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Fifteen Fifty-Nine Anno Domini

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THE confluence of significant events in 1559 A. D. makes that year a notable one in church history. From time to time a half dozen or a baker's dozen of occurrences within the 12-month span allotted by the calendar to a single year may loom up so large that they are regarded as particularly significant and make the year a memorable one in the annals of mankind. Such was the year 1559.

The outstanding events in that year illustrate many of the movements and trends of the age, at least in ecclesiastical history. The interrelations among the events partially etch the highly complicated processes by which the Lord of the church guides the affairs of men. Some arresting characters appear on the scene. Among them are Elizabeth I, John Calvin, Matthias Flacius, Giovanni Pietro Caraffa, John Knox, and Christian III of Denmark. The Anglican Reformation, the Calvinistic Reformation, the Huguenot movement in France, the Counter or the Catholic Reformation, and with them the Lutheran Reformation are included in the panorama which centers in the year 1559. Nationalism and centralization are evident in the actions of the politicians; humanism and the new learning are found among the scholars. The printing press is used to propagandize (both in the good and the evil sense of the term), and education is a major concern of both the Romanists and the anti-Romanists. Economic and social forces have pervaded the first half of the century, but they are difficult to illustrate by one specific event from the year 1559. However, the more dominant position of the bourgeoisie, the rise of prices, the increased quantity of precious metals in Europe, not all from the New World, and the growing importance of the Atlantic in providing sea lanes for commerce were no less important in the year 1559 than they were 20 years earlier or 20 years later. The events of the year 1559, too, look back to the factors which gave rise to them; they look forward to the consequences which they themselves engendered. Any year in the history of the human race is important, for every year has its own relevance as it has its own

responsibility *coram Deo*. Some years, nevertheless, seem to have a greater number of significant events than do others.

THE ELIZABETHAN SETTLEMENT

Among the events of 1559 those in England seem to be the most significant. Such a judgment looks to the extensive influence of England when "Britannia ruled the waves" and to the impact of English Protestantism on North America. Essentially the Elizabethan Settlement consisted in the Act of Supremacy and the Act of Uniformity, both sanctioned by Elizabeth on that 8th of May when she prorogued her first Parliament. The one made the sovereign Supreme Governor of the Church of England; the second provided for the order in the public services and the administration of the sacraments. It sounds very simple, but, of course, it was much more complicated than that.

There were, for instance, the bills that were not passed in that first Parliament, some of them introduced by Puritans who wanted a Genevan settlement for the English Church. There were, again, the moves by the adherents of the Old Religion, some of whom meant to tie Elizabeth by marital bonds to the king of Spain, Philip II, her late half sister's husband, or some other Roman Catholic princeling who would assure the perpetuation of the age-old bonds with Rome. The hatred of the Spanish and the dread of recurrent fires at Smithfield helped to halt such plans. Henry VIII had severed the bonds with Rome, nor could the devotion of Mary and Cardinal Pole negate the fears of the heretics. Some of them were even now returning from exile, confident that God had brought this good hour to England to insure the return of the Protestantism of Edward's last year.

Elizabeth was not wholly minded to do that. Protestant she was by conviction, Melancthonian rather than Calvinistic or Lutheran. She had been schooled in a hard school. The daughter of Anne Boleyn, she was the ablest of the Tudors, abler even than her grandfather, Henry VII, the first of the Tudors. She loved England. She understood the rising tide of nationalism that inundated her country like the waters of the river which fertilize but do not destroy. In the last session of her last Parliament the Speaker, John Croke, would say: "Religion is all in all, the sure and firm band binding us in devotion and piety to God, by whom, only, all

states and kingdoms are preserved." And Elizabeth herself would dismiss this Parliament with her last words to her people: "This testimony I would have you carry hence for the world to know, that your Sovereign is more careful of your conservation than of herself and will daily crave of God that they that wish you best may never wish in vain."

