 1563. The council was in session, however, for only a little over four of those eighteen years: it met in 1545-47 under Pope Paul III, in 1551-52 under Julius III, and in 1562-3 under Pius IV (no sessions were held during the papacy of Paul IV). In its fifty-four doctrinal decrees and almost a hundred canons (rules) the council confirmed and clarified Catholic doctrine. The seven sacraments were maintained, with special attention to the importance of the eucharist (mass). Time and again the council ruled that if anyone denies the validity of any of the seven sacraments, “let him be anathema.” The apocryphal books that Luther and Calvin had expunged from the Old Testament (these books were not in the Hebrew Bible) were confirmed in the canon. Purgatory, the veneration of Mary along with the saints and their relics, the celibacy of the clergy, all of these and many other doctrines and practices were affirmed by the assembled bishops. Just as important was the insistence of the bishops that the pope was the monarchical head of the Church, and that those who denied his authority were damned.

Impressed by the great success of Luther’s catechisms, and of the Catholic catechisms that had recently been produced by Peter Canisius, the council in 1562 ordered the preparation of an official Catholic catechism, to be written in Latin but then to be translated into all the vernaculars of western Christendom. Originally this Tridentine catechism may have been envisaged as a brief and memorable statement of the chief Catholic doctrines, but it was elaborated into a detailed presentation, suitable for the instruction of priests. Its four parts treated the Apostles’ Creed, the sacraments, the Ten Commandments, and the Lord’s Prayer. Along the way it included especially detailed presentations of the Catholic doctrine of the church and the eucharist. Although it made references to “heretical sects,” it did not directly attack Protestant beliefs. This Tridentine catechism is also known as the Roman Catechism or as the Catechism of Pope Pius V (it was published under Pius in 1566).

The council encouraged the sending of missionaries to the American lands under Spanish and Portuguese control (Franciscans had begun this mission in 1523), as well as to eastern Asia. In order to dull the anti-clericalism that had fueled the Reformation a number of reforms were mandated, although these were far less radical than the Habsburgs had hoped. Recognizing that too many priests were poorly educated, the council ordered each diocese to establish a seminary for the training of priests. Procedures were specified for the removal from the priesthood of men who had committed heinous crimes. An illegitimate son of a priest or bishop was not to receive any benefice from the same church from which his father received a benefice. Bishops who had several sees were required to give up all but one.

Progress of the Counter-Reformation in Germany

The Counter-Reformation in Germany went forward not so much by attacks on Protestantism as by conciliation: that is, by winning back many of those - lay persons as well as clergy - who had joined the Reformers. This was a necessary strategy, because in German-speaking lands a considerable majority of the population had left the Catholic church. In Hamburg, Bremen, Königsberg, Rostock and other major cities in the north the city governments and the entire ecclesiastical apparatus - congregations, priests, bishops, cathedrals, and universities - had become Lutheran by the 1540s, and Catholics were a small minority who worshiped privately and even furtively. In Austria and adjacent lands in the south, because of the dominance of the Habsburgs, the "established church" and the universities continued to be nominally Catholic. Nevertheless, in some parts of Austria most congregations and even whole cities had declared themselves followers of Luther. Military coercion was hardly a remedy for the emperor in German-speaking lands. At the Battle of Mühlberg in 1547 Charles V had defeated the Lutheran princes of the Schmalkaldic League, but his victory on the battlefield (Charles' troops were mostly Spanish) served only to alienate the German-speaking population from the Catholic church and even from the empire.

Perhaps the most important contributor to the Counter-Reformation in Austria, Bohemia (now in the Czech Republic) and Bavaria (in southeastern Germany) was Peter Canisius, beatified as St. Petrus Canisius, a native of the Dutch city of Nijmegen. In 1543 Canisius joined the Jesuit order, the first man from the Netherlands to do so. He was fluent in German as well as Dutch, and it was especially through these vernaculars that he brought many Protestants back to Catholicism. Luther's small and large catechisms had been effective vehicles of the Reformation, and Canisius' catechisms - the first Catholic catechisms - were equally important in the Counter-Reformation. In the 1550s Canisius published in both Latin and German a small, medium and large catechism, the latter usually printed in two volumes and running to six or seven hundred pages. Canisius' catechisms were translated into Dutch, French, English, Hungarian and other European languages, and over the next two centuries went through hundreds of printings.

Canisius may have been responsible for keeping the Holy Roman Empire on the Catholic side of the religious conflict. In the early 1560s Maximilian, the son of Emperor Ferdinand I and heir to the throne, was certainly sympathetic to Lutheranism and may have begun worshiping with a Lutheran congregation. But on Canisius' warnings and remonstrances Maximilian stayed in the Catholic church. Canisius helped to establish a Jesuit college at Vienna, and took the lead in founding Jesuit colleges at Innsbruck, Munich and several other cities. Thanks in large part to the efforts of Canisius and his associates the defection of Catholics to Protestantism in these lands subsided, and a flow in the opposite direction began.

In the generation after Canisius, Melchior Klesl (1552-1630) contributed much to the Counter-Reformation in Austria and Bohemia. Klesl was the son of a Lutheran baker, but in 1573 a Jesuit priest converted the family to Catholicism and soon thereafter young Melchior entered the priesthood. A powerful preacher, Klesl was able to bring three Austrian cities back to Catholicism. Although all three were small, one of them - Baden - was much visited because of its therapeutic warm springs. In recognition of Klesl's accomplishments in the struggle against Protestantism, he was made bishop of Vienna in 1598, and for the next twenty years he

was an important advisor to the Habsburg emperors, Rudolf II and Matthias. Although eager to strengthen Catholicism, Klesl relied on diplomacy rather than force in dealing with Protestants. After Ferdinand II was designated the heir-apparent as Holy Roman Emperor, Klesl's influence waned and events tumbled quickly toward the Thirty Years War.

The Thirty Years' War (1618-48) and the devastation of Germany

With the Peace of Augsburg (1555) a period of quiet had begun for the Holy Roman Empire, which had been shaken by internal conflicts in the immediate wake of the Protestant Reformation. According to the *cuius regio, eius religio* terms of the peace, each of the local German rulers (the electors) in the empire was allowed to decide which of the approved religions - Catholic or Lutheran - was to be practiced in his local realm. While the emperors continued to come from the Catholic Habsburg family, the seven electors were almost equally balanced between the two faiths. Whether Catholic or Lutheran, the electors were always aware of the Ottoman sultan's ambitions to enlarge his empire into central Europe. They therefore saw the Holy Roman Empire as a bulwark against the Turkish threat. Most German-speaking lands (and, since 1526, the Czech-speaking kingdom of Bohemia) were within the Holy Roman Empire, and they enjoyed relative peace from 1555 to 1618. Elsewhere, religious wars were devastating France, Irish Catholics were in revolt against English Protestants, and Dutch Calvinists were beginning their long struggle to free themselves from the Catholic kings of Spain.

The Thirty Years' War began in 1618 with a revolt in Bohemia. In 1617 the Ottoman empire had, upon the premature death of Ahmed I, come close to anarchy and entered the *kadinlar saltanati*, a long and dark period of weak sultans. The waning of the Ottoman threat allowed the Holy Roman Empire to descend into the religious extremism that for two generations had been prudently set aside. Emperor Matthias (ruled 1609-1619) arranged for his young cousin and heir-apparent, Ferdinand, to be crowned as the king of Bohemia. Ferdinand, who was soon to become Holy Roman Emperor (ruled as Emperor Ferdinand II, 1619-37), was a vigorous advocate of the Counter-Reformation against Protestantism. His elevation as king of Bohemia, and the prospect of his becoming emperor, incited the Protestant majority in Bohemia to revolt. On May 23 of 1618 Protestant aristocrats threw three of Ferdinand's chief supporters down from a window in the royal castle at Prague, and this "Defenestration of Prague" ignited the Protestants' revolt against their Catholic king.

Knowing that alone they stood little chance of shaking off Ferdinand's yoke, the Bohemians proclaimed themselves subjects of Frederick V, the Calvinist prince of the Palatinate along the middle Rhine, and one of the empire's electors. Frederick accepted the invitation, but he and his Bohemian supporters were crushed by the central forces of the empire. King Philip III of Spain, himself a Habsburg, joined in the attack on Frederick, using the Spanish Netherlands as a base for operations. Although Philip III died in 1621, his son, Philip IV, continued the project and by 1625 had taken over the Palatinate. This Spanish occupation of yet more land on France's eastern border worried the French king, Louis XIII, but for a while he did nothing about it.

The Thirty Years' War was mostly, but not entirely, a war between Catholic and Protestant rulers. On one side were the Catholic Habsburgs: the kings of Spain and the rulers of the Holy Roman Empire (Ferdinand II died in 1637, and his son and successor Ferdinand III ruled as emperor from 1637 to 1657). Opposed to the Habsburgs and the empire were first Frederick V of the Palatinate, along with the Calvinist Dutch Republic. Early on the Protestants received a little help from James I of England, and later received much help from the Lutheran kings of Denmark and Sweden (until his death on the battlefield in 1632, the youthful Gustav Adolf - Gustavus Adolphus - was a spectacularly successful tactician). But it is arguable that the most important adversary of the empire was Louis XIII, the Catholic king of France, who with his chief minister, Cardinal Richelieu, eventually resolved to weaken the power of the Habsburgs, by whom France was almost surrounded. It is also true that the Catholic emperor at times secured the alliance of Protestant states (for example, Lutheran Saxony). Nevertheless, it seemed to most participants that Habsburg victories were victories for Catholicism in central Europe.

Although nobody was the "winner" of the Thirty Years' War, the Dutch Republic achieved its independence and France and Sweden emerged with territorial gains. The Peace of Westphalia, in 1648, recognized French claims to Alsace and Lorraine, and the Swedish king was given strategically important lands along the North Sea and the Baltic. Most of what is now Germany was devastated by the long war, which was essentially fought between the Rhine and the Oder rivers. Several million Germans died as a result of the war, and those who survived were left in ruins caused by the constant traffic of armies into and out of the area, a traffic usually accompanied by pillaging and destruction. The Thirty Years' War considerably weakened the Holy Roman Empire, accelerating the decline that had begun with the Reformation. In addition to ceding land to the French and Swedish kings, Ferdinand III was forced by the Peace of Westphalia at long last to recognize the independence of the Swiss confederation from the empire, and his German holdings were impoverished. The war also took a considerable toll on the kingdom of Spain. Philip IV continued also to rule the Spanish Netherlands and most of Italy, and he still could boast of an enormous Spanish empire in the New World. He nevertheless had lost Portugal, and with it the Portuguese colonies: in 1640, after a Dutch naval victory had shattered Philip's Atlantic fleet, the Portuguese nobility - led by the Braganza family - revolted from Philip and crowned Joao of Braganza as King Joao IV. This put an end to Philip's "united monarchy" of Spain and Portugal, and launched a dynasty that was to last for over two hundred years. In addition to losing Portugal and its colonies, when Philip agreed to the Peace of Westphalia he had finally and formally to accept the independence of the Dutch Republic.

