LUTHER.

SHORT HISTORY

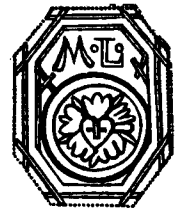
OF

THE REFORMATION

BY

JOHN F. HURST, D.D.

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS



SEAL OF MARTIN LUTHER

THE BONDAGE OF THE WILL

Martin Luther

"Moreover, I give you (Erasmus, the Roman Catholic Humanist scholar whose popish diatribe asserting man's free will Luther is replying to—ed.) great praise, and proclaim it — you alone in pre-eminent distinction from all others, have entered upon the thing itself; that is, the grand turning point of the cause; and, have not wearied me with those irrelevant points about popery, purgatory, indulgences, and other like *baubles*, rather than *causes*, with which all have hitherto tried to hunt me down, though in vain! You, and you alone saw, what was the grand hinge upon which the whole turned, and therefore you attacked the vital part at once; for which, from my heart, I thank you" (Martin Luther, *The Bondage of the Will*, page 391, Baker Book House edition issued 1976. Here Luther is commending Erasmus for realizing that the issue of "free will" [not to be confused with free moral agency] was paramount during the early years of the Reformation. For at this very point one is left with either the revealed religion of God's Word, or the vain musings of the minds of men; with a sovereign God [whose will is sovereign over man's will] or with man on the throne, his own will, and not God's omnipotent will [Eph. 1], determining his own destiny. This was the great battleground of the early Reformation, Luther's book *The Bondage of the Will* is must reading.).

"Therefore, it is not irreligious, curious, or superfluous, but essentially wholesome and necessary, for a Christian to know, whether or not the will does anything in those things which pertain unto Salvation. Nay, let me tell you, this is the very hinge upon which our discussion turns. It is the very heart of the subject. For our object is this: to inquire what "Free-will" can do, in what it is passive, and how it stands with reference to the grace of God. If we know nothing of these things, we shall know nothing whatever of Christian matters, and shall be far behind all people upon the earth. He that does not feel this, let him confess that he is no Christian. And he that despises and laughs at it, let him know that he is the Christian's greatest enemy..." (*ibid.* page 35-36).

"...that God foreknows nothing by contingency, but that He foresees, purposes, and does all things according to His immutable, eternal, and infallible will. By this thunderbolt, "Free-will" is thrown prostate, and utterly dashed to pieces. Those, therefore, who would assert "Free-will," must either deny this thunderbolt, or pretend not to see it, or push it from them" (*ibid.* page 38-39).

"This book is most needful at the present day. The teachings of many so-called Protestants are more in accordance with the Dogmas of the Papists, or the ideas of Erasmus, than with the Principles of the Reformers; they are more in harmony with the Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent than with the Protestant or Reformed Confessions of Faith." (*ibid.*, page 8, preface by H. Atherton, June 1931).

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THE SOVEREIGNTY OF GOD OR CALVINISM!

"...that there is no such a thing as preaching Christ and him crucified unless you preach what now-a-days is called Calvinism. I have my own ideas, and those I state boldly. It is a nickname to call it Calvinism; Calvinism is the gospel, and nothing else."

C. H. Spurgeon, The New Park Street Pulpit, Vol. 1 (1856)

"... and I will go as far as Martin Luther, in that strong assertion of his, where he says, 'If any man doth ascribe of salvation, even the very least, to the free will of man, he knoweth nothing of grace, and he hath not learnt Jesus Christ aright.' It may seem a harsh sentiment; but he who in his soul believes that man does of his own free will turn to God, cannot have been taught of God, for that is one of the first principles taught us when God begins with us, that we have neither will nor power, but that He gives both; that he is 'Alpha and Omega' in the salvation of men."

C. H. Spurgeon from the sermon 'Free Will A Slave' (1855)

"As blessed Athanasius sighed out in his day, "The world is overrun with Arianism;" so it is the sad sigh of our present times, the Christian world is overrun, yea, overwhelmed with the flood of Arminianism; which cometh, as it were, out of the mouth of the serpent, that he might cause the woman (the Church) "to be carried away of the flood" thereof (Rev. 12: 15). Thirdly, lest this overflowing deluge of Arminianism should bring destruction upon us, there is great need that some servants of Christ should run to stop the further spreading of this plague and leprosy."

Christopher Ness, An Antidote Against Arminianism (1700)

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ILLUSTRATIONS.

