Salmeron's stay he came under attack from some in the city who were reputed to be Lutheranizers. It appears that Morone asked to be more conciliatory and not to emphasize human merit in arguments. Though the precise terms in which this was done are not clear — the two men give somewhat different versions of the exchange — Salmeron did consider that Morone's position was not in accord with the teaching of the Church. As a result of the argument Salmeron returned to Rome. Morone later regretted some of what he had said in his excitement and not only apologized to Salmeron but became an important benefactor of the Jesuits' German College. When Morone was arrested by the Inquisition in the time of Paul IV, Salmeron would be called on to give testimony, though Salmeron insisted that he believed Morone always to have been a loyal son of the Church, he also was forced to admit that Morone had been in error at the time, as he himself had said later in apologizing to Salmeron. In spite of Salmeron's denunciations, nonetheless, the testimony was damaging to Morone, in the eyes of Paul IV, and must have contributed to his continuing imprisonment. Not surprisingly, Morone felt guilty about Salmeron's testimony, though he did not cease to be a benefactor of the Society after he had been released from prison on the death of Paul IV.48

Salmeron was backed by Ignatius at the time of the incident, and later by Lainez, when the latter succeeded as general, it seems safe to say that it was not doctrinal disputes on justification which drew the leading spirituali to the Jesuits. Indeed, H. Outram Evenett, who found the "spirit of the Counter-Reformation" embodied chiefly in Ignatian spirituality, saw the 1547 decree on justification as a turning point for the story of Counter-Reformation spirituality. Trent's rejection of the more Augustinian view of grace held by the spirituali laid the theological foundation for the activist and individualist spirit which dominated the Catholic Reform henceforth.49

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48 The whole episode and its consequences are discussed in Pietro Tacchi Venturi, Compagnia de Gesù in Italia (Roma: Edizioni "La Civilità Cattolica", 2-2: 1968). The Birkbeck Lectures which comprise this book had been given in 1951, and were published posthumously with a postscript by Bossy.


SCHUMACHER 61
Nor is there any indication of the Jesuits sharing the *spirituali*'s desire for conciliation with the Protestants, though the evidence is not very much to support the opposite conclusion either. Rather, it would seem, it was the commitment of both groups to the reform of the Church that drew them to each other more than anything else.

CATHOLIC REFORM BECOMES COUNTER-REFORM: 1542

There is growing agreement among those who have studied the movement of the *spirituali* that the year 1542 was a turning point in the Catholic Reform in Italy. Contarini’s death was a major factor.

The plans of Contarini, who died in 1542, were repudiated in the last year of his life by Catholic and Protestant alike. . . . His failure was the failure of all the *spirituali*. . . .

His death had been preceded by a series of events which altered the direction of the campaign against heresy and put it into other hands. In July 1542 the Roman Inquisition was reestablished with Carafa as its head. So anxious was the latter to begin work that, according to one report, he “would not wait for a grant from the papal treasury, but bought a house which he fitted with offices and dungeons and shackles.”51 It was just at this time that Ochino was summoned to Rome. Though it does not seem that it was the Inquisition which summoned him, he evidently realized that this was a distinct possibility. He went to confer with Vermigli, and both decided to leave Italy.

The two men recognised that the logic of their religious standpoints led inescapably in the direction of the Protestant Reformation. In August 1542 they took flight for Switzerland, Ochino pausing only to make a final despairing call upon the dying Contarini.52

Other indications of the changed theological climate were soon

Sadoleto complained about the changed atmosphere. He did not see the reason for it yet. Bishop Gian Matteo Giberti, who had been a member of Contarini's first reform commission and long been a patron of the *spirituali*, observed the difficulty of their position and decided to "leave their company."53

The remaining *spirituali* now gathered around Cardinal Pole in Venice, where he held office as papal governor for the Patrimoni Petri, the principal of the Papal States. Though they could express themselves publicly for fear of being misunderstood, Pole and Morone, and others who had no thought of abandoning Catholicism, could only wait for the coming council.

The position has been aptly expressed by Fenlon:

"...experience of Christianity demanded an assent to the doctrine of justification by faith alone, it demanded equally an assent to the whole system of Catholic devotion and tradition. Their insistence that man contribute nothing to his own salvation was matched by an insistence on man's duty to remain in communion with the Church of Rome. These two profoundly felt experiences were at work and the resultant division which arose from the inconsistencies of these ideals... was not at bay and rendered tolerable only by the promise of a General Council."