If we suppose that the war began because of Protestants' fear that their religion would be suppressed throughout the Holy Roman Empire, we could say that their goals were partially achieved. Although Ferdinand III was permitted by the terms of the treaty to enforce Catholicism in Austria and Bohemia, he agreed that in the rest of the Empire - those principalities ruled by the electors - the established religion would be Protestant (whether Lutheran or Calvinist) if that was the elector's religious preference. The Peace of Westphalia went beyond the Peace of Augsburg in its inclusion of Calvinism as a protected religion. More broadly, we may say that neither Catholics nor Protestants had won the Thirty Years' War. The

Peace of Westphalia seemed to express the fatigue that both Protestant and Catholic rulers in Europe felt after waging so costly a war for so long. In any case, while Britain and Ireland continued to be convulsed by religious wars, the Thirty Years' War was the last of the major religious wars on the European continent.

The early decades of the Reformation in France

As a result of John Calvin's tireless work and especially his founding of educational institutions, his brand of Protestantism spread more widely than did Luther's. The schools that Calvin set up in Geneva were capped in 1559 by a theological seminary (which would eventually evolve into the University of Geneva), the sole purpose of which was to train ministers in Calvin's doctrines and principles. By the time of his death well over a thousand young men were enrolled in the seminary. Calvin's students were the vehicles through whom Calvinism was so widely disseminated in France, the Netherlands, England, and Scotland.

Although Calvin had nothing to do with the very beginnings of Protestantism in France, he greatly shaped its development. The Reformation had caught on in France early in the reign of François I (1515-47). Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples, a priest well schooled in Greek, translated the New Testament into French and the translation was published in 1523, evidently with François' support. Like the men of the Swiss cantons, François had reason to favor the reformers: because his enemy, Emperor Charles V, was a defender of traditional Catholicism, François was quick to agree with the Protestants that traditional Catholicism was corrupt and needed reform. The new ideas spread especially in southern France.

Although initially tolerant of Protestantism, François was not ready to break with the papacy and the Church. In 1534 the violence of the French Protestants (directed not against the persons of Catholics but against the statues, paintings and other ornamentation in the churches) angered François and persuaded him that the Reformation was inherently insurrectionist. At that point the French Protestants lost the protection that François had hitherto given them, and he forbade them to gather for worship.

When François I turned against the Protestants, Calvin and several associates fled to Basle. As a prolific writer, as well as a powerful preacher and an outspoken critic of "popery," Calvin soon became the heart and soul of Protestantism for French-speakers everywhere, and the Protestant movement in France thus became more radical than its German counterpart. Although they seem at no point to have numbered more than about fifteen per cent of the French population, the Protestants were far more zealous than was the average Catholic. Like other Calvinists, they called themselves *les réformés*, but for uncertain reasons they were called "Huguenots" by Catholics. For François himself and for his son and the grandsons who followed him on the throne, "the Huguenots" were the chief concern, even more worrisome than the Holy Roman Empire.

At his death in 1547 François was succeeded by his son, Henri II (ruled 1547-1559). François had seen to it that in 1533 Henri, at the age of fourteen, was wed to Catherine de' Medici, daughter of the ruler of Florence. Both of the adolescents were ardent Catholics, and when Henri came to the throne he and Catherine did their best to continue François' project

of rooting out Protestantism from France. Henri II succeeded in driving it underground, but Protestants were more numerous at his death than at his accession. Henri died at the age of forty, leaving the kingdom to the oldest of his and Catherine's three young sons, François II. François had always been somewhat frail and died after reigning for only one year. At his untimely death, the throne passed to his younger brother, Charles IX (1560-1574).

While the kings of France were becoming more firmly Catholic, one of their relatives - the queen of a tiny neighboring kingdom - converted to Calvinism. This was Jeanne III, who from 1555 to 1572 ruled northern Navarre, a largely Basque-speaking territory along the northern slopes of the Pyrenees. Because she was the daughter of Marguerite, the sister of François I, Jeanne was a member of the French royal family, the House of Valois.⁴ Although raised as a Catholic, Jeanne was converted to Calvinist Christianity and she more or less persuaded her husband to join her in the new faith. Her husband, the king-consort, was Antoine de Bourbon, a French nobleman and the duke of Vendôme. Their son Henri was destined to become not only the king of Navarre but also - as Henri IV - the king of France and the founder of the Bourbon royal line. Queen Jeanne tried to instruct the people of Navarre in Protestantism, and toward that end she persuaded a Calvinist priest - Joannes Leizarraga - to translate the New Testament into the Basque language. In 1571, toward the end of Jeanne's reign, a Basque translation of the entire Bible was published, possibly the first book to be printed in the Basque language. At Jeanne's death her son Henri, at the age of nineteen, became king of little Navarre.

The “Wars of Religion” in France

One of the powers behind the French throne during the very brief reign of François II had been his mother, Catherine, who provided continuity through the reigns of her husband and their three sons. Perhaps a more important power behind the throne had been the Duke of Guise and his brother, both of them uncles of young François' queen-consort, Marie (this Marie is better known by her English name, Mary Queen of Scots). Proud of its recent royal connections, the House of Guise was ambitious to become the ruling house in France. The *duc de Guise* was also a vigorous defender of Catholicism and throughout his life exerted himself to eliminate Protestantism.

In January of 1562, at the urging of Catherine, King Charles IX issued a royal edict regarded as conciliatory toward the Protestants: henceforth *les réformés* would be permitted to gather for worship, provided they did so only on the estates belonging to Protestant nobles or in fields outside the cities. For the “Reformed” to assemble within a walled city remained a crime. Two months after the edict was announced, the *duc de Guise* with his retinue of armed men was passing through the small city of Vassy in Normandy. There he discovered an assembly of Huguenots gathered for worship inside the walled city. Alleging that the Protestants' singing disturbed the celebration of the mass in a nearby church, Guise ordered his men to break up the assembly. The soldiers killed dozens of Protestants, all of whom were of course unarmed. When the *duc de Guise* reached Paris, crowds of militant Catholics cheered him as a hero. The relatively moderate King Charles and the queen-mother Catherine suffered by comparison with the radical duke, and as a result they adopted a harsher attitude toward “the Huguenots.”

News of the Vassy massacre spread quickly, and a Huguenot army quickly formed under the leadership of Louis de Bourbon, Prince de Condé. Condé led his troops into Normandy and the French “Wars of Religion” had begun. Although the wars were primarily between Catholics and Protestants, another *casus belli* was the rivalry of two noble houses - the House of Guise and the House of Bourbon - each of which was ambitious to inherit the French throne. Between 1562 and 1598 no fewer than nine “Wars of Religion” were fought in France, between Protestant nobles and the Catholic monarchy. The Protestants from time to time received assistance from England, various German states, and the Netherlands, while Catherine de’ Medici and her sons received help from Italy and Spain. Each of the nine wars ended with a nominal peace treaty, in which the current king either narrowed or widened the Protestants’ right to practice their religion.

The premise on which these religious wars were fought was that in every kingdom all Christians belonged to a single church: that church, whether Catholic or Protestant, was the one established and protected by the king. The sentiment was expressed in the French maxim, *Une foi, une loi, un roi!* (“One faith, one law, one king!”). A Latin equivalent was, *cuius regio, eius religio* (“a kingdom follows the religion of its king”). That a kingdom must be religiously homogeneous - except for its Judaeans, who usually were tolerated as aliens - was not a peculiarly French notion: in the sixteenth century it was assumed almost everywhere else on the continent and also in Britain. In 1648 the assumption was finally modified by the Peace of Westphalia, which stipulated for its signatories that although a king should establish his own church as the official religion of his realm, he must also tolerate those Christian churches that were *not* his own, and assign to their adherents certain times and places in which to worship publicly and safely.

The St. Bartholomew’s Day massacre

In France during the reign of Charles IX such tolerance was not yet imaginable. For the French Wars of Religion the balance was irreversibly tipped in favor of the Catholics by the St. Bartholomew’s Day massacre of Protestants, which began in Paris on August 24 of 1572. The massacre coincided with the wedding of Princess Marguerite de Valois, a Catholic, to her distant cousin, Henri de Bourbon, the young Protestant who had just ascended the throne of little Navarre. Because Marguerite was the daughter of Catherine and the sister of King Charles, the wedding had great political significance. It was much anticipated by Protestants from southern France, who streamed north to Paris (which was heavily Catholic) in order to celebrate this great honor for one of “their” champions. Thanks to his maternal grandmother, King Henri of Navarre already had some claims to the throne of France, and those claims were now being strengthened by his marriage to the Valois princess. The possibility that a “Huguenot” might some day become king of France, however, alarmed many Catholic leaders in Paris. The massacre was carefully planned, and almost all of the leaders of the “Huguenots” who had traveled to Paris were targeted and killed. From Paris the massacre spread into the countryside and went on for weeks, as Catholic mobs attacked Protestant minorities. At least many thousands and possibly tens of thousands of Protestants were killed. On receipt of the news at Rome, celebratory bonfires were lit throughout the city. Pope Gregory XIII commissioned Giorgio Vasari to paint - on one of the Vatican apartment walls - a mural of the event. Gregory also commissioned the striking of a commemorative medal. The relief on the medal displayed

an avenging angel striking down the heretics, and the legend above the scene was *strages huguottorum* (“slaughter of the Huguenots”).

The central figure in the massacre, the nineteen-year-old King Henri of Navarre, was spared on his promise that he would convert to Catholicism. Seventeen years later, when the last of the Valois kings (Henri III, 1574-89) died without leaving an heir, the French throne did pass to Henri of Navarre. He had then not yet converted to Catholicism, but soon did so in order to gain the French throne (“Paris is worth a mass”), at which point the church in Navarre also returned to Catholicism. Henri of Navarre ruled France as Henri IV (1589-1610), the first of the Bourbon line, and he proved to be one of the country’s ablest kings. In 1598 Henri IV ended the Wars of Religion when he issued his Edict of Nantes. The edict legitimized a Protestant church while at the same time placing it under some restrictions and recognizing Catholicism as the officially established religion of France (the formula that fifty years later was adopted by the framers of the Peace of Westphalia).

Under subsequent French rulers the rights of the Huguenots were eroded until finally, in 1685, they were revoked entirely by Louis XIV: henceforth all of Louis’ subjects were to be Catholic. As a result of Louis’ edict and the resultant persecutions many French Huguenots did convert to Catholicism, but several hundred thousand chose to flee to Switzerland, the Low Countries, Germany, England, and North America, all of which they enriched by their presence. In France itself the Huguenots had by 1700 all but disappeared.