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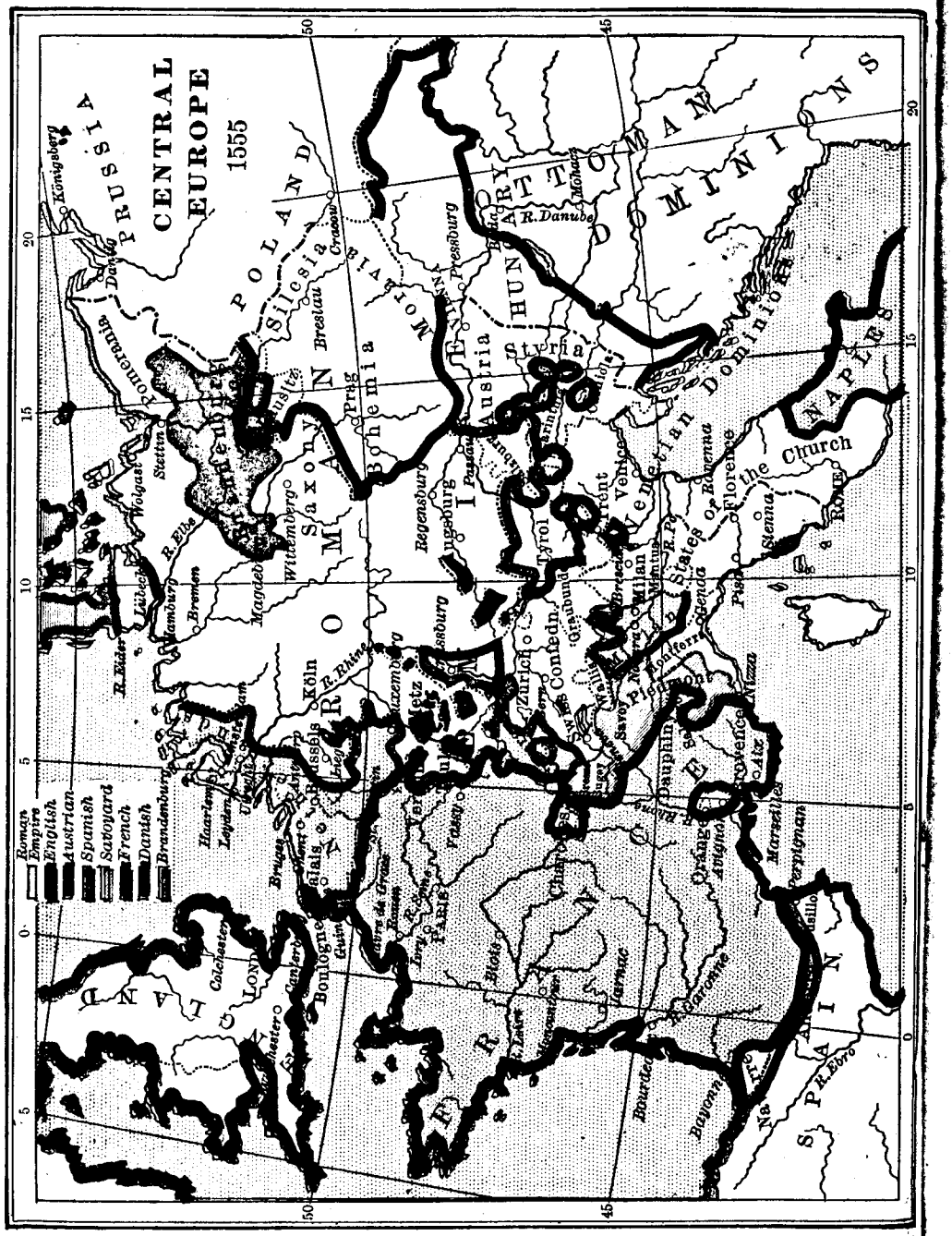


SHORT HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION.

CHAPTER I.

THE HERALDS OF PROTESTANTISM.

1. The Reformation, like all great historical movements, was of slow and unattractive development. Long in coming into notice, it was equally long in finding its champions. The cause was waiting for its men, and when the need was supreme they appeared, with heroic spirit, great organizing genius, and amazing power of endurance. Protestantism was an oak of young and vigorous growth in the first quarter of the 16th century, but its roots lay deep in the soil of the 14th. The Reformation possessed two characteristics—one national, with all the individuality that might be expected of race and land; the other cosmopolitan, having general fibre and color, always the same, whatever the country or people, from Norway to the Alps, and from Transylvania to the Bay of Biscay. The Reformation has proved to be the chief turning-point in modern history. It is that great religious and intellectual revolution which marks the boundary-line between the Middle Ages and the Modern Period. The call for regeneration was deep and loud. Superstition had become interwoven with the pure doctrine of the Gospel. The morals of the cler-

gy, from the papacy down to the humblest monks, had become corrupt. The highest ecclesiastical offices were reached by vicious means. The common people were purposely kept in ignorance. Against these evils, ruinous at once to intellect and soul, the Reformers made their bold protest, and called upon the people to rally to their standard. Their aim was, at first, a purification of the Church within itself, and by its own servants. This proved a total failure. The next step was to withdraw from the fold, and establish an independent confession and a separate ecclesiastical structure. This succeeded; and the result is that vast and aggressive sisterhood of Protestant churches which exists to-day in all the advanced countries of the world.