Her reign was a long one, almost 45 years in length. During that time her Settlement could indeed become established. The episcopacy would be stabilized, first of all with Matthew Parker as Archbishop of Canterbury. Parker had been her mentor, chaplain to her mother, friend of her godfather, the near-Lutheran Thomas Cranmer. John Jewel would defend his policies. Later Thomas Hooker would make the classic defense of the ecclesiastical polity of Anglicanism. Under Parker, too, the Elizabethan *Book of Common Prayer* would be used throughout the realm, as the law demanded. Vestments and habits, as well as registers and visitations, would be regulated. Never would the Puritans be entirely satisfied, or for that matter, the Romanists. The 19-year long imprisonment of Mary Stuart and the perennial plots to overthrow Elizabeth, revolving around this former queen of Scotland, would be hazardous. Parker, however, would serve his Sovereign and his God. He it was who was primarily responsible, too, for the final formulation of the Thirty-Nine Articles, based on Cranmer's Forty-Two Articles, modified by the Lutheran Wuertemberg Articles, even as Cranmer had used the Lutheran Augsburg Confession; but he taught the Reformed, not the Lutheran, doctrine of the Sacrament of the Altar.

Calvin and Bullinger and Butzer and Peter Martyr had become the theologians whom the Elizabethan divines followed, rather than Luther or Barnes or Melanchthon. Calvin had no more than five years to live in 1559 and Bullinger had 16. The exiles had learned to know them better than the Saxons. Luther, of course, was dead; so was Barnes. Melanchthon was to die within a year after the Elizabethan Settlement — he never did visit England in spite of invitations by Henry VIII and then Thomas Cranmer. Had he come to England his influence might have been greater than Butzer's. Butzer seemed to his generation to be a "bridge" theologian, a designation which Melanchthon also, in the minds of some

Lutherans, seems to merit. So, too, the Elizabethan Settlement has been called the *via media*, sometimes with approbation and sometimes with condemnation. It was less a middle way in its inception than in its later development. For all that, it endured — perhaps, after 400 years, the most significant event of 1559.

JOHN KNOX RETURNS TO SCOTLAND

Second in importance, at least for English-speaking Protestantism, to the Elizabethan Settlement is the Reformation in Scotland. The legislative acts which brought that about, however, did not come until the year 1560; the Scottish Reformation, therefore, cannot be a major concern in a treatment of 1559. Nevertheless, it was portended by the return of John Knox to his native country in that year and his feverish activities for its introduction. So inseparably are the Scottish Reformation and the name of John Knox united that the one cannot be named without the other. His very presence immediately made him the leader of the Reformation cause in Scotland.

Twelve years before he had left Scotland as a prisoner of war to become a slave on a French galley. Yet his spirit was not broken. Patrick Hamilton's smoke, which rose to heaven because of the Lutheran convictions of this Scottish martyr, and the spark of George Wishart's life and teaching broke out in a consuming fire in the prophetic role of the greatest of the Scotch reformers. His stay in England during the days of the boy king, the "Josiah" of the Protestants, Edward VI, was cut short by the death of this prince and the accession of Mary Tudor. On the Continent he would be involved in the troubles at Frankfurt. A hurried visit to Scotland was followed by a stay in Geneva, whence his trumpet blast against Mary of Guise fell with discordant notes on the ears of the new monarch of England, Elizabeth I. Even his stay on the Continent was a schooling for him. He was to be not only the theologian of the Scottish Reformation but also its political scientist and Parliamentarian as well as its historian. His *Letter of the Commonaltry of Scotland*, addressed to the new bourgeoisie, spoke of God's covenant; it was neither the first nor the last of many manifestoes. The Lords of the Congregation had promised one another (Dec. 3, 1557) "that we (by His grace) shall with all

diligence continually apply our whole power, substance, and our very lives, to maintain, set forward, and establish the most blessed Word of God and His Congregation." The frenzy at Perth and the assistance of England, the occupation of Edinburgh and deposition of Mary of Guise as regent, Arran and Lord James, alike demanded the leadership of Knox during the eight months of 1559. August of the following year would bring about the enactment of the alterations in faith and worship by the Scottish Parliament.