The Tridentine decree on justification in 1547 put an end to the steps, and though Pole and Morone accepted it out of that obedience to the Church they had always held, the program of reform which the *spirituali* had advocated no longer represented a realistic option. The Protestant Reformation and the Counter-Reformation were henceforth to be directly opposed to each other.

Nonetheless retained a substantial body of supporters in him a man of conscience and devotion to reform, but he would take a different direction than the fanaticism of Carafa in the conclave at the death of Paul III in 1549 he came the vote of being elected in spite of his refusal to take any steps to promote his own election. In the conclave he was attacked by Carafa for "errors in religion," a charge which
was utilized by the French cardinals who opposed him for reasons of French anti-imperial policy to defeat his candidature.  

Though Carafa later professed to be reconciled with Pole, he grew more suspicious as time went on. When in 1555 he was elected pope as Paul IV, he immediately set out to exterminate the heresy he was convinced was to be found on all sides. Apart from other draconian measures, Cardinal Morone, who a few years later would be papal legate to the Council of Trent in its last period, was thrown into the prison of the Inquisition, from which he was only released with the death of Carafa. Pole was only saved from the same, or a worse, fate by the fact that he was papal legate in England. Here Queen Mary had the mail from Rome intercepted so that Pole never received the letters summoning him back to stand trial, though he was aware of them. At the Queen's insistence Pole remained in England till his death in 1558, "being regarded in Rome as a Lutheran and in Germany as a Papist," as one of his friends wrote of him at his death.

**REFORM OF RELIGION IN REFORMATION AND COUNTER-REFORMATION**

If recent scholarship has emphasized the common roots of Catholic and Protestant reforms, as exemplified in Erasmian humanism and Italian Catholic Evangelism, there has also been further research into the similarity between the two reforms in their methods and goals. The most striking result of these investigations is the conclusion that

the Catholic reformers were similar to their Protestant counterparts in that they launched just as vigorous a campaign against the "old religion." These reformers were as much characterized by their opposition to "medieval superstition, ignorance, and abuses" as by their opposition to Protestantism.

Two Catholic scholars in particular have supported this position.

55. Ibid. 226-32. Fenlon, however, doubts that Carafa's charges were decisive and considers that Pole failed to be elected for other reasons: "because he was a foreigner and, like Adrian VI, uncompromising in his zeal to eliminate ecclesiastical abuses." (p. 232).

56. Ibid. 269-80.

his own way and each with somewhat different evaluations — the French historian, Jean Delumeau, and the English historian, John Bossy.

DELUMEAU AND THE UNCHRISTIANIZED MIDDLE AGES

Delumeau the Christianity of the Middle Ages, which has too often been held up as the golden age of Catholicism, was only Christianity of the elite. Subsequently, the availability of elementary schooling and the publication of books from the thirteenth century onward came to produce a more educated urban population, who would be the principal base of both Protestant and Catholic reformations. But the rural population, which was the vast majority of people in Europe, was until the fourteenth century illiterate and ignorant of religion. Hence Delumeau proposed the following as his research hypothesis:

The eve of the Reformation, the average westerner was but super-superchristianized. In this context the two Reformations, Luther's and Rome's, were two processes, which apparently competed but in fact converged, by which the masses were christianized and religion "naturalized."58

The world of the rural masses was characterized by an animistic animism, in which good and evil spirits who had to be appeased governed every aspect of the agricultural cycle. Magic, witches, enchantments and spells were believed in and made use of in daily life of this milieu,

mental structures and the sluggishness of a still-archaic civilization engendered the "folklorization" not only of ceremonies and feastdays of beliefs, and thereby brought about a species of relapse into magic.59

Delumeau brings forth a multitude of examples of pagan rites supposedly Christian people. In Brittany, for example, the custom to adore the new moon by kneeling and saying

\[59\] 61-74. The quotation is from p. 167.
the Lord’s Prayer, and on New Year’s Day there was a kind of sacrifice to the fountains, each person offering a piece of bread in the local fountain for each member of the family.60

OTHER EVIDENCE OF AN UNCHRISTIANIZED MIDDLE AGES

Delumeau’s examples can be supplemented from many sources. Francis de Sales’ pastoral visitations to the mountain villages of Savoy found deep-rooted superstitions, magic, charms, sorceries. One of his companions characterized the inhabitants as “uncivilized and uncouth, they have never, so to speak, heard anyone speak the Christian religion.”61 One of the earliest Jesuit missioners in France, Robert Claysson, wrote in 1553:

Near Bordeaux is a forest thirty leagues across, whose inhabitants live like beasts of the field. One can find people over 50 years old and more who have never heard of mass nor learned a single word of faith.62

Since Delumeau has been criticized for limiting himself in his evidence to the French countryside, we may point out similar scenes in Spain. One of the principal students of the Spanish Inquisition, in the light of sixteenth-century Inquisition records, describes the realization by the inquisitors that when they shifted their attention from the conversos (Jewish or Muslim converts) to the Old Christians they found similarly heterodox beliefs.