2. The Pioneers of Reform in religious life and doctrine were obscure, and some of the very names have not become known to history. But their work was heroically performed. Protestantism, when it emerged from its seclusion, and became a thing of the noonday, had the great benefit of a slowly-laid and solid basis. But not all the predecessors of the successful reformers of the 16th century were unknown men. Some of them, a few in each country which took its place in the community of Protestant nations, have become familiar names, and belong in the same front line with the Reformers themselves. It is not difficult to account for the failure of those first workers for the religious regeneration of Europe. More than one generation is always needed to achieve a moral revolution. A work that shall last for the ages requires a larger and longer sacrifice than a few calm toilers through a few decades. The heralds of the Reformation trod in new paths. They labored steadily on, without a single

encouraging precedent, and ran the constant risk of losing their heads. An archbishop's voice could silence behind the bolted doors of the London Tower the loudest protesting voice in Britain, while the mere roll-call of the Council of Constance could hasten even Huss to the stake. When the real Reformers came upon the scene of action, especially in Germany, the risk of losing life was not so great. Charles V. aped towards the Protestants the charity of Julian the Apostate towards all the faiths of the later Roman Empire. Hence, while Charles V. was Emperor of Germany, he openly favored moderate measures towards the Protestants; that is to say, all repressive methods must be adopted except death itself.

In Holland, however, Charles V. dealt out death with merciless hand. In his commands to his son, Philip II., in whose favor he abdicated, he urged him to spare no pains to uproot the new heresy. But there was a difference between his relation to Germany and to Holland. Of the former he was only emperor by election. Each country had its separate ruler, and the civil relations were in charge of the rightful princes. But Charles V. was king over the Netherlands, having received that country by inheritance. Therefore, when the Dutch rebelled against the civil authorities, and declared themselves Protestants and republicans, it was a revolution against his personal authority. He, accordingly, put to death the Protestants of that country without the least hesitation, while in Germany he never went so far as to claim such rights. In England the condition was still more encouraging for Protestants. Henry VIII. not only professed their faith, but protected his subjects against all interference on the part of the priesthood and the management of the pope. In sharp con-

trast with this general improvement in personal safety, during the progress of the Reformation, was that previous insecurity. The herald of reform was not safe an hour. He had no protector. The shedding of blood for a slight offence, especially against the Church, was an easy thing to bring about. The secret methods of silencing honest speech had long since grown into a fine art.

3. The Unity of the Herald and his Successor. The two kinds of Reformers were happily blended in the foreground of the Protestant picture. The herald who cried "in the wilderness" was a fit companion of him whose coming he proclaimed. The former, because silenced for the moment, appeared to fail. But he triumphed, in reality, for to insure success, through any brand, is the highest success. Victory is not a matter of personality, but of principles and ages. The heralds of Protestantism taught their successors, by their own experience, what dangers to avoid, and what were the true forces of success. Luther, for example, in the most delicate and difficult part of his entire career—his relation with the princes of Saxony—learned from the indiscretion of Savonarola, in his dealing with the Medici and the temporal government of Florence, that the Reformer is never fully master of himself, and can never be the finally successful leader, unless he hold severely aloof from all political management, and confine his labors to the one work of religious reform. Luther saw that the moment the Reformer turns aside from his work he is in danger of forfeiting his entire mission. He has, in any event, lost his crown—the sublime unity of moral purpose.

4. The Paris Reformers planted the first seeds of Protestantism in France. In the reformatory councils they

spoke strong words for universal regeneration. The University of Paris, where they taught, was the scene of their hard, hotly contested, and unrequited labor. Peter d'Ailly, born 1350 and died 1425, contributed largely towards awakening a desire for a thoroughly new religious life in priesthood and people. His genius ripened early. He saw the vanity of the prevailing scholasticism, and applied its better qualities to Biblical interpretation. He laid before the Council of Constance a plan for the reformation of the Church, which proved of no avail. He nullified his own work, however, and stained his otherwise fair fame by voting for the condemnation of Huss. He never withdrew from the Roman Catholic Church, and died in discontent with the evils which he failed to remedy. His great service lay in the distrust which he created towards the papal authorities, and in the dissatisfaction with the Church which pervaded his sermons, lectures, and writings, and which in time became a dangerous factor against the Romanism of the land.

5. John Charlier Gerson, born 1363, and died 1429, was a disciple of d'Ailly. He rose to great prominence in the University of Paris, and, withdrawing from scholasticism, aimed at the reconciliation of Mysticism with Christianity. He laid great stress on the necessity of a pure religious experience, protested against the corrupt state of the Church, and declared that the two rival popes, in Rome and Avignon, should be removed, rather than that Christians should be compelled to endorse either the one or the other. His sermons, after becoming pastor of a church in Paris, attracted large audiences, because of his eloquence and his bold position for ecclesiastical reform. He became an exile, because of the opposition of the Duke of Burgundy,

and only in his later life, in 1419, returned to France. He resided in Lyons, and died in the Roman Catholic fold. He saw but little fruit of his reformatory labors, and passed away with only the hope that others might possess what he had striven, in much sorrow and disappointment, to attain. He was a transitional character, possessing the qualities of both the Romanist and the Reformer. For example, he did not recognize the Church and the papacy, but the Bible, as the only rule of faith, and the one to which all final appeal must be made. At the same time he opposed the reading of the Bible in the popular language in the rural churches.