CALVIN'S INSTITUTES

The faith and worship of Scotland would be Presbyterian, a Presbyterianism heavily indebted to John Calvin. In 1559 the final Latin edition of the formulation of Calvin's faith, the *Christianae religionis institutio*, appeared. A year later, the same year as the publication of the Geneva Bible by the Puritans, the final French edition was issued.

The 1536 edition had been a slender volume, published before William Farel gained the reluctant humanist for the Reformation in Geneva. Fifteen years earlier Melanchthon had published his first edition of the *Loci communes* (1521); Luther's catechisms had appeared some seven years before. How much Calvin's first systematization of his faith owed to these is difficult to establish. Calvin expanded his first edition to the 80 chapters in the final edition. These were expansions and clarifications, but not doctrinal changes.

To summarize the four parts of the *Institutio* of 1559 would call for another Westminster Confession. A brief overview must be attempted.

Book I is headed "On the Knowledge of God the Creator." It begins: "True and substantial wisdom consists principally in two parts: the knowledge of God and the knowledge of ourselves." God is perfect; man is unworthy. God is known to the reverent and to the obedient. His glory shines in the works of creation; yet the revelation of God in the Scriptures is necessary "properly to direct us to the Creator of the world." The authority of the Scriptures is witnessed by the secret testimonies of the Spirit. The Scriptures teach "concerning the immensity and spirituality of the essence of God." His noblest creature, man, has fallen.

In Book II, therefore, Calvin's exposition is "On the Knowledge of God the Redeemer in Christ Which Was Revealed First to the Fathers Under the Law and Since to Us in the Gospel." This Son, foretold in the Old Testament, suffered, died, and rose again. "He has opened the way to the kingdom of heaven that had been closed by Adam." In faith (which, says Calvin, "consists not in ignorance but in knowledge") He is to be received.

The entire Book III is "On the Manner of Receiving the Grace of Christ, the Benefits Which We Derive from It, and the Effects Which Follow It." The true knowledge of Christ is "to receive Him as He is offered by the Father, that is, invested with His Gospel." The Christian life is associated with the treatment of regeneration in this book by Calvin. He speaks of the Christian in his vocation and then comes to a summary statement on justification. He rejects the merits of work-righteousness and speaks about prayer. Then, in chapter 21 of this third book, he deals with "Eternal Election, or God's Predestination of Some to Salvation and of Others to Destruction." Three more chapters deal with the topic — four of the 80 in the entire work.

In the final book, Book IV, Calvin takes as his topic "On the Eternal Means or Aids by Which God Calls Us into Communion with Christ and Retains Us in It." The Church, "the mother of all who have Him [God] for their Father," is made up of "all the elect of God." For her God has given pastors and teachers, the sacraments, of which there are two, and discipline. Civil government, which Calvin treats at the conclusion of this work, is also given of God.

To measure the influence of this work and the effects it had on the faith of many people in many lands is difficult. Scotland, England, the Netherlands, the Palatinate, New England are among the lands which essentially became Calvinistic. France also had a strong Calvinistic group.

"CONFESSIO GALLICANA"

Calvin had dedicated the first edition of his *Institutes* to Francis I of France. In 1559, the confession of the French Huguenots was produced by Antoine de la Roche Chandieu, Calvin's pupil and friend; it is often erroneously ascribed to Calvin himself. There

were other Calvinistic confessions of faith; this was the first of a series of national confessions drawn up during these years. In 1560 followed the *Confessio Scoticana* and in 1561 the *Confessio Belgicana*. In Bohemia a confession had appeared in 1535; in 1566 a Reformed confession appeared also in Hungary. The confessions of the Swiss cities and cantons exhibited patterns of various kinds. Zwingli had drawn up his Sixty-Seven Articles (1523) and his *Ratio fidei* (1530). The "Ten Conclusions of Berne" (1528) and the *Confessio tetrapolitana* (1530) were also almost contemporaneous with the Lutheran confession presented at Augsburg. The first confession of Basle was followed by the second, which became the *Confessio Helvetica* of 1536. Thirty years later came the *Second Helvetic Confession*, in reality a theological treatise written by Heinrich Bullinger. The *Consensus of Zurich* (1549) and the *Consensus of Geneva* (1562), the canons of Dort (1619) and the *Helvetic Consensus Formula* (1675), are all of importance in the history of the confessional writings of the Reformed churches. Since 1559, Chandieu's 40 articles were normative for the French Protestant Church. Among its signers were the Queen of Navarre, Joan d'Albret, and the later king of France, Henry IV, now Henry of Navarre, Henry of Bourbon, Prince Condé, Louis of Nassau, Admiral Coligny, and Theodore Beza.