The Reformation and Counter-Reformation in the Netherlands

A very important phase of the Reformation occurred in the seventeen provinces that constituted “the Netherlands” (“the Low Countries”), whose hereditary ruler was Charles V, the Holy Roman Emperor. At the beginning of the sixteenth century the Netherlands included not only what today is the Netherlands but also Belgium, Luxembourg, and the extreme northeast of France. The vernacular language of the area was Dutch, and more specifically the language’s chronological phase known in linguistics as “Middle Dutch.” Because of the area’s geography its inhabitants had always depended upon the sea, but until the fifteenth century this meant little more than catching and preserving herring and other fish. The beginning of maritime trade opened up new possibilities for Dutch sailors, and by the beginning of the sixteenth century the economy was changing dramatically.

Many Netherlanders had condemned the corruption and materialism of the Church even before Martin Luther’s time. Already in the early fifteenth century a fraternity known as the Brethren of the Common Life attracted many adherents. The Brethren were not monks - they took no vows, and did not receive the tonsure - and to some extent operated alongside (or outside) the Church. Highly critical of the clergy and the monastic orders, the Brethren insisted that Christians should aim much higher than did the contemporary Church. A manifesto of their community was the *Imitation of Christ*. Written ca. 1420, perhaps by Thomas à Kempis, the *De imitatione Christi et contemptu omnium vanitatum mundi* urges the reader toward a mystical union with the Christ. The Brethren set great store by education, establishing schools that not only offered religious instruction but also introduced boys and young men to the humanities and

philosophy. Erasmus and Luther both studied in schools staffed by Brethren of the Common Life.

Luther's evangelical writings, many of which were quickly translated into Dutch, caused a considerable stir in the Netherlands, as did the sermons of Anabaptist and millenarian preachers. All of this so alarmed Charles V that in 1522 he extended to the Netherlands the inquisition that had worked so well in Spain, and forbade lay persons to read the Bible. In the Netherlands, however, the inquisition had the opposite effect, making the Protestant cause more attractive. By the late 1530s Calvin's writings were finding many readers in the Netherlands and by the 1550s Calvinists (they called themselves "Reformed") were numerous. The majority of Netherlanders, however, remained in the Catholic church, although they resented the presence of Spanish troops in Dutch cities.

The Low Countries descended into a religious war during the reign of Philip II, son of Charles V, although they were not ruled directly by Philip. From 1559 until 1567 the resident ruler was Philip's half-sister Margaret, Duchess of Parma (she was an illegitimate daughter of Charles V). Many of the Dutch hated their Spanish rulers because of the inquisition and other attempts to bring the Protestant Reformation to a halt. The *Beeldenstorm*, a Calvinist assault on the icons in Catholic churches, began on August 10 of 1566. Itinerant Calvinist preachers had for some time been haranguing the Dutch about the evils of Catholicism, but on that day, at Steenvoorde in Flanders, a crowd proceeded to a nearby monastery and sacked it. In the next months other crowds sacked other monasteries and churches. Reliquaries were smashed, as were pictures of saints, and to show their contempt for the mass the vandals munched communion wafers and drank consecrated wine. In the face of escalating violence Margaret stepped aside in favor of the brilliant but savage Fernando Alvarez de Toledo, the Duke of Alba (or Alva). During his six years at the helm Alba executed thousands of Calvinists and other Protestants, but despite his severity - or perhaps because of it - the number of Calvinists continued to grow.

The Dutch revolution and the Dutch Republic

In 1568 began the Dutch revolution, or what the Dutch refer to as "the eighty-years war." William of Orange led an army of rebels into the Netherlands, in an attempt to drive out Alba and his Spanish troops. Many provinces and cities declared themselves in support of William's cause. Soon, however, Alba's successes in battle disheartened the cities and the rebels ran out of money. By 1585 William of Orange had been assassinated and most of the Dutch cities, especially those in the south, had surrendered to the Spanish. The holdouts in the northern part of the Netherlands decided that their only chance for survival was to join their seven provinces to the kingdom of either Henri III of France or Elizabeth I of England. Neither monarch wished to take the rebels on as subjects, but Elizabeth did agree to make the provinces a protectorate. She sent a governor-general with fifty ships and six thousand troops to help the beleaguered Dutch rebels. The English governor, however, did not get on well with the rebels, whose seven provinces were often quarreling among themselves.

When the English governor departed in 1588, the northern provinces cobbled together -

with a mix of daring and desperation - the Seven United Provinces of the Netherlands, commonly known as the Dutch Republic (the southern provinces - located in what is now Belgium, Luxembourg and northeastern France - remained under Spanish control and were officially Catholic). Republican government had been tried in autonomous cities in northern Italy and elsewhere in Europe, but these were small states. The only precedent on a larger scale was the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, established in 1569, but that commonwealth had an elective monarchy. Like their Polish and Lithuanian predecessors, the Dutch were helped in their republican experiment by what humanists had learned of the ancient governments of Athens, Sparta and the Roman Republic (which Polybius had praised for its “mixed” constitution).

The ruin of the Spanish Armada in 1588, to which the Dutch themselves made a substantial contribution, greatly heartened the Dutch Protestants. Their own military efforts began to succeed in 1590 and by the late 1590s had progressed quite far. The success owed something to assistance from both Elizabeth I of England and Henri IV of France (the latter went to war with Philip II in 1595). The Dutch rebellion continued nominally until 1648: in the Peace of Westphalia the king of Spain, Philip IV, and Emperor Ferdinand III formally acknowledged the independence of the Dutch Republic. But the rebellion was largely accomplished already by 1609, when Philip III of Spain agreed to make a twelve-year truce with the republic.

Religious repression and tolerance in the Dutch Republic

The emergence of the Dutch Republic was accompanied by the establishment of the Dutch Reformed Church and the repression of Catholicism. All along, beginning in 1568, from whatever part of the Netherlands they controlled the rebels banned the public practice of Catholicism and appropriated the churches, properties and monasteries that belonged to the Church. By 1609 institutionalized Catholicism had disappeared from all seven of the northern provinces, and for almost a hundred years Catholic worship was illegal in the Dutch Republic. Although many citizens continued to identify themselves as Catholic (and in some areas a majority did so) they were forced to confine their Catholicism to their own homes. Such sacraments as they there received were administered by one of the few priests who - concealing their identity - remained in the land.

The strength of the Dutch Calvinists made their republic a haven for other persecuted Protestants. These came first, of course, from the southern provinces of the Netherlands, where the Spanish rulers suppressed all forms of Protestantism. But Protestant refugees came also from more distant places. The English Pilgrims, for example, who in England had been persecuted by both Catholic and Anglican monarchs, fled first to Amsterdam before embarking for the New World.

Especially remarkable was the growth of a Jewish population in all of the great cities of the Netherlands. This development preceded Protestantism and then paralleled its expansion and triumph. Until late in the fifteenth century Judaeans were scarcely to be found at all in Rotterdam, Amsterdam, Antwerp and Den Haag (The Hague). The great voyages of discovery made by Spanish and Portuguese explorers, however, stimulated mercantile activity in the

Netherlands, and by the beginning of the sixteenth century Judaean merchants and traders had begun arriving in the harbor cities. Many of the early immigrants came from Spain, after the expulsions ordered by Ferdinand and Isabella. Later but still more numerous were refugees from Portugal, fleeing the Portuguese inquisition. The Sephardic Jewish immigrants were largely successful in their new home, thanks to their background in commerce and industry. Their success attracted to the Netherlands many Ashkenazic Judaeans from Germany and eastern Europe, but the Ashkenazi - who had little or no experience in maritime trade - did not fare so well. Rich or poor, by the end of the sixteenth century the Jewish inhabitants of Amsterdam numbered twenty or thirty thousand, far more than in any other city of western Europe.

Even in the Netherlands, however, religious devotion was intense and religious tolerance had its limits. In addition to the Dutch Republic's prohibition of the public practice of Catholicism, distinctions were made within Protestantism. Early in the seventeenth century a Dutch theologian, Jacobus Arminius (1560-1609), splintered from traditional Calvinism. Arminius and his followers found the Calvinist doctrine of predestination too severe. God does predestine some people for Heaven, Arminianism conceded, but the only people eligible for predestination are those who believe in Jesus and his atonement. This easing of the doctrine of predestination, and its attraction of a wide following, infuriated the more traditional Calvinists. For a time the Dutch Republic forbade Arminians to hold any public office, and frequently the hostility between traditional Calvinists and Arminians boiled into violence. In 1619 Johan van Oldenbarnevelt, the most prominent Arminian in the government of the republic, was beheaded along with many other Arminians. Anabaptists, like Arminians, were unwelcome and for a time the republic banned Lutheranism. Nevertheless, its religious pluralism and tolerance made the Netherlands a forerunner of modernity in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

Dutch maritime achievements, wealth, and the African slave trade

Out of the war for independence from Spain came not only the Dutch Republic but also an extraordinary blossoming of commerce and wealth. By the end of the sixteenth century Dutch maritime commerce, often accompanied by warships, was bold enough to challenge the Portuguese-Spanish monopoly on the spice trade from Sumatra, Java and other islands of the East Indies. Although hazardous, a successful voyage returned four or five times the investment. In 1602 the Dutch Republic established the United East India Company as a permanent entity, and the company pioneered the selling of stock. Forty years later a Dutch explorer discovered the islands that for Europeans were to become known as New Zealand (after the Dutch province of Zeeland). On the southern coast of Africa the Dutch founded Cape Town in 1652. The commercial wealth of the port cities in the Netherlands, especially Rotterdam and Amsterdam, has been attributed either to the influx of Jewish fugitives or - more often - to Calvinism and the lifting of Christianity's traditional restrictions on "usury" (banking). The seventeenth century was the Golden Age of culture in the Netherlands, and is remembered especially for painters such as Frans Hals, Rembrandt, and Vermeer.

Late in the sixteenth century Dutch ships began to frequent the coast of west Africa, and by the early seventeenth century they were participating in the slave trade that Portuguese and Spanish merchants had originated. The buying and selling of slaves was the most lucrative part

of a triangular maritime trade route. In the first leg of the triangle ships carrying manufactured goods - most of them cheaply produced - sailed from European ports to trading stations and natural harbors in west Africa (modern Lagos, in Nigeria, was one of these). There the ship captains and merchants sold the manufactured goods and purchased west African slaves who had been captured in the interior and brought to the slave markets. Crammed into the holds of the ships, the slaves were on this "Middle Passage" carried to the New World where they were sold for a huge profit. In the third leg of the triangular trade - the voyage from the New World back to Europe - the ships were laden with New World products. Among the first of these products - carried especially by Portuguese ships - was sugar, from the sugarcane plantations in Brazil. The cargo from North America, most of it carried on Dutch ships in the early seventeenth century, was often tobacco and cotton. By 1700 English and French traders had begun to crowd out the Dutch.