6. Nicholas Clémanges, born 1360, and died about 1440, was a disciple of both d'Ailly and Gerson, but he marked a great advance beyond them in reformatory spirit. He declared that the councils were superior authority to the papacy, that the pope was inferior to the Council of Constance, and that the Bible had authority even over the council. He boldly advocated the doctrine of the invisible Church, and held that the Church can only exist where the Holy Spirit is present. He was an eloquent defender of the independence of the Gallican Church against the absolute rule of the papacy.

7. Ground of the French Failure. The Paris theologians failed in their work, and from very obvious causes. They never withdrew from the Roman Catholic Church, or took steps to establish a separate ecclesiastical organization. This has been a general cause of the failure of French reformatory movements, as it now is with Father Hyacinthe. When the final hour came, the Paris Reformers hesitated to revolt. They halted, and did not take the one last step of departure from the communion which they could not love or approve.

Besides this fatal mistake, the attack of the Paris theologians was not a steady, earnest, and specific progress. It was a sudden blast, and often repeated, but not an onward march. Some of the weakest points of Romanism were entirely overlooked by them. They expressed, for example, but little sympathy with reformatory measures in other countries. They belonged to the learned class, moved in that circle alone, and, unlike the German Reformers, who also arose in a university, were without popular tastes and affinities, and had only a limited, though cultivated, constituency, during their whole career. On the other hand, they planted the seeds of a permanent popular dislike of the prevailing order of things, and were the real and direct precursors of the brave Huguenots.

8. The Mystics of the 14th and 15th Centuries arose as a spiritual reaction against the supremacy of the scholastic philosophy. Remotely, they were an opposing school to all the immorality and spiritual oppression of the times. They saw the injury inflicted on the Church by the long and fruitless discussions of the schoolmen, and aimed to call back the Christian mind to the sense of dependence on God, the need of a profound religious experience, and a contemplative and receptive attitude of the soul, which awaits constant communications of the Holy Spirit. The Mystic attached too little importance to the written Word, and magnified the worth of merely spiritual impressions. He was contemplative and rhapsodical, and held himself constantly ready for new revelations. Intuitions were his second Bible. He did not regard monasticism as the solution for the spiritual death of the times; neither did he think the best way to build up a new religious life was to separate from the Church. His

thought was, to preach to the people, and awaken them to a sense of their needs, and thus, from the centre, to reform the whole body of the Church, without disturbing the existing economy and order. The Mystic cared not who might be the pope of the hour, or whether there was a pope at all. He considered that personage a fine piece of ornamental work, like a marble saint in a cathedral chapel, but having no relation to the general architecture of the edifice. The one concern of the Mystic was the condition of the individual heart, the religious life of the private believer.

9. **Germany was the Central Scene** and native country of the most notable reformatory Mystics. Master Eckart, who died about 1329, belonged to the Dominican Order of monks, and produced a strong impression by his writings and preaching in favor of a purer religious life. The general drift of his teaching was that the doctrines of the Bible are the only truth, and that this truth has its proper effect in the purity of the heart. We reach purity by introspection. God is in the soul. We look outwardly when we should look within. But purity must be deeply rooted in the soul, for God will not enter where there is an unholy thought. Many of Eckart's order pronounced him a heretic, because of his fearless speech. The three fundamental objections to him were, his bold charges of immorality in the clergy, his strong language against the worship of Mary, and the power of purgatory to purify a corrupt soul.

10. **John Ruysbroek** was born in 1293. He became prior of the monastery of Grünthal, near Brussels, and was the founder of the Dutch Mysticism. He saw a universal sinfulness in his age, priests and people alike overwhelmed and whirled on by the current of sin.

The prime source of the prevailing corruption was the impurity of the Church, and its incapacity to resist the temptation of gold and lust. It was too far gone to save itself. Even the popes, said Ruysbroek, bowed the knee to the god of gold. The Church had no healing power. Only God in the soul could deliver from sin. Ruysbroek was a twofold character, contemplative and mystical on the one hand, and, on the other, the practical and every-day Reformer. He had two constituencies. His voice reached palace and hut with equal force.

11. **Henry Suso,** born in Suabia, in 1300, took his name from that of his mother's family, Suess, or Seuss, which he Latinized into Suso. His early religious life was spent in self-torture and contemplation. He lived in thick gloom. His thought was, that only by the suffering of the flesh could God be pleased. His close-fitting shirt of one hundred and fifty nails, with points turned towards his flesh, was his favorite and royal robe. He loved it better than the purple. For sixteen years he tortured both soul and body. By the hearing of Tauler, in Cologne, he was admitted into larger liberty. He became less ascetic, and more a citizen of the world. He called himself "the Servant of the Eternal Wisdom," to whom he paid a lover's homage, as to a radiant May-queen. He was passionately fond of music, and, when in ecstacy, fancied himself in the midst of angelic ministers. Of his book, "The Horologe of Wisdom," he said that it came to him in moments of supreme joy, when he lay passive in the power of the high inspiration. He summed up his whole theology in the following: A meek man must be *deformed* from the creature, *conformed* to Christ, and *transformed* into the Deity. The entire tendency of