The confession itself reflects in part, without direct mention, the action which had been taken at the Council of Trent (Session IV; April 8, 1546) which gave equal validity to Scripture and Tradition as sources of religious truth, for it enumerates the canonical books of the Old and New Testaments and asserts that they are the sure rule of faith, not so much because of the general assent of the church as of the inner assurance of the Spirit of God. The divinely inspired Scriptures are not to be contradicted, for they are the norm of all teaching.

The fall of man, original sin, double election, salvation of grace, and the other doctrines of the Reformed churches are set forth. God has instituted government, it is asserted, to punish not only the sins against the second table of the Law but also those against the first table. The French Calvinists were ready to render obedience even to an unbelieving government if only the kingdom of God remained independent.

THE FIRST NATIONAL FRENCH SYNOD

Their government had persecuted them, and even now they were liable to persecution. Now they had a formal statement of their faith, adopted in the first national convention of their church. The first minister was chosen, and the first congregation was organized in Paris in 1555. In 1559 no less than 40 congregations (*églises dressées*) and 2,150 mission churches or conventicles (*églises plantées*) were counted to these Huguenots, Calvinistic in faith and order, even though the *Chambre Ardente*, reinforced by the Edict of Châteaubriand and the Edict of Compiègne, had multiplied the number of Protestant martyrs and had increased the company of exiles, of which 1,400 were to be found in Geneva alone.

There had been martyrs, to be sure, before 1547. Political factors might govern the severity of the persecutions under Francis I or sheer ennui. His wars with Charles V and the spirit of the Renaissance, however, never caused him to favor Lutheranism. Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples died in 1536, the same year in which Erasmus of Rotterdam died, the same year in which the first edition of Calvin's *Institutes* was published. Lefèvre and William Briçonnet, Bishop of Meaux, the leaders of a reform party, although they never left the Roman Church, favored Lutheranism. The Erasmian reform group, led by Guillaume Budé, produced no martyrs; Louis de Berquin of Artois was more Lutheran than Erasmian. Perhaps the Concordat of 1516 was decisive in keeping the French Church in line with Romanism, but the bourgeois character of the Lutheran movement and the lack of effective leadership among the French Protestants before 1547 must likewise be noted. By the time of Francis' death the Protestant movement in France had veered away from the Saxon reformer. Then too, his co-worker, Melanchthon, had not gone into France — even as he declined the invitations to go to England — to strengthen the hands of the French reformers. By 1559 the French Protestants were Calvinists. The Sorbonne, which repeatedly condemned the writings of the reformers from 1521 on, the Parlement of Paris, and the royal court were opposed to Protestantism. Even the favorable attitude of Margaret d'Angoulême was not decisive.

The Synod of 1559 in Paris was decisive for the consolidation

and rapid expansion of Calvinism in France. This synod approved a confession of faith; it organized the church; it provided for ecclesiastical discipline. Its constitution, the *Discipline Ecclésiastique*, called for an essentially presbyterian form of church government. Now, too, it became a political force in France. Soon a majority of the population in Dauphiné and eastern Lanquedoc would be Huguenot.

Two years and three months after this synod the government would hold the Colloquy of Poissy (1561). Theodore Beza, Cardinal F. de Tournon, J. Laynez, the General of the Jesuits, and Peter Martyr Vermigli were there. No agreement could be reached on the doctrine of the Eucharist. The edict of the following January allowed a measure of tolerance to the Huguenots, soon to be washed away by the flow of blood in the Huguenot Wars.