The first black slaves carried to the New World arrived early in the sixteenth century, and by 1600 the commerce in slaves had become important to the economies of Spain and Portugal, of their colonies in the New World, and of the empires and kingdoms of west Africa. The typical transport of slaves was by a cargo ship converted to hold between three hundred and seven hundred people. The slaves were confined to cramped and fetid hatchways below deck, each person fettered or chained to a bench. From the early sixteenth to the early nineteenth century, when the trafficking in slaves was finally outlawed by most civilized states,⁵ perhaps fifteen million Africans had been purchased for transport to Brazil, the Caribbean, and North America. Approximately ten million Africans survived the passage, and it is debatable whether they were more fortunate than the several million who did not.

From the outset, religion was an important factor in the slave trade. Many of the slaves came from the Ghana empire and the Mali empire, and still more came from what is now Nigeria. In these empires the rulers were Muslim but their subjects were mostly pagan. Islamic law prohibited a Muslim from enslaving other Muslims, but permitted him to capture non-Muslims and sell them into slavery. Although the Muslim rulers of west Africa did the enslaving, they did not sail across the Atlantic, and the transport of slaves to the New World was therefore managed by Christian slavers. In 1452 the Church had given its approval to enslavement, when Pope Nicholas V issued the bull *Dum diversas*. This papal bull permitted Alfonso V, king of Portugal, to capture and enslave Muslims, pagans, and all other "enemies of Christ" whom Portuguese sea-captains found in their voyages of discovery. In 1455 Pope Nicholas followed up the initial bull with a second, titled *Romanus Pontifex*, in which he extended the license to other Catholic kings and princes whose fleets ventured to sail around Africa. Nicholas expressed his joy that these policies had already resulted in the baptism - and therefore the salvation - of many heathen.

When Protestant merchants and sea-captains began to engage in the slave trade they took over a business that had been legalized for the benefit of their Catholic predecessors. Whether the traders were Catholic or Protestant, their excuse for trafficking in men, women and children was that these people were heathen, and therefore in need of salvation. The slaves' earthly lot was admittedly unfortunate but it would be more than offset, so the slave trader insisted, when they were purchased by Christians and baptized into their owners' faith.

The beginning of the Reformation in England

In England the Reformation began with the printing of the New Testament in English. William Tyndale was ordained to the priesthood in 1521, in the exciting year of Luther's excommunication and his trial before the emperor. A priest and a gifted linguist, the young Tyndale soon conceived the ambition to translate the Bible into English from its original Hebrew and Greek (Wycliffe's translation had been done from the Latin Vulgate). This incurred the wrath of Cuthbert Tunstall, bishop of London, and of the entire royal and ecclesiastical establishment. In the 1520s King Henry VIII was still reliably Catholic. Against Luther's new doctrines Henry himself had written *Defence of the Seven Sacraments* and was recognized by the Church as a "defender of the faith." An important part of that defense was preventing the laity from reading the Bible (a prerogative reserved for the clergy).

The subversive Tyndale was forced to flee to the continent. There he joined the Protestants, read much of what Luther had written, and seems to have spent some time in Wittenberg. Mostly he lived in the Netherlands, with lodgings at Antwerp. In 1535 an English newcomer to Antwerp, Henry Philips, made Tyndale's acquaintance and then went to Brussels to alert officers of the emperor, Charles V, about Tyndale's whereabouts. Late in 1535 a trap was set, and not far from his house in Antwerp, as he supposed that he was going out to dinner with Philips, Tyndale was seized by the emperor's agents at the mouth of a narrow alley through which Philips was guiding him. Tyndale was hurried to Vilvorde, eighteen miles away, and was there imprisoned in a castle. After being tried and sentenced by an imperial court, Tyndale was in October of 1536 strangled and his body was burned at the stake.

By the time of his capture Tyndale had accomplished a good part of his project, and the Reformation was well under way in England. In 1526 printers at Worms and Antwerp published Tyndale's translation of the New Testament, and he then went on to translate various pieces of the Old Testament. His English Pentateuch was printed in 1530. Copies of the translations were smuggled into England, where Bishop Tunstall burned as many as he could put his hands on. Thomas Wolsey, archbishop of Canterbury, branded Tyndale a heretic, and Sir Thomas More, who in 1529 succeeded Wolsey as Lord Chancellor, ridiculed Tyndale's work and pronounced it so defective that trying to rid it of errors would be as futile as trying to rid the sea of water. Although Sir Thomas supposed himself capable of producing a superior translation he of course had no intention of doing so.

Among the English public, however, many were excited by Tyndale's translations and became secret Protestants. Most of the Protestants were not only literate but educated, and seem to have been concentrated in London and the smaller cities in the south of England. At least six editions of Tyndale's New Testament were sold out. So many subjects of Henry VIII were eager to read the Bible (or to hear it read aloud in English) that even as the authorities rounded up the contraband books, the king was forced by public opinion to promise that some day he would sponsor a "faithful" translation of the Bible into English.

The establishment of the Church of England

Henry's amours led to the splintering from the Roman Catholic church of what was thereafter called "the Church of England."⁶ In bringing about this break, however, Henry by no means intended to create a Protestant church (although interested in Luther's and Zwingli's assault on papal authority, Henry hardly accepted the doctrine of "justification by faith" or other Protestant teachings). After more than twenty years of marriage to Catherine of Aragon, Henry fell in love with Anne Boleyn, one of the queen's attendants, and decided that he must marry her. For years Henry tried to have his marriage to Catherine annulled by Pope Clement VII, but Clement refused the request (perhaps one reason for his refusal was that Catherine was a loyal Catholic while Anne sympathized with the Protestants). In 1533 an annulment was finally granted, not by the pope but by Thomas Cranmer, whom Henry had recently - on Anne's suggestion - appointed as the archbishop of Canterbury. Angered by this usurpation of authority, Pope Clement excommunicated both Henry and Cranmer. Far from backing down, Henry retaliated. Knowing that his English subjects had mixed feelings about the papacy, Henry called the Parliament together to put an end to the pope's authority over the Church in England. In the Act of Supremacy of 1534, Parliament duly determined "that the king, our sovereign lord, his heirs and successors, kings of this realm, shall be taken, accepted, and reputed the only supreme head in earth of the Church of England." Sir Thomas More refused to swear the Oath of Supremacy, and on July 6th of 1535 was beheaded on orders from King Henry.

Thus did the Church of England suddenly become independent of the Roman Catholic church. Initially it was in both doctrine and practice the very same as the Roman Catholic church, except that it was headed by the king rather than by the pope (the archbishop of Canterbury held day-to-day responsibility for the church's government, but the archbishop served only at the pleasure of the king). Worship continued to be the mass, which continued to be understood as essential for avoiding long stays in Purgatory. The king, rather than the pope, was in charge of the clerical hierarchy, but otherwise bishops and priests continued to go about their duties as before. Over time, however, Henry's attitude toward Catholicism hardened (the last five of his six wives were Protestants), and in order to prevent the Church of England from slipping back under the pope's control, Henry introduced more changes. In 1537 he moved to dismantle the properties of the Roman Catholic church: he confiscated the monasteries, convents and the extensive lands that they owned, and then sold them to the English nobility. The sale resulted in a windfall for the crown, and some ten thousand monks and nuns were suddenly returned to secular society. Other dramatic innovations were the substitution of English for Latin in the mass, and then - in 1539 - the king's authorization to print an English translation of the Bible. This first legal English Bible was the "Great Bible," so called because it measured fourteen inches in height. The English text was based largely on the outlawed translation done by Tyndale. Between 1539 and 1541 seven editions of the Great Bible were printed, so that readings from it could be heard in every church in England.

The Church of England was a product of Henry's pursuit of his own interests, and the public mood was one of perplexity. In northern England most people resented the changes Henry introduced. Although open allegiance to the pope was now treason, a secret Catholicism was widespread. On the other side, the Protestant minority in London and other southern cities was not at all happy with the Church of England: despite its recent elevation of the Bible,

Henry's church was in doctrine not so evangelical as the Lutheran, and in worship was much closer to the Catholic than to any of the new Calvinist churches.

At Henry's death in 1547 he was succeeded by his ten-year-old son, Edward VI (1547-53). Edward was Henry's only male heir and had been born to Jane Seymour, Henry's third wife, who died just days after giving birth to Edward. Because the boy was largely raised by his maternal uncle, a Protestant, Edward had learned to regard the papacy as a mortal threat. Once Edward was enthroned, his court chaplain was John Knox, a militant Calvinist from Scotland. During the child-king's short rule, therefore, the Church of England drifted toward Protestantism. Celibacy for priests had continued under Henry VIII, but under Edward this requirement was abolished and many priests and bishops in the Church of England promptly married. In 1549 the first edition of the Book of Common Prayer, prepared by Thomas Cranmer, was printed. It disappointed Protestant expectations because it was in large part a translation of the Latin mass into English. In 1552 a second edition of the Book of Common Prayer came out, this one with a more Protestant character. The litany recited in many English churches during Edward's rule included a prayer asking God's protection against the pope's schemes to recover control of the Church of England.

The prayers, however, were unavailing. In 1553 young Edward died, probably from tuberculosis, causing a succession crisis. Edward's own will named Lady Jane Grey - a distant relative, sixteen years old, and a Protestant - as his successor and Jane was in fact crowned as queen. English tradition, however, and most of the people demanded the succession of Henry's oldest daughter, Mary Tudor, and an impromptu army quickly gathered to put her in power. After a reign of nine days Queen Jane abdicated, and Mary I (1553-58) was crowned. She was Henry's daughter by Catherine of Aragon, and like her mother was a staunch Catholic. Once on the throne Mary repealed her father's Act of Supremacy, putting the Church of England again under the pope.

Mary's popularity was short-lived. After her coronation she married her cousin, Prince Philip of Spain, soon to be Philip II, king of Spain from 1556 to 1598. The marriage angered much of the populace in England, and in the south local rebellions broke out, led by Protestants. After the rebellions were quashed, the queen approved the executions of Lady Jane Grey and more than two hundred others, many of whom were burned at the stake. Most victims of these Marian Persecutions were Protestants, but also included was Thomas Cranmer, who was burned at the stake on March 21 of 1556. Some in attendance reported that Cranmer's last words were a denunciation of the pope as the anti-Christ. The aggressive Catholicism of "Bloody Mary" accelerated the rise of Protestantism in England. Mary died in 1558, to widespread rejoicing, and was succeeded by her half-sister, Elizabeth, whose Anglican reign lasted until 1603.

The *kirk* of Scotland and the origins of Presbyterianism

In Scotland some Catholics were attracted to the doctrines of Luther or Zwingli already in the 1520s, but in the early years the dissidents' numbers were small. As in England and almost everywhere else, people in Scotland thought in terms of a single, established, and institutional church. The only question to be asked was, What kind of church shall we have? Should the

Scottish church remain subject to the popes in Rome, or should it be subject to the kings and queens of Scotland? Should it follow Catholic tradition, or should it be an evangelical church, based on the Bible?