Suso's teaching was in favor of religious reform. His life was one long lament over the evils of his times, for which he held the Church responsible. He declared of the popes that good government had departed from them, and that they thought more of gold, and the putting of their relatives into power, than of the Church of God; and that the cardinals, bishops, abbots, teachers, monastic orders, and secular clergy were corrupt and debauched, and unworthy their places of honor. He believed that his whole generation was so depraved that a reformation would be a very miracle of divine mercy. He feared the miracle might never come. His pleas were lamentations. He was the Jeremiah of the 14th century.

12. John Tauler, born 1290, and died 1361, was a devoted disciple of Eckart. He was more a man of the people than his master. He spoke in plain language, and often aroused the sensibilities to the highest pitch. He excelled all the mediæval Mystics in his burning zeal, his popular sympathies, and his profound adherence to the doctrine of justification by faith. In this last sense Luther followed only in his footprints. He was the most eloquent preacher of his times. Strasburg was the chief scene of his ministry. There was such realistic power in his preaching that, often, people were overcome, and became insensible during the delivery of his sermons. He taught that there are three stages possible to the heart—nature, grace, and the direct shining of the Divine Spirit. When this last and highest stage is reached, the soul forgets itself, and God possesses it wholly. The human spirit is as molten wax, in which the Holy Spirit makes its image.

Tauler rebuked the priestly pretensions of his times, and cried aloud for each man to think and feel for himself. He declared "the true priesthood of every Christian man," and insisted that the Christ should dwell within us. Like some of his mystical predecessors, whose language was too strong for the fashion of the times, he was threatened with excommunication. But he continued his preaching against the prevailing sins of the Church without serious interruption, and the authorities in Rome were finally compelled to let him proceed, as a person more dangerous to interfere with than to be at liberty. The Black Death, a violent plague, together with the papal interdict, rested upon Strasburg. But Tauler's preaching attracted the entire population, diverted their thought, and was the only relief to the sorrow and suffering of the people. He declared that the troubles were a divine visitation because of the sins of the people, and that only by repentance and a pure life could relief come. His principal work was his "Imitation of the Poor Life of Christ." Of all the Mystics, Tauler was the nearest approach to a universal character. Real goodness, like genius, is at home in every age. Tauler was not only reverenced by the devout and zealous Christians of his own time, but stands out as a grand and towering figure in the spiritual world of all later periods. He was a striking example, in a dark age, of how far one man can lift up his generation, and furnish light for even later ones:

> "A voice as unto him that hears,
> A cry above the conquered years,
> To one that with us works."

When the Reformers arose they immediately discovered in Tauler a kindred soul, one in whom they found great joy, and who had contributed largely to herald their approach. He was but an elder brother

to the groups in both Wittenberg and Oxford. Luther himself edited the "Theologia Germanica," supposed by many critics to have been written by Tauler. But whether by him or not, it reflects his pure spirit, and that of all the better Mystics, and is singularly in harmony with Tauler's preaching. Luther communed with Tauler's writings as with a living and present friend. To John Lange he wrote: "Keep to Tauler." He gave to his friend Spelatin the advice: "If you would be pleased to make acquaintance with a solid theology of the good old sort in the German tongue, get John Tauler's sermons; for neither in Latin nor in our own language have I ever seen a theology more sound, or more in harmony with the Gospel."

13. The School of St. Victor was one of the marvels of the times. It represented, in organized and compact form, the aspiration of the age for purer thinking, for spiritual absorption, and for revolt against the prevailing ecclesiastical evils. Within eighty years of its founding, in the 11th century, it could count its thirty abbeys and eighty priories. Its two most notable members were Hugo and Richard. They were at once speculative thinkers and spiritual Mystics. They aimed to harmonize mysticism with scholasticism. These were but terms of the day for the two old, and still ever new, names of revelation and science. Both Hugo and Richard saw no antagonism, but held that each was the complement of the other. Hugo aimed to solidify and clarify spiritual thinking by logical methods. He disdained the rigid uniformity of the traditional creed of Romanism, and called for freedom and faith, and freedom in faith. He declared that there is an "eye of the soul," by which we contemplate and see new truths, and by them attain to a

blessedness of the soul and a peaceful trust in God. The common and natural faculties cannot see deeply. The spiritual sense alone is far-sighted, and able to apprehend, in the distant spaces, the spiritual truth. But we must guard against delusion. Not the fancy, but faith, can reveal it to us.