Indeed, what was particularly alarming was not simply that true religion may have been perverted by heresy, but that in many parts of Spain it could be doubted whether there was any true religion at all. . . . Over vast areas of Spain — the sierras of Andalucia, the mountains of Galicia and Cantabria, the Pyrenees of Navarre, Aragon and Catalonia — the people combined formal religion with folk superstition in their everyday attempt to survive against the onslaught of climate and mortality. . . . As religious reformers and inquisitors quickly found out, the rural parishes were close-knit communities with their own special type of religion and their

60. Ibid. 162.
... saints. They were also hostile to any attempt by outsiders — whether clergy or townspeople — to intrude into their way of life.\textsuperscript{63}

We need not speak of the Moriscos, the Muslims whose forced conversions in 1499 had led to whole regions, especially in Valencia and Andalucia, where the people joined together in secretly practicing their own religion until their final expulsion in 1609.\textsuperscript{64} Nonetheless they formed a significant portion of the Spanish population which in only rare cases could be considered to be Christian, in spite of their baptism.

More to our point were the groups of people totally ignorant of Christianity discovered by the seventeenth-century missioners. In Huelva there were villages of whose inhabitants they live in caves, without priests or sacraments; so ignorant that some cannot make the sign of the cross; in their dress and way of life very like savages.\textsuperscript{65}

Not only those who lived so primitively were ignorant of the faith. Those of all classes arrested by the Inquisition "were asked to recite in Castilian the Our Father, Hail Mary, Credo, Salve Regina and the ten commandments, as well as other statements of belief."\textsuperscript{66} This is precisely, or perhaps somewhat less — since other statements" are not specified — what Spanish missioners in the Philippines demanded that new converts from animism should memorize and be able to answer questions on before they could be baptized.\textsuperscript{67} The statistics for Spain given by the tribunal

\textsuperscript{64} Ibid. 100-11.
\textsuperscript{65} Quoted ibid. 201. For other evidence of the lack of religious knowledge and lack of belief in Spain, see Luis Resines, ed., \textit{Catecismos de Astete y Ripalda} (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristiano, 1987) 12-15.
\textsuperscript{66} Kamen, \textit{Inquisition and Society}, ibid.
\textsuperscript{67} The \textit{Doctrina Cristiana}, which was adopted at the Manila Synod of 1582 by religious orders, and which had to be memorized and understood by all converts, stated the prayers and commandments mentioned, and in addition the sacraments, sins, the spiritual and corporal works of mercy, the Confiteor, and a number questions and answers on the basics of belief. Probably those which are related in the text were comprehended under the "other statements of belief," of which the text speaks. See the facsimile edition, \textit{Doctrina Cristiana. The First Book Printed in the Philippines, Manila 1593} (Manila: National Historical Commission, 1973). Also in Schumacher, S.J., \textit{Readings in Philippine Church History} (Quezon City: Loyola of Theology, 1979) 44-46.
of Toledo show that: "before 1550 only about 40 percent of those questioned were able to repeat the basic prayers: by the 1590s this had risen to nearly 70 percent. . ." 68 To put it another way, more than 30 percent of the baptized adults who came before the Inquisition, not as heretics but for any reason, according to theory did not know enough to be baptized, even after the Catholic Reform had been underway for decades. It is not surprising then that one finds the sixteenth-century missionaries in the Philippines so often favorably comparing their Filipino converts with old Christians in Spain, whom they asserted surpassed in knowledge and practice of the faith. 69

THE NEW CLERGY AND THE NEW PIETY

Such a situation in Europe was hardly avoidable given the lack of any training, intellectual or spiritual, received by the rural clergy. It is for this reason that the efforts of the Catholic Reform were simultaneously directed to the evangelization of the countryside and the training of the secular clergy. The principal figures in the renewal of the priesthood were also those who devoted themselves to the rural peasantry. The Oratorians, St. Vincent de Paul, St. John Eudes, St. Grignon de Montfort, all began as rural missionaries and concluded that their efforts to evangelize the countryside would not be successful unless they also engaged in the work of seminaries for the clergy. 70