DEATH OF HENRY II OF FRANCE

This *Disputatio Pussicena* had been arranged by Catherine de' Medici, Queen Mother and virtual ruler of France. In 1561 at the time of the Colloquy Charles IX was king. His father, Henry II, had died in 1559; his brother, Francis I, in the following year. The daughter of Lorenzo II de' Medici and niece of Pope Clement VII, Catherine, came into her own with the death of her husband, Henry II. Henry's successor, Francis II, the husband of Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, lacked the strength and ability of his father. During his short reign Protestantism grew, as did the influence of the Guises. Catherine herself was inclined toward toleration at first; after all, the dominant Romanist party needed checking if royal absolutism were to advance. Her tolerant attitude changed, of which the Massacre of St. Bartholomew (1572) is proof, to her lasting ignominy. The Wars of Religion in France (1562—98) ended with the Edict of Nantes. It was promulgated by Henry of Navarre, now as Henry IV in possession of that Paris which he deemed worth a mass. It is futile to conjecture what might have happened in France had Henry II not died in 1559. However, he, even more than Francis I, believed in *un roi, une loi, une foi*.

THE TREATY OF CATEAU-CAMBRESIS

Henry II died as a result of a wound which he received in a tournament, a relic of feudalism, celebrated at the occasion of

his daughter's marriage to Philip II, after the signing of the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis. This treaty ended the feud between France and Spain which began with the French invasion of Italy in 1494 by Charles VIII. This struggle, more clearly recognized in the Hapsburg-Valois rivalry, had produced four wars between Francis I and Charles V. The sons, Henry II and Philip II, were less inclined to keep up the wars, particularly in the face of growing Protestantism in their realms, which in the case of Philip included the Spanish Netherlands. Both were champions of Romanism; both were concerned with strengthening their royal power, weary of war, and financially exhausted.

Philip II was able to exercise tremendous influence in Italy because of this treaty. His good will was necessary for the maintenance of papal authority in the Papal States. The power of Venice and the affluence of Florence, under the brilliant Cosimo de Medici, were not serious rivals. The preoccupation of the French with internal religious problems prevented them from interfering in Italian affairs. Naples, of course, was an appendage of the Spanish crown. So was Milan. Emmanuel Philibert was reinstated in the Duchy of Savoy.

France, by the terms of this treaty, retained possession of Metz, Toul, and Verdun. She also retained possession of Calais. True, the treaty said that this possession was to be of eight-year duration if there were no acts of aggression. Calais, of course, was never returned to England. Elizabeth, meanwhile, helped the Scotch Protestants.

The wars between France and Spain had given way to the religious wars in Europe. The Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis made possible, in one sense at least, the Counter Reformation.

DEATH OF PAUL IV

The "first of the Counter Reformation Popes" died in the year of the treaty between France and Spain. Paul IV had been pope since 1555, but he had long been zealous for the reform of abuses within the Roman Church. His life, more than that of any other individual, embodied the activities within Romanism to reform itself and to answer the Reformation movements.

Born Giovanni Petro (Giampietro) Caraffa in 1476, six years before the birth of Luther, he was made Bishop of Chieti in 1504,

the year before Luther entered the monastery at Erfurt. In 1520 he was a member of the Roman commission which Leo X appointed to deal with the Friar of Wittenberg. Four years later Caraffa, together with Gaetano de Thiene (St. Cajetan, not Thomas de Vio Cajetan, who dealt with Luther), founded the Theatine Order, one of Rome's reforming orders of the 16th century. Thirteen years later (1537), now Archbishop of Naples, he served as a member of the commission, appointed by Paul III, which issued the famous *Consilium* or *Advice . . . concerning the Reform of the Church*. Reginald Pole, Gasparo Contarini, Jacopo Sadoleto, Gian Matteo Giberti were among the reforming clergy on this commission. None, however, was a more implacable foe of Lutheranism than Caraffa. It was Caraffa who headed the Roman Inquisition when it was established in 1542. His dislike of the Jesuit Order and his failure to reconvene the Council of Trent diminish the claim that he is the embodiment of the Counter Reformation. Yet there can be no question of his efforts by regulations and decrees to reform the curia and the city of Rome.