The Scots' monarchy was invested in the House of Stewart or Stuart, as it was spelled in French. James V (1513-42) was the son of James IV and Margaret Tudor, older sister of England's Henry VIII. King James' most important residence was Stirling Castle, a stronghold above the Forth river and some forty miles inland from the Firth of Forth. A traditional Catholic, James saw to it that during his reign Protestant reformers who became too troublesome were burned at the stake. Perhaps as a consequence of a defeat by the English at Solway Moss, James V died in 1542. He left as heir to the throne an infant daughter, Mary Stuart, who was to become known as Mary Queen of Scots. Mary's mother, and James' queen-consort, was Marie de Guise, of the noble French family that was to play so important a role in France's Wars of Religion. Because Mary Stuart's paternal grandmother was Margaret Tudor, the baby girl was cousin to two future English queens: Mary Tudor and Elizabeth. James V died within a week of his daughter's birth, and as a tiny infant Mary was accordingly crowned as queen of Scotland. Power lay with her mother, Marie de Guise, who ruled as regent.

As the queen of Scotland, the infant Mary was seen as a marital prize by Christian royalty. Henry VIII of England was adamant that the infant be betrothed to Edward, Henry's long awaited son, and Henry sent an army into Scotland to conduct a "rough wooing." Frightened by Henry VIII and the English, Marie de Guise arranged with Henri II, king of France, a marriage between Mary and François, the Dauphin of France. At the time, both Mary and François were four years old. Immediately after the marriage was agreed upon, Marie de Guise sent her daughter to Paris, where she was raised in the palace of the French king. Mary and François were married in 1558. The next year Henri II died, making the teen-aged François and Mary king and queen-consort of France, as well as king-consort and queen-regnant of Scotland. In effect, Scotland and France were now a single kingdom.

Meanwhile, things had become tumultuous in Scotland. The accession of Elizabeth in England in 1558, and her firm removal of the Church of England from the pope's control, caused many in Scotland to press for a similar arrangement for the *kirk* in Scotland. Equally disruptive was the return to Scotland of John Knox (1510-1572), a zealous Calvinist, who quickly became the leader of a Protestant insurgency. Thirdly, the marriage of Mary and François and the elevation of François to the throne of France worried many Scots that their small country was about to become a mere appendage to the powerful kingdom of France. Early in 1559 grassroots mobs of Protestants began to vandalize churches and monasteries, and soon Protestant rebels organized themselves into armed forces. Marie de Guise requested aid from the royal couple in France, and a small French army arrived to support the regent and her traditional Catholicism. Elizabeth of England, on the other hand, although she personally disliked John Knox, sent a fleet to Scotland in support of the Protestant rebels.

In June of 1560, as the violence of the revolution crested, Marie de Guise died of natural causes. Young Mary was now the ruler of Scotland. Still living in France, she permitted the nobles and bishops of Scotland to assemble in a parliament, and in July of 1560 a parliament of

almost two hundred Scottish lords, lairds and bishops gathered at Edinburgh to determine the character of the Scottish *kirk*. The parliament's leanings were decidedly Protestant and it readily passed a measure that ended papal control of the *kirk* of Scotland. By a narrower margin, the parliament reformed the *kirk* to give it a Calvinist character. The mass and the Latin language were abandoned, and henceforth the Church of Scotland was based on the Bible and on the teachings of John Calvin and John Knox.

A difficulty for the Scots was that their vernacular languages were hardly literary languages. The language of the lowlands was called Scots: descended from Old English, it was cognate to English but contained many words borrowed from the Scandinavian languages. In the highlands of western Scotland most people spoke Scottish Ghàidhlig (Gaelic), a Keltic language. Because the Bible had been translated into neither Scots nor Ghàidhlig, the Scottish *kirk* had to make do with an assortment of English Bibles. The Bishops' Bible, a translation authorized for the Church of England by Elizabeth, was used by some Scottish congregations, but the Calvinist preference was the Geneva Bible, an English translation done by English scholars who had fled to Geneva during the reign of "Bloody Mary." In the early seventeenth century, after the Scots' own King James had become king of both Scotland and England and had authorized yet another translation, "the King James Bible" edged aside the Geneva Bible in many Scottish churches. The Bible was not translated into the Ghàidhlig language until the middle of the eighteenth century.

Although for a time the clerical hierarchy - the bishops and priests - of the Scottish *kirk* remained in place, a distinctive trait of the reformed *kirk* was that every local congregation was to be governed by a small group of "elders." Calvinists studying their New Testaments had found that the congregations founded by Paul were governed by elders (the Greek word for which was *presbyteroi*).⁷ The local congregation in the *kirk*, however, was not autonomous. The elders of the local church were a "session," which in turn was under the authority of a regional or diocesan "presbytery," composed of the elders of all the churches in that region or diocese. In Scotland, therefore, the presbytery took the place of the bishop, although frequently a bishop remained as an executive under the authority of the presbytery. Finally, the several regional presbyteries were subordinated to a single national assembly. This mode of church governance and discipline was urged by John Knox and was approved by the parliament. In 1638 a national assembly at Glasgow voted to abolish the office of bishop in the Scottish church. By 1707, when England and Scotland were formally united, the Church of Scotland was as clearly "presbyterian" as the Church of England was "episcopalian."

In 1560, however, all was confusion. While Scotland's parliament was on the scene and more or less Protestant, the country's rulers were Catholic and lived in France: Queen Mary and her youthful husband, François II, king of France. A year later, in 1561, some of these complications were simplified by the untimely death of François. At this point Mary, no longer the queen-consort of France, decided to return to Scotland and rule as Mary Queen of Scots. To enable her return she gave assurances to the Scots that while maintaining public order she would cooperate with parliament and would not attempt to restore papal control of the Scottish church. In this delicate balance Mary ruled until 1567. In 1565 she married a cousin - Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley - and a year later she bore their son, James. Like the queen, Darnley

avored Roman Catholicism, and a rebellion against the couple was launched by Protestant nobles. Darnley was murdered, and Mary's army was defeated by the rebels. The nobles forced Mary to abdicate in favor of her one-year old son, James, who would be raised as a Protestant by the infant's regent, Mary's half-brother. In 1568 Mary was forced to flee Scotland, for England. There, because she was a favorite of English Catholics, Mary was suspect to Elizabeth and was imprisoned until her beheading in 1587.

Catholic plots and anti-Catholicism in Elizabethan England

Elizabeth, as we have seen, ascended to the throne in 1558, at the death of her half-sister, "Bloody Mary" Tudor. Mary was the daughter of Henry VIII by Catherine of Aragon, a Catholic, and Elizabeth was Henry's daughter by Anne Boleyn, a Protestant. Although Elizabeth was personally inclined toward Protestantism, as the ruler of England she began as a peacemaker and in her rigid way tried to make the Church of England acceptable to both Protestants and Catholics. In 1559 she renewed her father's Act of Supremacy, but modified it by identifying herself as the "governor" rather than the "head" of the Church of England. In the same year the Act of Uniformity, which was directed as much against Calvinists as against traditional Catholics, stipulated that the Book of Common Prayer be followed exactly in all worship services and in the administration of the sacraments. Any person who disparaged the Book of Common Prayer was to be fined, and the person three times convicted of that offence was to be imprisoned for life. All who were appointed to an office either in the government or in the Church of England and the universities were required to take an oath of loyalty to Elizabeth. Her Act of Supremacy was protested by five Catholic bishops, who urged her to continue Mary's policy instead of reverting to Henry's. In her response to the bishops Elizabeth said that to take the English flock from its "careful shepherd" and place it under the pope would be to entrust it to a wolf, "whose inventions, heresies, and schisms be so numerous that the flock of Christ have fed on poisonous shrubs for want of wholesome pastures."

In 1563, under the guidance of Matthew Parker, the archbishop of Canterbury, leaders of the Church of England gathered to formulate and adopt the "Thirty-Nine Articles," defining the church and its beliefs. Although nowhere labeling the Church of England as Protestant or Reformed, this document adopted many of the principal Protestant reforms. It declared "the Sufficiency of the holy Scriptures for salvation," and rejected clerical celibacy, the adoration of Mary and the saints, Purgatory, and much else. Perhaps most decisively, the thirty-seventh article declared that "the Bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this Realm of England." The Thirty-Nine Articles were subsequently included in the Book of Common Prayer and today still serve as an articulation of Anglican belief and practice.

For years the papacy did not retaliate, but in 1570 Pius V excommunicated Elizabeth with a papal bull, *Regnans in excelsis*. The bull branded Elizabeth a heretic and a defender of heretics. Claiming that she had usurped the throne of England, *Regnans in excelsis* not only absolved Catholics of their oaths to support and defend her but forbade them to obey her. The pope also anathematized those of Elizabeth's subjects who continued to do her bidding. A series of Catholic plots against the queen's life followed *Regnans in excelsis*, the most important being the Roberto Ridolfi plot of 1571-72, the Throckmorton plot of 1583-84, and - still more

elaborate - the Babington plot of 1586-86. All were designed to kill Elizabeth and to replace her with Mary Stuart ("Queen of Scots"). Mary knew about the Babington plot and encouraged it, not out of her own ambitions but in order to return England and Scotland to Catholicism. Early in 1587, Elizabeth consented to her advisors' pleas that Mary be executed.

For her part, Elizabeth saw to the passage of legislation, called the Penal Laws, designed to prevent the pope from undermining her power and from regaining his position in the Church of England. These laws made it treasonable for anyone to assert that the pope had authority over the Church of England or was to be obeyed in any matter. For the first offence, a Catholic was punished by the confiscation of his or her property or - for those who owned no property - by a year's imprisonment. For the intransigent, the *de jure* penalty for conviction on the charge of high treason was to be hanged, drawn and quartered (*de facto*, this savage form of execution was used only for persons found guilty of actually plotting against the monarch). Wary of Jesuit involvement in the plots and machinations against her, in 1585 Elizabeth had parliament ban the Jesuit order from England.

The ruin of the Spanish Armada (1588)

With the beheading of Mary Stuart, and no viable Catholic pretender to the English throne in the wings, it appeared that military action was the only way in which a Catholic monarchy could be reestablished in England. The initiative for such an attempt was taken by Philip II of Spain, who had been nominally married to Mary Tudor and after Mary's death had unsuccessfully proposed marriage to Elizabeth. If Philip had a few reasons to keep the peace with Elizabeth he had more reasons to go to war with her. English ships, especially pirates and adventurers from Devon county, had been harassing Spanish ships for decades. The pirates' favorite targets were Spanish "treasure ships" carrying gold and other valuable cargo back from the New World, but the English privateers also preyed upon Spanish and Portuguese merchant ships bound for northern European ports. English ships had also for many years been giving help to the Netherlanders in their war against the kings of Spain. And finally, of course, Elizabeth had been excommunicated from the Catholic church as a heretic. Philip II decided that in order to subdue the Netherlands he must first conquer England, put an end to the reign of Elizabeth, and re-establish Catholicism as the country's religion.