Delumeau has also pointed out the new kind of holiness that was characteristic of the Catholic Reform as a whole. It was efficient, practical, methodical, useful. He notes: "We find for the first time in Christian history and the history of the apostolate the spirit of organization. . ." 71 Key examples of these qualities are St. Ignatius Loyola, St. Camillo de Lellis, St. Vincent de Paul, St. John of God, St. Philip Neri, as well as the religious orders they founded, whose members were to seek their own sanctification precisely by helping others, materially as well as spiritually. 72

68. Kamen, Inquisition and Society, 203.
69. See, e.g., Schumacher, Readings, 44, 48, 91, 190, and passim.
70. Ibid. 190-91.
71. Ibid. 55.
72. Ibid. 55-59.
One new apostolate of the Catholic Reform which manifested its methodical approach to evangelization was that of the rural missions, so characteristic of the seventeenth century in particular.\textsuperscript{73} Jesuits, Capuchins, Oratorians, Vincentians, Eudists were the principal groups from which the missionaries came, and their methods were similar.\textsuperscript{74} Their approach, though carefully planned, was simple and direct. They concentrated on instructions in the basics of the faith, while leading their listeners to confession and a general communion which formed the high point of the mission. Though the missions were systematically repeated from time to time in a region, the fruit of their endeavors was to be found in directing people to their parish, whose framework was the sacramental life. The methodical approach to the Christian life became evident here also with the systematic recording of baptisms, confirmations, marriages, and funerals, with attention to the making of the Easter duty, with systematic catechetical instruction, and with pastoral visitations by the bishops.\textsuperscript{75} John Bossy remarked apropos of this pastoral code:

"... may be thought perverse to describe the Counter-Reformation as having invented this code of religious practice, since most of the enactments which went to make it up had already been in force in the pre-reformation Church and the council of Trent explicitly added to them only in the case of matrimony..." \textsuperscript{76}

But in fact, the evidence makes pretty clear that those regulations had never been effectively enforced, or perhaps, even effect-

\textsuperscript{73} Delumeau treats almost exclusively the missions in France, and briefly in For the same apostolate in Spain see Charles C. Noel, "Missionary Preachers in Teaching Social Virtue in the Eighteenth Century," \textit{The American Historical Review} 90 (1985) 866-92. As the title states, Noel deals primarily with the eighteenth century, but the mission methods remain the same.

\textsuperscript{74} Delumeau in passing alludes to the "vast geographical and multiconfessional context in which Quakers and Methodists rubbed shoulders with Jesuits, Capuchins Oratorians..." (ibid. 189), as a field for further research. This would be a further means as well as goals of Catholic and Protestant reformers, though the reformers mentioned are of the eighteenth century rather than the seventeenth.

\textsuperscript{75} Ibid. 189-202.

tively proposed. What was different after the Council of Trent was not so much the legislation, but "a decidedly new attitude to old legislation. . . ." Bossy agrees with Delumeau that in fact by the end of the seventeenth century the uniform code of parish practice "was being all but universally observed in all parts of western Europe subject to [the Catholic bishops'] jurisdiction, and continued to be so observed until the fall of the ancien régime."\textsuperscript{78}

**CATHOLIC REFORM AND KINSHIP TIES**

Though Bossy, in the article cited and in several others, agrees that the practice of Catholicism after the Council of Trent was quite different from that of the Middle Ages, he differs from Delumeau in maintaining that the change was not wholly beneficial.\textsuperscript{79} Nor would he agree that the program introduced by the Catholic Reform really christianized the rural masses for the first time. The religion of the medieval peasant may not have been theologically accurate but it was part of his daily life and was communicated naturally through the family. For the Counter-Reformers, the peasant family could not be trusted to communicate church teaching. The instruction of children in the fundamentals and their basic religious formation was transferred from the family to the parish catechetical instruction. Baptism, marriage, wakes and funerals were regulated in a way which emphasized the individual's relation to God and to the Church rather than the collective relationship of family and community, as had been characteristic of medieval Catholicism. To Bossy it seems that the new piety broke with older and more natural relationships of kinship and local custom. As a result, the new Catholicism would not stand up against the Enlightenment attack on religion in the eighteenth century.\textsuperscript{80} For this failure Bossy sees the Tridentine system at fault:

... I should be inclined to blame the sociological weakness of Tridentine

\textsuperscript{77} Ibid. 53.
\textsuperscript{78} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{79} In addition to the article cited, Bossy has developed his ideas along similar lines in "The Social History of Confession in the Age of the Reformation," \textit{Transactions of the Royal Historical Society}, 5th series, 25 (1975) 21-38; and more extensively in his book, \textit{Christianity in the West, 1400-1700} (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1987).
\textsuperscript{80} Bossy, "The Counter-Reformation," 54-62.
...cularism: its incapacity to provide within the rigid framework of ritual conformity, the channels and organs of autonomous participation which the medieval Church had fostered in such profusion. ... especially accounts for the common but elusive sense that, all considered, the medieval Church made for life and the Counter- Reformation Church against it. I have tried to suggest that what made the medieval Church on the popular plane a real, if ignorant and misused, community, was its admission of the kin-group, natural and social, as a constituent element in its life; where the Tridentine Church sees me as having most damagingly failed was in its reluctance to admit a nuclear family or household on the same terms. 81

... s introduction to the English translation of Delumeau's Bossy has made more explicit where he differs with the... all their aberrations the unreformed Church and uninformed Chris- tians of pre-reformation days had some sort of grip on the idea that Chris- tian meant loving one's neighbour, distasteful as that might be. Without going to the 'legend of the Christian Middle Ages', I think it is to believe that the rural Church of medieval Europe did, in its mode, transmit a respectable view of Christianity to the average person. The Ecclesia docens of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was a more strenuous view of things and was, I am sure, the agent of necessary mutation in the mentality of rural Europe; but I am not sure that, in other than a pedagogical sense, it conveyed the essences of Christianity better than its predecessor. 82

Bossy's views have been found challenging, but have by no means won universal approval from historians. Part of the reason the divergence is the varying theological evaluation given by recent scholars to "popular religion," but the validity of his views have also been questioned. Natalie Z. Davis, in her discussion of popular religion, insists that if "we look at practice along with...
prescription," we find a different story. She gives a number of examples of how collective values and institutions retained their strength in the Counter-Reformation period, and supplies instances of family-centered prayers that were widely used. Nonetheless she concludes:

Perhaps Bossy's generalizations will have to be modified somewhat, but nevertheless, he has provided one of the most important and original approaches to religious culture to appear in the last decade.

THE "NEW RELIGION" OF THE CATHOLIC REFORM

Though Bossy and Delumeau disagree in their evaluations of both medieval Catholicism and Counter-Reform Catholicism, they are in agreement as to the fact that there was a radical change between the two periods. This point has won considerable agreement from other historians. In a diachronic study of the diocese of Lyon — the city and its surrounding countryside — Philip Hoffman has traced the reactions of the people to the implantation of the new Counter-Reformation Catholicism. In reaction to the religious wars the Catholic urban elite increasingly allied themselves with the new clergy. The urban masses as well, among whom the traditional practice of religion was already becoming dysfunctional, soon followed suit. The countryside took another century to reach. Here the efforts to repress the pre-Reformation religion led to resistance on the part of the peasants, and in the end the new clergy were more aloof from the people than the old had been. Hoffman sees the eighteenth century withdrawal of males from the Church as due to the conflicts aroused by the effort to supplant old community practices with the new Counter-Reformation piety. In the city the old religious practices had already become obsolescent and no great resistance appeared to the new

84. Ibid. 329.
86. Ibid. 144-46.
especially since it had the backing of the urban elite. In rural areas it was different.

In the countryside the Counter Reformation's austere morality was imposed in full force, and it battered against beliefs and institutions that were the bulwark of communal solidarity. Not surprisingly, it was rejected by people who saw nothing wrong in combining devotion and gaiety, or by those whose religion was deeply woven into the fabric of communal life. If the rural people accepted the new confraternities and the new education of the Counter Reformation, they balked and turned against its austerity and urban sense of order, and they opposed many of its attempts to undermine communal institutions.

EFFECTIVENESS OF THE NEW CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

The final point deserves mention. In spite of their different conception of the results of the Catholic Reform's efforts to date or purify "the old religion," both Delumeau and Bossy acknowledged that it was successful in achieving its professed goals by the end of the seventeenth century. In the light of the similarities Protestant and Catholic goals and methods which this article emphasized, it seems appropriate to look at the success of the massive effort to stamp out the "old religion." An exhaustive question the entire program of religious education set up by the Lutherans. After studying massive visitation records from parishes and small and medium-sized towns, dating from the 1520s to the early seventeenth century, Strauss concludes that the pedagogical endeavor failed. Its breakdown brought to an end one of the Protestant Reformation's most ambitious, radical, far-reaching, and fervently pursued efforts.