14. Richard of St. Victor was a native of Scotland. In 1162 he became prior of the abbey. Ervisius was the abbot, and therefore responsible for the discipline. The morals in the abbey had been at a very low ebb, and Richard saw in them a picture of the moral prostration of his times, and the need of a new spiritual life. He regarded mysticism as the only hope of relief. But it must be a carefully adjusted, firm, and well-rounded system; none of your wild and absurd fancies of a disturbed brain. Build up mysticism on logical scholasticism, and you have what you need to cure the evils of the day. Thus Richard reasoned, and wisely enough; but when he came to touch the revealed truth he lost his balance. He converted all Scripture into a string of shining allegory and metaphor. He surpassed all the fancies of Origen and the Alexandrian school, and found in the Bible an illimitable realm of truth. No history or incident existed that did not mean far more than the letter said. He made meditation the great theological basis. Contemplation was a height which could be reached by six steps, the uppermost of which is penitence. When the soul once stood on that, it was above the low steps of imagination and reason, and was lost in sublime ecstasy. The age was corrupt, thrice dead, and plucked up by the roots, and nothing could save it but purer morals, a return to better thoughts, and the coming back of the Church to an unselfish and zealous spiritual life.

15. The Brothers of the Common Life were an association of mystical minds who made it their aim to reform the Church by a purification of the heart. They placed more emphasis on the regeneration of the soul than the outward organization of the Church. They held that, if once the heart is right, the outward forms will soon assume right shapes. The whole life must be centred in the love of God, and then the heart will be sanctified. Thomas à Kempis belonged to this fraternity. His "Imitation of Christ" has always been a favorite among both Romanists and Protestants, and has had the largest circulation of any book except the Bible. It has been translated into all the principal languages, and is known to have passed through three hundred editions.

16. The Friends of God were an organization of laymen. They were warm in their attachment to the Roman fold, and yet were alarmed at the evils which they saw about them in both clergy and laity. This society was a strong proof that the moral declension of the times was seen and understood by devout minds among the laymen as well as by ministers of the Gospel. Its members extended throughout western Germany and the larger part of Switzerland, and contributed largely to prepare the way among the people for Luther and his coadjutors. Nicholas, a layman of Basel, and a convert through the preaching of Tauler, wrought in connection with them, and was their most conspicuous representative. Among their members must be reckoned Conrad, abbot of Kaisersheim; the nuns of Unterlinden, in Colmar and Basel; the sisters of Engelthal; the knights of Rheinfeld, Pfaffenheim, and Landsberg; and the rich merchant Rulman Merswin. The love of God was the one universal law which

the Friends of God insisted upon. They declared that the Church had closed its doors to the truth, and that the only hope for their opening was a higher spiritual life. Tauler called the Friends of God the pillars of Christendom, and the protectors for a while from God's just cloud of wrath.

17. The Dutch Forerunner of Reform. Holland was one of the earliest and most forward countries in which the spirit of reform was manifested. The universities were the great fountains whence the Protestant stream arose, and from which it descended into the less educated masses. John Pupper, born about 1401, took the family name of Goch from the place of his birth, a town near Cleves, and called himself John of Goch. He founded the Priory of the Canonesses of St. Augustine, in Mechlin, in 1451, and for twenty-five years occupied the office of Rector or Confessor to the nuns. He combined, in rare harmony, the spiritual and practical. He held that faith must precede reason, for reason without faith is a blind and false guide. Scholasticism is a mere logical play, and must be fought by sound theological logic, which draws its power from the written Word of God. The scholastic philosophy is false, because it is not based upon the Bible, but on Aristotle. His whole theology has been strikingly summarized into: Of God, through God, and to God. We derive all from him. He is our Father, the Giver and Teacher of all good. We should give to him our deepest love and supreme confidence. All freedom is based on love, and love is our best assurance of future blessedness. John of Goch's entire system of doctrine was reformatory, a protest against the usual modes of laying down doctrine, and a holding up of mere good works to contempt. In practical life, he hurled his strong lance

against the sale of indulgences and the personal corruption of the clergy.

18. The Mission of the Early Dutch Reformers was very important. They caught the spirit of the times, and were bold and defiant in their protest against the immorality of their day. If we ask, Why was it that Holland gave such a prompt and cordial reception to the doctrines of Luther and Calvin? the answer is, the soil was fully prepared for the precious seed. The Dutch people had been taught, by these early preachers of a purer morality, that the time was fully come for a new spiritual order. They did not know whence the light would break, but the whole land was astir with a longing for it, and an expectation of its speedy dawn. Hence, when they heard the strong words from Wittenberg and Geneva, they rejoiced in them as the fulfilment of their hopes. To them the new truth was no surprise. They had listened to their own prophets, and believed their burning words.

Chapter II.

THE HUMANISM OF ITALY.