By 1588 Philip had created an *armada* of some 130 warships, and he placed it under the command of Don Alonso de Guzmán, the Duke of Medina Sidonia. Don Alonso's orders were to sail to the Netherlands, where he should link up with troopships and barges on which the Duke of Parma had embarked the Spanish army operating in the Netherlands. The fleet was then to cross to England, the Armada defeating whatever English fleet contested the landing, and the disembarked army would then meet and defeat Elizabeth's army.

In late July of 1588 the Armada passed through the English Channel with only slight losses, and dropped anchor at Gravelines (a continental port near Calais). Before the Duke of Parma's troopships arrived, however, the anchored Armada was attacked by "fireships" that the English set adrift and ignited. Several Spanish ships caught fire and sank, and to save itself the Armada was forced to put out to sea. Plans for the invasion of England were necessarily

abandoned, and Don Alonso's goal was now simply to bring the Armada safely back to Spain. Because sailing through the Channel seemed too dangerous, he took his ships up the eastern coast of England and around Scotland toward Ireland. There a strong and relentless wind took its toll, as did disease and starvation (the Spanish ships had no opportunity to restock their food supplies). Almost half of the Armada failed to return to Spain.

The debacle set off Protestant rejoicing in Britain and Europe, and medals were struck thanking God for sending "a Protestant wind" to wreck the Armada. In the aftermath, although for a while Spain remained the dominant power in western Christendom (and not far below the Ottoman empire), the English began to aspire to playing the kind of role that Spain had played for three generations. The foundation of English and Dutch colonies in North America in the early seventeenth century would probably not have been ventured without the ruin of the Spanish Armada.

Puritans

Queen Elizabeth's good fortune against Philip II was offset by growing hostility from her blatantly Protestant subjects. The majority of the English population and the English clergy was willing to accommodate the religious changes ordered by their kings and queens. With small protest much of England accepted Henry's taking the Church of England from the pope's control, Edward's steering of his church toward Protestantism, Mary's return to Catholicism, and Elizabeth's re-establishment of an independent Church of England. In the many thousands of parishes throughout the kingdom only a few hundred priests and bishops refused to go along with the religious mandates of the incumbent king or queen, and those few paid the price. In the wake of the Protestant revolution in Scotland, for example, some priests and even a few bishops in England agreed with their parishes to set up "elders" as a governing body. The offenders were removed from the clergy.

In contrast to the secret Catholic plots, open opposition to the Church of England came mostly from an unyielding minority who were commonly and somewhat derisively called "Puritans." Puritans were Calvinist Protestants of unusual severity. Having nothing to do with priests and bishops, Puritans were not an organized sect but a grassroots movement. They read the Bible and prayed tirelessly, stressed the sanctified life, and hoped to purify the Church of England of all vestiges of "popery." Unhappily for the Puritans, the Church of England retained a great deal of traditional Catholicism. The idea of freedom of religion being almost unknown in the sixteenth century, the Puritans were compelled to worship in the Church of England, however much they disliked it. During the reign of Mary many Puritans had emigrated to the European continent, where they sought out Protestant communities. Puritans who stayed in England refused to go to church and instead met in private to worship in a Calvinist manner. Although the Puritans took comfort at Elizabeth's succession to the throne, they were disappointed to discover that she loved the traditional pageantry and had little interest in remaking the Church of England along Puritan lines. In her very first year as monarch, at the same time that her Act of Supremacy distanced the Church of England from the pope, Elizabeth saw to the passage of the Acts of Uniformity. These acts spelled out for the clergy what doctrines were to be taught, and how worship was to be conducted (the Book of Common

Prayer). The acts also insisted that priests and bishops wear the traditional vestments, which to Puritans were especially irritating symbols of “popery.”

In 1583 the queen appointed John Whitgift to the office of archbishop of Canterbury, succeeding Edmund Grindal. Whitgift was determined to suppress Puritanism (of which Grindal had been relatively tolerant) and forbade any meeting in a private house - other than by the family members - for worship or religious instruction. In 1592 Parliament passed an “Act for the Punishment of Persons Obstinate Refusing to Come to Church.” This act made it a crime for anyone over the age of sixteen to refuse to come to church or to persuade others not to come to church. The crime was punished first by imprisonment, and then - if even in prison the person remained obstinate - by expatriation from England (recusants who returned to England without the queen’s permission were to be hanged). Pamphlets began appearing, anonymously authored and printed, that denounced or ridiculed Elizabeth and the established Church of England. These insults made the queen even more determined to root out the troublemakers.

Late in Elizabeth’s reign began the controversy over Sunday sports, a controversy which was to become especially heated in the reign of her successor, James I. At issue was the Puritans’ attempt to make Sunday entirely a day of worship. From late medieval times onward it had been customary for the English to attend mass on Sunday morning but to engage in various kinds of sports or amusements - archery contests, bull baiting, bear baiting - on Sunday afternoons. Elizabeth herself especially enjoyed, as had Henry VIII, watching dogs attack tethered bears. In 1617 King James published the *Book of Sports*, which detailed those amusements that would be allowed on Sunday afternoons and those that henceforth were banned. Traditionalists regarded the measure as severe, while the Puritans saw it as merely a token reform. The great migration of Puritans to Massachusetts Bay in the first half of the seventeenth century was a result of their resentment at having to conform to the Church of England, and their determination to create a “New England” in which society would mirror their strict form of Calvinism.

Religion during the early Stuart dynasty and in the English civil wars

Religion may not have been the main factor in the English civil wars, but religious differences contributed greatly to those and other hostilities all through the seventeenth century. The opposition of the parliament - and especially of the House of Commons - to the monarchy was in part a religious conflict. The House of Commons was mostly “low church” Protestant, while the Stuart kings were either Anglican or Catholic. Much Catholic political ideology favored the absolute rule of a Catholic monarch, such as that of Louis XIV in France, while Protestants generally favored a limited Protestant monarchy in which some powers were vested in the people through a parliament.

Religiously, the English people - all of them Christians (the centuries-old exclusion of Judaeans was not breached until 1656) - had many and deep divisions. Catholics were now a minority but were feared by the majority, the Catholic nobles who still survived having not yet given up their hope that Catholicism would be re-established in England. The Church of England - whose members we may call Anglicans - maintained a beleaguered position between Catholicism and Protestantism. As the established religion, Anglicanism was at least

outwardly professed by most of the government, the universities, and the nobility, but it did not generate the fervent passions that stirred both Catholics and outright Protestants.

Among the lower classes Protestantism had great appeal. In the seventeenth century English Protestantism was fertile and tumultuous, as religious ferment brought forth a wide array of new and unusual growths. Although these new sects soon lost their importance in England, their offspring in the American colonies were more robust and durable. Especially exhilarating for English Protestants was the last book of the Bible, the Revelation of St. John. The medieval Church had made little use of this book, perhaps because the writer depicted Rome as Babylon, the Great Whore. The pericopal passages from the New Testament that Catholic priests read (in Latin) to their parishes throughout the liturgical year were regularly taken from the Gospels and the Epistles. Free to read what they wished, English Protestants turned to Revelation, from which Luther had drawn his conclusion that the Anti-Christ was none other than the pope. As Protestants read and re-read the book they focused increasingly on the Millennium, the thousand years during which Satan would be chained and cast into the Abyss.⁸ English fascination with Revelation was in large part due to Joseph Mede, who taught Greek and Hebrew at Cambridge University. Mede published his *Clavis apocalyptica* in 1627, and in 1643 the Latin original was translated into English by Richard More and published as *Key to the Revelation, searched and demonstrated out of the naturall and proper Characters of the Visions*. Mede's research, which concluded that the Millennium would begin within a few decades or even a few years (the year 1666 seemed especially pregnant with possibilities), fueled intense debate all over England. Oliver Cromwell and the Puritans believed that the Millennium was either about to begin or - with the beheading of Charles I - already had, and that they were to play an important role in it.

Almost all of the English Protestant denominations were Calvinist, and among the most important were the Presbyterians, whose Scottish counterparts had created the Church of Scotland on the blueprint drafted by John Knox. In some areas of England Presbyterianism overlapped with Puritanism, but just as often the two movements were at loggerheads. By the seventeenth century Puritan "Independents" were pressing for the abolition of any established church: the Independents, that is, were advocating a small degree of religious freedom, as they insisted that Protestants and Anglicans should be allowed to worship as they pleased (the Independents did not, of course, urge that the same liberty be extended to Catholics). It was from these Puritan Independents that the denomination known in New England as Congregationalist evolved. More eccentric than the Puritans and Presbyterians were the Baptists, whether General or Particular. All the Baptists denied the efficacy of infant baptism, but while the Generals believed that Jesus died for all people, the Particulars believed that he died only for those elected for salvation. A small and secretive company of "English Arians" sympathized with the dangerous anti-trinitarian views of Michael Servetus and Faustus Socinus. These "Arians" may have evolved from among the "Seekers" who followed Edward Wightman (in 1612 Wightman was burned at the stake for his heresies). Also on the margin were the "Quakers," the Society of Friends founded ca. 1650 by George Fox.

Puritanism had been repressed under Elizabeth and the first two Stuarts, and especially by William Laud, archbishop of Canterbury from 1633 to 1645. It was thanks to this repression that thousands of Puritans left England, sailed across the Atlantic, and settled in New England. Among those who stayed behind were zealots who gained notoriety and infuriated the authorities

by fouling the cassocks and surplices worn by Anglican clergymen, or by wrecking what “popish” decoration remained in Anglican churches. With Cromwell’s victories in the civil wars, and the hanging of Laud in 1645, Puritanism became - for a very short time - the dominant religion in England. A leader of the parliament during the Commonwealth was the radical Praise-God Barebone. Although Cromwell did not do away with the Church of England, he thoroughly denatured it. During his Protectorate, churches were stripped of artwork and clergymen were stripped of their regalia, the Book of Common Prayer ceased to be mandatory in the Church of England, the clergy was opened to Protestants from varying backgrounds and with varying beliefs and practices, and the office of bishop was abolished.