His pontificate began with the Peace of Augsburg, which he did not approve, and it included the reign of Mary I of England, with the restoration of the Old Religion to that country. He did not favor Cardinal Pole nor Cardinal Morone. His bull *Cum ex Apostolatus officio* (13 February 1559) marked the climax of his pontificate.

By this bull he gave what he called "the approval of Apostolic authority" to the acts of his predecessors "against heretics or schismatics." Anyone, whatever his rank, who had fallen or would fall into any heresy or would be guilty of any schism would incur the penalties for those sins. He had, he said, "the universal supervision of the Lord's flock" and could not allow those who had risen against the Roman Catholic Church "to continue the teaching of error."

The bull, too, deposed bishops and primates, kings and emperors, and all other secular rulers who were heretics. The "dignities of Count, Baron, Marquis, Duke, King and Emperor" are mentioned specifically. He ordained and declared, "with the advice and consent of our Cardinals" and "out of the plentitude of our Apostolic power," that all heretical and schismatic rulers shall "be deprived perpetually *ipso facto* and declared fully and totally

incapable of the exercise of their function without any legal or practical process." Those who would aid or abet them would be liable to excommunication. So he advanced the claims of the papacy.

Pius V, pope from 1566 to 72, the successor of Pius IV (1559 to 1565), the immediate successor of Paul IV, issued the bull *Regnans in excelsis* in 1570, which specifically deposed and excommunicated Elizabeth I of England. Pius IV had meanwhile reconvened and prorogued the Council of Trent. Both Pius IV and Pius V were more friendly to the Society of Jesus than was Paul IV. By them the Counter Reformation advanced.

FOUNDING OF THE MUNICH ACADEMY BY PETER CANISIUS

The Society of Jesus, in the final analysis, was one of the strongest forces in the Counter Reformation. One element of its strength was its educational program, exemplified by the founding of the academy or college in Munich in 1559 by Peter Canisius. Munich's school was not the only one established by him. Augsburg and Innsbruck had similar establishments as a result of his activities. Jesuit institutions during the 1550s and 1560s were established also in Cologne and Prague, Ingolstadt, Mainz, Trier, Würzburg, and Speyer.

The founding of such institutions indicates the success of the Counter Reformation in Southern Germany, a success due largely to the untiring labors of Peter Canisius. His *Catechismus Major* or *Summa doctrinae Christianae* of 1554 has appeared in more than 130 editions since that date.

THE FOUNDING OF THE GENEVAN ACADEMY BY JOHN CALVIN

The educational emphasis of the Jesuits owed much to Protestantism. The Lutheran movement had emanated from the University of Wittenberg. The leaders of the Calvinistic Reformation, too, were university trained men. The perpetuation of Protestantism demanded a trained ministry. The needs of the Calvinistic church in France, in Scotland, and perhaps even in England could be served at least in part from Geneva. In 1559 the Genevan Academy was opened. The *schola privata* of seven classes was the preparatory department; the *schola publica* was the university, in which theology was featured. An enrollment of 1,500, of which

300 were in the upper division, within five years testifies to the zeal of Calvinism to propagate its theology and the impact of the revival of classical learning also on Protestantism.

Calvin himself was a humanist. During his exile from Geneva he had learned to know Johannes Sturm, the great educator of Strassburg, if he had not learned to know him already in Paris. As the first rector of the Genevan Academy Calvin chose another humanist and scholar, Theodore Beza.