Another work which, unlike Hoffman, confines itself to the urban milieu and a shorter period is that of R. Pochia Hsia, Society and Religion in Münster, 1525-1648 (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1984). Like Hoffman on Lyon, Hsia records the formation of piety in the city, under the impact of the "ideology of the Counter Reformation." Successful among the elite, it proceeded more gradually and not resistance to establish itself, as it eventually did, among the lower classes.

This is the story of Luther's House of Learning, Indoctrination of the Young German Reformation (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1978).

- p. 138.
- p. 307.
Though Strauss recognizes other achievements of Protestantism, particularly among the elite, he is adamant about the central failure.

But if it was its central purpose to make people— all people— think, feel, and act as Christians, to imbue them with a Christian mind-set, motivational drive, and way of life, it failed. . . . The burden of proof ought now at last to be placed where it belongs: upon those who claim, or imply, or tacitly assume that the Reformation in Germany aroused a widespread, meaningful, and lasting response to its message. Before 1530 this may well have been the case, although even then the resonance was probably confined to a segment of the urban population. Later in the century one finds mostly apathy. The evidence of the visitation records leaves no escape from this conclusion. . . .

Strauss concedes that the conclusions are less certain for the large cities, where the visitation records are lacking, but a certain amount of evidence points to a not very different situation there also. But he does except the urban elite from his conclusions. In this he would be in agreement with Hoffman.

He has also made some small use of Catholic visitation records from the Bavarian countryside, which tend to point in the same direction, though the documentation is not sufficient to reach reliable conclusions. It may be noted, however, that the Catholic Reform only gets seriously started fifty years later than the Lutheran effort, even in Germany, and much more so in France. If Hoffman’s study of Lyon is at all typical of the Catholic Reform, it would show a somewhat analogous pattern for the early period— success among the urban population, especially the urban elite, and only later and with more difficulty among the rural masses. Strauss’ study does not advance into the seventeenth century so as to see if there was later success in Lutheran Germany. But the kind of evidence he brings forward makes it seem unlikely, particularly since Germany would be ravaged by the Thirty Years War from 1618 onward, when the success of parish and school could only have been less.

91. Ibid. 307-8.
92. Strauss does give some brief attention to one Calvinist state in Germany (pp. 291-93), and though he recognizes that there was much more effectiveness than among the Lutherans or Catholics in imposing discipline, questions whether this signified anything beyond external conformity, which could always be obtained with sufficient coercion.
One might also note that "struggle against the old religion" was carried out on the Catholic side principally by the rural missions, for which there was no equivalent among the Lutherans. Moreover, these missions tended to penetrate even into remote parts of the countryside and mountainous districts, and thus reach many who were not reached by the Lutheran state schools. Though the evidence for the success of the Catholic Reform is therefore considerably stronger than that for the Lutherans, only studies such as that of Strauss, or at least a significant number of studies of individual areas such as Hoffman's, will clarify whether fact it was as successful as it is generally supposed to have been.

CONCLUSION

The clearest conclusion that emerges from the different works on the Catholic Reform that have been examined here is to reinforce the impression that the Catholic and Protestant reforms were more alike than they were different, at least if we are to seek of the Protestant Magisterial Reformers. If one were to consider the Radical Reformation, the similarities would be much greater than the differences, but for the same reasons that there is so great a difference between the Magisterial Reformers and the radicals.

There were doctrinal differences, of course, between Lutheran Calvinists on one side and Catholics on the other. And these doctrinal differences did affect practice and did not remain merely on the level of theory. Doctrine on the Eucharist and on the statement of Penance, for example, made a great deal of difference to how the christianization or rechristianization of the rural masses was carried out. We have already pointed that out with regard to the rural missions of the Catholics. The fact that the principal agents of reformed Catholicism were the new religious orders adds another element of difference, since there was no equivalent body among the Protestants. The reform of religion among the Protestants, though centralized in the government, existed in the Lutheran states, was carried out — or not carried out on the local level by the local clergy. Since the local clergy were responsible reason for the pre-reformation religious ignorance, it
is likely that they would be far less effective than the Catholic religious orders, just as the Catholic local clergy were ineffective in the period before the emergence of the new clergy created as a result of Tridentine seminary legislation and the influence of the French School of spirituality on the training of priests.