With the Restoration in 1660, however, and the widespread discrediting of the Cromwells and the Protectorate, Anglicanism was re-established. In 1662 the parliament passed, and Charles II signed into law, an Act of Uniformity similar to that carried by Queen Elizabeth a century earlier. The 1662 act restored the Church of England along Anglican lines, required once more that the Book of Common Prayer be used in all its worship services, and expelled from its clergy all pastors who were not ordained by Anglican bishops. Some two thousand men lost their positions in this “Great Ejection” of Protestant pastors. Further, the Act of Uniformity stipulated that only members of the Church of England were eligible to teach or to study at the universities of England, to serve in the government, or to be officers in the army or navy. But the civil wars and the Commonwealth had permanently legitimized Protestantism in England: no further attempts were made to repress “low church” Christianity. Puritans, Presbyterians and other Protestant sectarians were free to establish and maintain congregations of their own, where they could worship as they wished, but the higher levels of society were closed to them. The Act of Uniformity remained in force for more than two hundred years.

Toward freedom of the press

A byproduct of the bloody religious struggles in England was a growing consensus that the printing of opinions and arguments on religion should not be controlled by the ruler.⁹ The printing press, as we have seen, was a powerful instrument and kings everywhere were keen to control it. This was as true in England as on the European continent. Henry VIII licensed all printers and threatened with prison or death anyone who printed matter not approved by the crown. Mary and then Elizabeth continued the policy.

In contrast, printers in the Dutch Republic were relatively free to publish what they chose on religious matters. Because it was a republic rather than a monarchy, government in the Netherlands depended on persuasion and agreement. The expression of differing opinions was regarded as essential to the success of the republic, just as it had been in the ancient republics of Greece and Rome. The first newspaper - a weekly - was published by Joris Veseler in Amsterdam in 1618: the *Courante uyt Italien, Duytsland, &c.*

In sixteenth-century England quarrels were bitter between religious groups: Anglicans, Catholics, Presbyterians, and independent Puritans. In order to promote the Church of England against its rivals Elizabeth had her lawyers transfer to the archbishop of Canterbury the authority to license and control all printers. That did not stop clandestine publications by Puritans and Presbyterians. In 1588 and 1589, as the Spanish Armada was dashed by fire and storms, a writer

under the pseudonym “Martin Marprelate” managed to have printed seven tracts opposing the episcopal structure of the Church of England. The tracts were evidently printed secretly in different places, and Elizabeth’s police were unable to track down the Puritan author and printers.

Joris Veseler followed his Dutch language newspaper with an English weekly in 1620, but this paper was composed and printed in Amsterdam, and intended for the English-speaking residents in the Netherlands. In England a pamphlet called *The Weekly Newes* was first published in 1622. In the early 1640s, as criticism of King Charles I mounted, anonymous pamphlets and tracts appeared, despite Charles’ attempt to control the printers of England. The clandestine press thus came to be seen as a republican weapon against the monarchy, or as an ally of Puritans against Anglicans and of Parliament against Charles in the English civil war. As England briefly joined the Netherlands in a republican experiment, John Milton made a stirring call for freedom of the press. His plea, much read and commented upon, was *Areopagitica. A Speech of Mr. John Milton for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing to the Parliament of England*. The tract was printed and published (despite its title, it was never given as a speech) on Nov. 23 of 1644.

With Cromwell’s victory and ascendancy as “Lord Protector” in the short-lived Commonwealth, he too tried to control the press but was unable to silence his many opponents and critics. Similarly, after the Restoration in 1660 the republican and Protestant opponents of Charles II had no trouble finding printers in England daring enough to publish anonymous writings decrying monarchy, Catholicism, France or anything else associated with Charles and the Stuart dynasty. In taverns, clubs, shops and other public places tables were cluttered with posters, tracts, lampoons, cartoons and other printed material aimed at converting the public to this or that view. In the Glorious Revolution of 1688 printers were especially active, and in the aftermath of that Revolution the new monarchs - William and Mary - acceded to Parliament’s insistence that the press in England be free from royal control. In 1694 the House of Commons refused to renew the printing act, and so effectively allowed the owners of printing presses to publish whatever serious but controversial material they wished.¹⁰ That negative endorsement of freedom of the press was not improved upon anywhere in Europe until 1766, when the Swedish parliament passed and King Adolf Frederick approved the “Law on the Freedom of Printing.” A similar law was enacted in Denmark (with Norway) in 1770, and in 1789 the Bill of Rights established freedom of the press in the United States of America.

It is not surprising that England and the Netherlands played so important a role in the prelude to the Enlightenment. The press’s relative freedom there contrasted with its control by the rulers of France, Spain, Portugal, the Holy Roman Empire, and the Papal States in Italy.¹¹ Here the inquisitions and the Index of Prohibited Books often prevented writers from publishing, and forced them to take up at least temporary residence in the Netherlands, England or - in a few instances - Switzerland in order to find printers for their works.

Catholicism in seventeenth-century England

Although in the seventeenth century printers in England were relatively free, that freedom often did not extend to Catholic publications, because Catholicism was close to treason. During

most of the Stuart dynasty Catholicism was more feared in England than was Protestantism. To a greater or lesser degree, each of the Stuart kings, because the dynasty was descended from Marie de Guise, was suspected of Catholic sympathies. Although the dynasty had begun in Scotland, it had little or no inclination toward Presbyterianism (James I had come to loathe the Presbyterian system during his years as king of Scotland). Protestant and Anglican doubts about the Stuarts intensified in 1625, when the young Charles I married a Bourbon princess, Henrietta Maria, sister of King Louis XIII of France. In the civil wars in the 1640s the “Cavaliers” who supported Charles included most of the Anglican nobility and also what remained of the Catholic nobility, while the “Roundheads” were backed especially by Puritans. These wars culminated in the beheading of Charles I in 1649, and for the next eleven years Puritan mobs persecuted Catholics.

Relief for English Catholics came with the Restoration in 1660. Although Catholics continued to be opposed by the parliament, they were protected and even favored by Charles II, who hoped to extend to Catholics the same privileges enjoyed by Anglicans. In 1673 it was discovered not only that Charles had promised his cousin, Louis XIV of France, that he would in the near future convert to Catholicism, but also that James - younger brother of Charles and heir to the throne - had already done so. Charles was not able to make good on his promise until 1685, when he was on his death bed.

When Charles died and James II ascended to the throne, fears of Catholicism and of absolutism were rampant among Puritans and Anglicans, who by the 1680s had become quite certain that they were indeed Protestants. The majority in England was reassured by the fact that James’ daughter Mary, who was next in line for the throne, was an Anglican. Also comforting for the Anglicans was that Mary’s husband - William - was the Prince of Orange, a Protestant, the Stadtholder of the Dutch Republic, and maternally related to the Stuart house. But James’ appointment of Catholics to high positions, in violation of the 1662 Act of Uniformity, worried many. That worry was increased by the actions of James’ cousin in France: in 1685 Louis XIV, as absolute a king as Europe had ever seen, revoked the Edict of Nantes, thus ending all legal protections for the Huguenots and making France an entirely Catholic kingdom. In June of 1688 James’ queen, the Catholic Mary of Modena, gave birth to a son. As a male, the baby immediately became the heir apparent to the monarchy. With the fears of English Protestants swelling into alarm, William and Mary began planning an invasion of England. Late in 1688 the invasion materialized. The invaders proclaimed that they had come to save England from a Catholic dynasty and an imperious king, and when much of the English public welcomed them James was forced to flee while his daughter and son-in-law were crowned as joint rulers. In 1690 James raised an army and took his stand in Ireland, but was defeated by William at the Battle of the Boyne river.

As seen by Anglicans and the outright Protestants, the “Glorious Revolution” of 1688 had delivered England from the pope. The Declaration of Rights passed by Parliament early in 1689 declared the English throne vacant, because James II “did endeavour to subvert and extirpate the Protestant religion and the laws and liberties of this kingdom; by assuming and exercising a power of dispensing with and suspending laws and the execution of laws without consent of Parliament.” The parliament declared William and Mary to be the king and queen of England, and provided for their succession by Mary’s future offspring or, in default of such issue, by

Princess Anne of Denmark (Mary's younger sister). Finally, Parliament barred any future Catholic monarch. Stating that "whereas it hath been found by experience that it is inconsistent with the welfare and safety of this Protestant kingdom to be governed by a popish prince, or by any king or queen marrying a papist," the Declaration of Rights asked that it be enacted that no person in communion with the Church of Rome be permitted "to inherit, possess or enjoy the crown and government of this realm." Later in the year the declaration was recast as a Bill of Rights, and William and Mary signed it into law.

Still another act of the parliament in 1689 was the Act of Toleration, which provided for all Protestants the right to worship as they pleased (for government and university appointments, however, only members of the Church of England remained eligible). Catholics received no such right. The papacy did not recognize William and Mary as legitimate rulers of England, reserving that honor for James II and then for his son, James Francis Edward Stuart ("the Old Pretender"), until the latter's death in 1766.¹² The English parliament responded to the pope's hostility by passing the Popery Act of 1698, which aimed to eliminate Catholic worship from England. The honorific term, "Catholic," was no longer used by the English government or most of its subjects. Because allegiance to the pope was what principally differentiated Catholics from Anglicans, the Anglicans and English Protestants normally referred to a Catholic as "a papist" and to Catholicism as "popery."¹³ The Popery Act of 1698 provided a reward of £100 to any person apprehending a "popish" priest or bishop who said mass or conducted a worship service anywhere in the English realm. In addition, various penal laws prohibited individual "papists" from - among other things - owning land, serving in the English army or navy, and entering the legal profession.

English rule in Ireland and the Catholic resistance

In Ireland the Reformation arrived together with the English conquest, and Protestantism was therefore inextricably linked, in Irish eyes, to foreign domination. In the 1150s Pope Adrian IV, said to have been a native of England, had given to Henry II, the Norman king of England, the additional title of *dominus Hiberniae*, "Lord of Ireland." This was perhaps in recognition of Henry's intervention in the quarrels of the island's various princes, petty kings, and *tuatha*. During the long period of the Lordship, the kings of England exercised a very indirect dominion over Ireland, and even that was eventually restricted to "the Pale." The English "Pale" was an area of approximately a thousand square miles on the island's eastern coast (the area from just south of Dublin to Dundalk in the north). For any semblance of control "beyond the Pale" the English king had to depend on earls and barons loyal to him. In the early sixteenth century the language of the island was Irish, the religion was Catholic, and political allegiance was almost entirely local. The most powerful person in Ireland was the Earl of Kildare, whose earldom lay just west of the Pale.

Radical change came when Henry VIII ruled England. In 1534 young "Silken Thomas" FitzGerald, the tenth Earl of Kildare, renounced his allegiance to Henry, in the mistaken belief that Henry had killed Silken Thomas' father, the ninth Earl of Kildare. Within a year Henry's commander in Ireland took Maynooth Castle (the English had cannon, never before seen in Ireland), and seized Thomas and his few dozen men. After languishing in prison for two years Thomas and five of his uncles were hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn, the traditional execution ground outside London. Determined now to exercise a direct rule of Ireland, Henry

in 1541 had the Irish parliament (which was mostly made up of his supporters and toadies) declare him king of Ireland. Henry appointed Sir Anthony St Leger to the post of Lord Deputy of Ireland.