De Bèze or Beza is renowned for his critical edition of the New Testament (1565), which included a Latin translation by himself. The Greek manuscript which he discovered in Lyons is named after him, the Codex Bezae, the chief representative of the Western text of the New Testament. He wrote a panegyric *Vita Calvinii*, still quoted. His *Histoire ecclésiastique des églises réformées au royaume de France*, a compilation of memoirs, cannot be disregarded. His services as a New Testament scholar and historian were supplemented by his contributions to the field of systematic theology, his *Confession de la foi chrétienne* and the *Tractationes theologicae*. This scholar and dedicated disciple of Calvin set the tone for the Academy in Geneva, even before the death of Calvin. After Calvin's death he was the acknowledged leader of Swiss Calvinism.

THE MAGDEBURG CENTURIES

Beza's counterpart among the Lutheran theologians, equal to him in erudition and zeal, might have been Matthias Flacius Illyricus, as he is also known, had the promise of becoming the leader of German Lutheranism when he came to Wittenberg as a young man of 21 (in 1541), but his aberrations and extremist attitudes nullified that hope. He became the leading spirit among the Centuriators of Magdeburg and the principal author of the *Historia ecclesiae Christi*, the first volume of which was published at Basle in 1559.

This 14-volume work, the most ambitious project in ecclesiastical historiography to date, surveyed the history of the church over 1400 years, one volume to one century. It was anti-Roman in its interpretations and pro-Lutheran in its theology. One authority says of it: "In its breadth of conception the work was a landmark

in ecclesiastical history; but its inaccuracies, and especially the liberties it took with the texts of original documents, made it an easy target for C. Baronius in his *Annales ecclesiastici*."

Not that Baronius himself was without fault, but his work, with that of Flacius and his school, advanced the writing of church history. John Foxe, whose first English edition of the *Acts and Monuments* (it is more commonly known as *Foxe's Book of Martyrs*) appeared in 1563, was indebted to Flacius. The far-reaching influence and popularity of this work need hardly be mentioned.

Flacius himself was a controversialist, involved in the Majoristic, Osiandrian, and Interimistic controversies. They tore the Lutheran church of Germany until they, with others, were eventually settled by the Formula of Concord of 1577.

THE DEATHS OF CHRISTIAN II AND CHRISTIAN III

Lutheranism in the Scandinavian countries, too, had cause to pause in 1559 to look back at its past. In that year Christian II, who was king of Denmark from 1512 to 1523, died; in that year also Christian III, who was king of Denmark from 1536 to 1559 died. Both played their roles in the introduction of Lutheranism in Northern Europe, where the Hanseatic League held sway.

Christian II, contemporary of Leo X and Henry VIII and Francis I and Charles I of Spain (Emperor Charles V), was a Renaissance prince. Isabella, his wife, was a sister of Charles; she died in 1526, a Lutheran. His mistress, Dyveke, died in 1517; her mother, "Mother Sigbrit," continued her influence over the king. She was responsible in part for the legal revisions by which the king endeavored to reform the Roman Church in his realm. These *Landretten* (*Geistlige Lov*) and *Byretten* (*Verdslige Lov*) disallowed appeals to Rome, permitted the marriage of the clergy, forbade mendicancy, gave directions to the bishops, regulated church property, provided for educational reforms, and ordered various aspects of the social and economic life of the realm. Christian II's promotion of these laws has been called evidence of his "pre-Lutheran Humanism." His encouragement of learning caused him to be patron to men sympathetic to the cause of Luther: Martin Reinhard, whose service as the king's chaplain was brief; Andreas Bodenstein von Carlstadt, who visited in Copen-

hagen while Luther was at the Wartburg; Paul Eliaesen, who remained a Roman Catholic but favored the cause of reform.

Christian II, however, was not responsible for making Denmark Lutheran. It is true that he played his part in this movement. But he did more to make Sweden Lutheran. Sweden, Norway, and Denmark had been under the same crown since the Union of Kalmar (1397). The conflict of the Nationalists and the Danish Party in Sweden, under Sten Sturve and Gustav Trolle respectively, the invasion of Sweden by Christian II and the subsequent "blood-bath of Stockholm," the slow conquests of Gustavus Vasa and the ecclesiastical transformation of Sweden under Olavus Petri and others, cannot be recounted here. But then Vasa favored Lutheranism in his opposition to Christian. Gustavus Vasa, grandfather of Gustavus Adolphus, died in 1560, the year of Melancthon's death.