1. The Revival of Letters.—Important general movements, without connection with prominent characters, were likewise in progress to hasten the approach of reform. Chief of these, in the field of intellectual progress, was the revival of literature, which took the name of Humanism. The studies were purely human and literary, as distinguished from the theological themes which had long held sway in all the universities and learned circles of Europe. Great attention was given the Greek and Latin classical writers. Even down to our time, in some places, the literature and languages of Greece and Rome are denominated The Humanities. This is especially the case in the Scotch and English universities. In the Italian renaissance of learning, however, Hebrew also came in for its share of attention. Political events had large share in producing this new turn in the world's thought. The great Italian poets of the 14th century had written on topics suggested by classical writers. Boccaccio depended on Greece for his material, while Dante and Petrarch drew their inspiration from Roman sources. As notable public teachers in Italy, who contributed largely to the development of Humanism, not only in that land but in the countries north of the Alps, Chrysoloras taught Greek literature in Pavia and Florence, and John of Ravenna instructed in Latin literature in

Padua and Florence. A further impulse was given to Greek studies by the fruitless attempt made at the Council of Florence to secure a formal union of the Greek and Roman Catholic churches, when the Byzantine emperor, John VII., Palæologus, was present in person, and Bessarion, Archbishop of Nicæa, brought his plan for the union of the long-separated churches. The points at issue were of too serious a character for any return to a common communion. The most serious one was the papal primacy, which the Roman Catholics insisted upon, and which the Greek Church would not accept. But these negotiations, however vain so far as union was concerned, were exceedingly fruitful in sowing in Italy, and especially in the Roman fold, an ardent love for Greek letters—not only for the Greek of the Church writers, but also for the productions of the purest Attic authors. Greece became, even to ecclesiastical scholars and students, an enchanted land, whose treasures were suddenly thrown open for the enjoyment of the whole learned world.

2. The Capture of Constantinople by the Turks, in 1453, was the culmination of the great movements which brought about a love for the classic studies in Italy. It was, in fact, of more weight than all other agencies combined. The flight of Greek Christians westward amounted almost to a national migration. Large numbers fled to Italy, settled along the Adriatic coast, swarmed into all the interior cities, and soon began to be felt as a political and spiritual force throughout the peninsula. Rome, Florence, Siena, and all of the larger cities became the home of learned Greeks, who brought with them the classic treasures of their former country, and cultivated them in their new home with such zeal that the Greek writers, who had

been in obscurity for a thousand years, were soon familiarly known to the Italians. Even before the capture of Constantinople, Greek scholars from the Eastern Empire had entered Italy. Between 1420 and 1430 George of Trapezium, Theodore Gaza, and John Argyropylus had taken up their residence in Italy; and, after the capture, there came a multitude, represented by such men as Constantine Lascaris, Demetrius Chalkondylas, and Emanuel Moschopylus. No branch of Greek letters was overlooked. Poetry, eloquence, art, and philosophy came in for full recognition. Each department had its enthusiastic representatives. What Bessarion and Gemistius Pletho accomplished, in infatuating large numbers of Italians with the new mania for the Platonic philosophy, was achieved by others in every sphere of Greek culture.

3. The Revival of the Latin Classics came in as a competing factor with the Greek. The Italians were too jealous of the triumphs of their own immortal ancestors to permit the Greeks to monopolize attention. Hence we find a great school of learned Italians laboring earnestly for the re-enthronement of their writers of the Augustan age. Gasperinus, John Aurispa, Guarinus, Poggius, Laurentius Valla, Nicholas Perothes, Christopher Laudinus, and Angelo Politianus were representatives of this class. The Italian princes favored the revival of both Greek and Latin letters. The Medici of Florence, from 1429 to 1492, gathered about them the most learned men of Italy, and patronized every department of classic science and art. Their court was the most splendid literary centre of modern times. In their gardens the princes of thought convened, and held communion on all the great themes of science, literature, and art which were then agitating Europe.

From the Medicean gatherings many young minds, like Raphael, derived an inspiration for great work, which afterwards took form in art and poetry and philology. They constituted the literary exchange of the century.

4. The Religious Tendency of Humanism in Italy was purely negative. The general spirit was not alone indifferent to Christianity, but positively hostile to it. The influence of the Medicean court, and even of the papacy, was exerted simply to revive the classics, and so put an end to the theological discussions which had absorbed attention. There was no disposition to resort to the Bible, but, rather, to make the famous writers of the pagan times a substitute for the inspired authors of the Scriptures. Scepticism was the craze of the hour. Even learned hierarchs considered it well enough at once to hold office in the Church and observe a suspicious silence on the divine origin of Christianity. The expression is ascribed to Leo X.: "What little use the fable of Christ is to us and our people has been known to all centuries." Whether the charge be true or not, it is a fact that it expresses the theology both of Italian Humanism and the papal court of the 15th century. Erasmus, who resided a time in Rome, wrote in lamentation over the blasphemous expressions which he constantly heard from prominent ecclesiastics.