As had already been done in England, the Irish parliament made Henry the head of the Church in Ireland. Henry's appropriation and subsequent dismantling of the monasteries and convents was much resented by the Irish laity as well as the clergy. To his aristocratic Irish and "Old English" supporters Henry granted some of the property thus appropriated, but much of it was taken over by the English crown. These and other actions greatly increased the attachment of the Irish people to the Roman papacy. Before the reign of Henry VIII the Irish, although Catholic, had a relatively slight connection with Rome (there had never been an Irish cardinal, to say nothing of an Irish pope), perhaps because of the island's remoteness from the European continent. The aggressions of Henry VIII changed that relationship. To most of the Irish, the pope - who had recently excommunicated Henry - seemed the only possible savior from an English tyranny. And whereas in earlier times the popes had mostly ignored Ireland, after 1541 Irish resistance against the English was always high among papal concerns.

For a time after Henry's takeover the manner of worship in Irish churches changed very little. The mass and the other sacraments continued to be performed in Latin, as they had always been. Even under Henry's son and successor, the Protestantizing Edward VI, the substitution of English for Latin as the liturgical language was mandatory only in those areas of Ireland (especially the Pale) where English was commonly understood. Edward ordered, however, and St Leger implemented the order, that the Book of Common Prayer be substituted for the traditional Catholic mass. St Leger on his own authority decided that in areas where English was not understood the Book of Common Prayer should be translated into Latin rather than into Irish. In the middle of the sixteenth century literacy in the Irish language was very limited. No Irish translation of either the Book of Common Prayer or the New Testament was made until early in the seventeenth century, and none of the Old Testament until 1680. In large part this was because Irish had not become a literary language. The first book printed in Ireland was in English: the Book of Common Prayer, printed in Dublin in 1551. The first book printed in the Irish language did not appear until 1564, more than a hundred years after the printing revolution had begun on the European continent.¹⁴ Like other lands in the far north, Ireland had barely been touched by the Renaissance, and in the reign of the Tudors literacy on the island was still rare outside the clergy (the priests read Latin, and less often English and French). For much of the long period of direct English rule that began with Henry VIII the government generally did not permit the printing of books in the Irish language, and by the end of the eighteenth century almost all literate men and women in Ireland wrote in English.

The accession of Queen Mary Tudor, following the premature death of her brother Edward VI, was well received in Ireland because Mary's Catholicism was well known. During Mary's reign the Church of Ireland, like the Church of England, was once more under the pope's control. Mary's reign was brief, however (1553-58), and her successor Elizabeth was quick to establish herself as the governor of the Irish as well as the English church. When in 1570 Pope Pius V excommunicated Elizabeth, declaring her a heretic and therefore not a legitimate ruler, the Irish believed that God would bless a rebellion. Toward the end of Elizabeth's reign most of Ireland was in revolt, but at the Battle of Kinsale in 1601 Hugh

O'Neill's native forces were badly beaten by an English army under Lord Mountjoy. For the next three hundred years loyalty to Catholicism paralleled the Irish population's struggle for political independence and its antipathy toward England.

Although the Catholics of Ireland looked for improvement under the Stuart kings, whose leanings toward Catholicism were the subject of gossip, things got unexpectedly worse. The hopes of English Catholics about King James I were soon disappointed, and in 1605 militant Catholic aristocrats hatched their elaborate Gunpowder Plot in London. They intended anonymously to blow up the House of Lords on November 5 of 1605, killing King James and most members of the parliament, and to see to it that in the ensuing chaos James' daughter - still a young child - would become both the queen of England and a Catholic. Although he was not one of the plotters, the Jesuit priest Henry Garnet was privy to the plot, and he was hanged, drawn and quartered along with Guy Fawkes and his aristocratic employers. In the aftermath of the Gunpowder Plot, in which complicity of the pope and of the Superior General of the Jesuit order was widely suspected, fear of Catholic conspiracies was rife in England. James himself tried to allay these suspicions and to focus the blame on a minority of zealous Catholics, but anti-Catholic sentiment swelled in England.

In Ireland, where the plotters were regarded as heroes, the English authorities commenced the Plantation of Ulster in 1609. The best land in what then was Ulster and now is Northern Ireland was granted to Protestants by King James. The settlers sent to Ulster were primarily Presbyterians from Scotland and Puritans from England. Like James, the Church of England was happy to see the departure of these extreme Protestants, and because they would be hated by the displaced Irish population the settlers would be reliably pro-English in their political loyalties.

In 1641 a well-coordinated revolt by the Irish overwhelmed the English garrisons in Ulster, and the rebels then tortured and killed as many Protestants in the "plantation" as they were able to find. The papacy supported the rebellion, while the civil war in England delayed an English response. By 1653, however, the Irish revolt had been put down by Oliver Cromwell and his deputies. Cromwell's savagery at Drogheda and Wexford, which places he took after a siege, was especially terrifying. Neither did Cromwell show mercy in the aftermath of the revolt, his assumption being that Catholicism was inherently subversive of English rule. Public Catholicism was banned, and all Catholic priests were ordered out of the island. Many Catholics were evicted from their lands, which Cromwell bestowed on his troops and supporters.

After the restoration of the English monarchy, Charles II mitigated the Cromwellian severity, and some land was returned to its previous Catholic owners. Under James II most of the restrictions on Catholics were removed, and for a time Protestants in Ireland were again on the defensive or even on the run. In 1690, however, William of Orange defeated James II at the Battle of the Boyne river, ending the brief reprieve for Catholicism. William and Mary hoped to soften the hatreds that had hardened during the preceding century and a half, but the "Irish parliament" - made up of ardent supporters of the English occupation - reinstated many of the Penal Laws introduced by Cromwell. These were officially known as the Laws in Ireland for the Suppression of Popery.¹⁵ Although most of the Penal Laws were revived during the reigns of William and Mary, more were added during the reigns of Queen Anne and of King George I.

The term for the people against whom the laws were directed was not “Catholics” but “papists.” Below, for example, is the law forbidding a Catholic to own any horse other than a weak or worn nag:

3.06. No papist shall be capable of having or keeping for his use, any horse, gelding or mare of five pounds value. Any protestant who shall make discovery under oath of such horse, shall be authorized with the assistance of a constable, to search for and secure such horse and in case of resistance to break down any door.

Among other things, the laws forbade “the papists” to keep weapons, to practice law, to hold public office or serve in the parliament, to amass landholdings, and either to enter Trinity College at Dublin or to have colleges of their own. Pilgrimages to miraculous rocks and wells, a popular superstition whose roots lay in pre-Christian antiquity, were banned. In 1697 William ordered that “all papists exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction and all regulars of the popish clergy” be banished, and he stipulated from which seaports they were to depart. Although “secular” clergy (parish priests) were allowed to stay, all bishops, monks, friars and Jesuits were sent away. Conversion from Catholicism to Protestantism was rewarded, and anyone from the “popish clergy” who left the “popish religion” and joined the Church of Ireland was given an annual subsidy of twenty pounds until he became self-supporting. In contrast, Protestants who converted to Catholicism lost their property to the crown. The Penal Laws remained in force through most of the eighteenth century and were not abolished until the nineteenth.

1. The Jesuits have been frequently maligned and whitewashed. For a relatively even-handed history of the order see Wright 2004.

2. On the role of Jesuit statecraft in re-Catholicizing much of Europe see Höpfl 2004.

3. Translation at <http://www.piar.hu/councils/ecum18.htm>

4. In 1328 the Capetian Charles IV died without a male heir and the French throne passed to Philip VI of Valois.

5. In the U.S.A. a law prohibiting the importation of slaves was passed by Congress on March 2, 1807, was signed into law the next day by President Jefferson, and took effect on January 1st of 1808.

6. The term, *ecclesia anglicana*, had been used already in medieval times, but as a common rather than a proper noun, meaning nothing more than “the (Catholic) church in England.” On the religious reforms of Henry VIII see Bernard 2005.

7. After 1560 the local congregation continued to be served by its parish priest, who was now

often called a “pastor.” In theory the pastor was merely one of the parish elders, but was specially ordained (by the laying on of hands) to serve the congregation as pastor and teacher and to administer the sacrament of baptism. He was subject, however, to reproof by the other parish elders, and subject to removal by the regional presbytery.

8. Millennialism had flourished among the early Christians but was allegorized by Origen, lost favor after Constantine’s conversion, and was dealt with severely by Augustine (see especially *City of God* 18.52-54). The key passage was Revelation 20:1-15, subject to varying interpretations. The Pre-Millennialists believed that Jesus would return to earth before the Millennium began. Post-Millennialists believed that first would come the thousand good years, as Satan lay confined in the Abyss, that after the thousand years had passed Satan would be loosed for a little while, and that only then would Jesus return to earth.

9. On the development of freedom in the press in England, see Fred Siebert, *Freedom of the Press in England, 1476-1776: The Rise and Decline of Government Controls* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1952). For the continuation of this freedom in colonial America see Smith 1988, pp. 18-22.

10. See Smith 1988, p. 21: “In the aftermath of the Glorious Revolution of 1688-89, prior restraint appeared to be not only ineffective but also clearly unpopular. Licensing ended permanently in 1694, when the House of Commons refused to renew the printing act then in effect. In a document drafted by John Locke and approved by the Commons in 1695, the controls developed under the Tudors and Stuarts were depicted as impractical and as detrimental to the trade of printing. The Commons maintained that the system hindered scholars and subjected printers to improper searches and excessive penalties.”

11. Smith 1988, p. 18, notes that in 1755, James Parker, who owned several presses in colonial America, launched a new newspaper, the *Connecticut Gazette*. In its first edition Parker praised the freedom of the press in Britain. “He contrasted the spirit of England’s Glorious Revolution with the suppressive measures endured by ‘the unenlightened People of Rome or Spain,’ where the ‘bigotted Priesthood and Inquisition prevails’ and by those in France where ‘the volatile Humour of the People keeps them from sinking under their great Load of Chains, whilst he who dares to murmur, soon finds reward in the Bastille.’”

12. After 1766, when the papacy recognized King George III as the legitimate king of Great Britain, some of the restrictions upon Catholics in Britain began to be lifted, although major relief did not come until the parliament passed the Catholic Emancipation Act in 1829.

13. The official title was “An Act for the further Preventing the Growth of Popery.”

14. John Knox’s Presbyterian liturgy was turned from English into Irish by Séon Carsuel, a Scottish Calvinist. The resulting book, *Foirm na nUrrnuidheadh* (“Book of Common Order”), was published in Edinburgh in 1564.

15. For the complete text of these laws see the on-line collection created and copyrighted by Patricia Shaffer, at <http://local.law.umn.edu/irishlaw/>