The death of Christian II in the year 1559 came in Kalundborg, where he spent 11 of his 28 years of imprisonment. In 1523 he had gone into Flanders in the face of a conspiracy against him and was deposed. Frederick I became King of Denmark; until the year before his death (1533) he had to fear the possibility that Christian II would regain his throne. Christian was in Saxony and in the Netherlands—he even attended the Diet of Augsburg in 1530—during his exile, before his futile expedition in 1532. Even in exile he helped the Danish Reformation when he promoted the translation of the New Testament into Danish.

It remained, however, for his successors, Frederick I and particularly Christian III, to promote Lutheranism in Denmark. The Diet of Odense (1527) and the Diet of Copenhagen (1530) had furthered but had not completed the Reformation in this country. The death of Frederick I was followed by a period of Civil War—in nearby Münster the Anabaptists were in control. The Rigsdag at Copenhagen (1536) recognized the triumph of Christian and sanctioned his confiscation of episcopal properties. It approved the *Haandfestning*, which sealed the fall of Romanism in Denmark, strengthened the monarchy, and incorporated Norway into the Danish state. The coming of Johannes Bugenhagen (who died in 1558, the year before the death of Christian III), at the invitation of the king, resulted not only in the crowning of the king and queen but also in the ordination by Bugenhagen of seven Lutheran

clergymen to be superintendents or bishops. Bugenhagen also restored the University of Copenhagen, the training school for the Lutheran clergy of the new Danish Church. The *Church Ordinance*, the draft of which had been approved by Christian II and by Martin Luther in Wittenberg, was adopted by the Heeredag at Odensee in 1539. It laid down regulations for preaching, for education, for the ministry, for ceremonies, and for the superintendents.

Yet the decisions of kings and governing bodies are not enough for thorough reformations. The reformation of Denmark needed the work of Palladius as well as that of Bugenhagen. The activities of Christiern Pedersen for the translation of the Bible (completed in 1550) at the behest of Christian III, the earlier preaching of Hans Tausen, the leader of Lutheranism in Denmark in the critical years between 1526 and 1533, the *Forty-Three Articles* by Peder Laurensen, and the labors of the Malmø reformers were also needed. In 1574 the Danish church adopted the *Augustana*. The Lutheran Reformation, which had its beginnings in Denmark under Christian II and received a champion in his opponent in Sweden, was completed in Denmark and Norway under Christian III. In 1559 both Christians died.

CONCLUSION

Thus the year 1559 becomes an arresting focal point from which to view the movements of the 16th century. Lutheranism, Calvinism, Romanism, and Anglicanism note important events in this year. Only the Radical Reformation is missing in this picture, and that only because no happening in that movement in 1559 was of particular prominence. Can the Elizabethan Settlement be designated as the most significant event of that year? Only if this is regarded as an historical judgment, not as a categorical statement of fact. The relative importance of events and trends and movements and men are judged by the Lord of history, whose wisdom surpasses that of men by whom He makes history.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Standard histories of the Reformation period must reinforce and supplement the article. *The Reformation Era: 1500—1650*, by Harold J. Grimm, first published in 1954 by the Macmillan Co. of

New York, has established itself as authoritative. The second volume of the *New Cambridge Modern History*, published in 1958 by the Cambridge University Press, will demand the same respect as its counterpart in the *Cambridge Modern History*, which it supplants but does not supersede. The name of Preserved Smith must still be held in high esteem. His *Age of the Reformation*, published in 1920 by Henry Holt, is readable and valuable. Even the two-volume work by Thomas Lindsay, *A History of the Reformation*, the first edition of which appeared in 1906, is highly valuable. All of these works have bibliographies. To cite the monographic literature used in the preparation of this article would be a repetition of information given more extensively in these bibliographies. B. J. Kidd's *Documents Illustrative of the Continental Reformation* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1911) remains the best handy collection of source materials of the period.

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