5. Humanism elsewhere in Europe was very different from that of Italy, so far as sympathy with evangelical religion was concerned. North of the Alps the taste for the classic languages and masterpieces spread with great rapidity, but it was turned into a theological and religious channel, and served to hasten the Reformation. The Scriptures were studied with all that new interest which came from the revival of phil-

ological learning. Panzer relates that one hundred editions of the Latin (Vulgate) Bible were printed between the years 1462 and 1500. The first edition of the Greek Testament, however, which was printed, was not edited by a sceptical Humanist, but by Erasmus, and appeared in 1516. Hebrew received profound attention, and hence the Old Testament became a book of minute and laborious study. This new attention to the Bible led immediately to a comparison of its high standard of morals and doctrine with the present fallen state of the Church in both these fundamental departments. The invention of the art of printing was highly favorable to the new intellectual departure, and Humanist works soon spread throughout Western Europe. Heidelberg and Erfurt became centres of German Humanism. Maternus Pistorius of Erfurt stood at the head of the German poetic group. Konrad Muth of Gotha led in the same direction, and assailed the prevailing scholasticism with irresistible satire. Rudolf Agricola of Heidelberg was a profound scholar, and turned his attention chiefly to the promotion of Greek criticism. He was a versatile character, and was well worthy of Guizot's eulogy: "A good painter, a good writer, a good poet, and a learned philologist." He died in 1485.

6. John Reuchlin of Germany, Erasmus of Rotterdam, and Thomas More of England were champions of the new Humanism. Reuchlin's service lay in the department of Hebrew studies. He issued a strong protest against the prevailing neglect of the study of the Old Testament in the original Hebrew. His Hebrew Grammar was a masterpiece of learning, and long remained the favorite text-book in that field throughout Europe. Erasmus confined his philological labors

chiefly to the Greek, and was the principal promoter of New Testament studies for the first generation of Protestants in every land. He turned the New Testament, as one would a powerful piece of artillery, against the whole fabric of the ignorance, superstition, and immorality of his times. His Greek edition of the New Testament, enriched with notes and paraphrases, constituted a scriptural arsenal for fighting the battle of the Reformation. Thomas More was the friend of Erasmus, and became, late in life, an earnest literary worker for the cause of reform. The chapter in his "Utopia" which is entitled "The Religion of the Utopians" is a shrewd and correct picture of the corruption of his times, and of the demand for a new order of morals and learning.

Chapter III.

THE REFORMATORY COUNCILS.

1. The Councils of Pisa, Kostnitz, and Basel were formal acknowledgments, on the part of the Roman Catholic Church, of the evils within its pale, and the necessity of relief from them. The 14th century opened with a bitter controversy between the Church and the leading civil rulers. It was the old question of authority—whether pope or king was the supreme head. The struggle centred in Pope Boniface VIII. and Philip the Fair of France. In a bull issued in 1302, Boniface condemned Philip's declaration that the civil ruler is independent of papal authority. Thereupon Philip caused the arrest of the pope, on the ground of his shameless life. The pope was rescued, however, by his Italian supporters, and died shortly afterwards. His successor lived but a short time, and, in 1305, the French Archbishop of Bordeaux was chosen pope, and bore the name of Clement V. He was thoroughly identified with the French policy, and, in 1309, removed the papal see from Rome to Avignon, in France. This was the beginning of the Avignon papacy, popularly called, by the Romanists, "The Babylonian Captivity," from the light in which it was held, as an ecclesiastical calamity, and from its continuance of nearly seventy years (1309 to 1377). The whole period was one of great spiritual decline. At no time have the morals of the papacy been at a lower ebb. Meanwhile

the German rulers came into angry collision with the popes.

2. Ludwig, of Bavaria, was a bitter opponent of the claims of the papacy. In Rome, and even throughout Italy, the divisions were very violent, and the whole papal structure was threatened with destruction. Gregory XI. put an end to the Avignon papacy in 1377. Immediately after his death the Romans elected an Italian pope, but the French elected a pope of their own, who resided in Avignon. There were, therefore, two popes, one in Rome and another in France, each claiming the supreme authority, and each surrounded with his court and a college of cardinals. This papal schism lasted thirty years. Its effects were widespread, the entire Roman Catholic world being drawn into the strife. The only possible relief seemed to lie in a general council. The Paris theologians, with Gerson in the lead, were the principal agents in securing it. This council convened in Pisa, in the year 1409. The rival popes were summoned to attend it, in order to have their competing claims adjusted. Each feared for his position, and both refused to attend. Another pope was accordingly chosen, Alexander V. There were, therefore, at this time, three rival popes, all regularly elected, all claiming infallibility as the Lord's anointed vicegerents, and each fulminating maledictions upon his rivals and their supporters. The Council of Pisa failed of its end, for it was wrested from its original intent—that of reforming the Church and healing its dissensions—into a contest of parties.

3. The Council of Kostnitz, 1414, was brought about by a second effort of the persistent and well-meaning Paris theologians. The papal incumbent, John XXIII., who had been a Mediterranean corsair, was charged

with murder, licentiousness, and simony. He saw no hope of support in the council, and fled from it. The council removed him by vote, and elected Martin V., who disappointed the hopes of his friends, and, by cunning, prorogued the council at its forty-fifth session, promising to convene it again. The promise was never even meant to be kept.

4. The Council of Basel, 1431–1443, was convened by Martin's successor, Eugene VI. It took the Kostnitz programme of reform as its basis of operations, and aimed at a thorough regeneration of the Church, from its papal head to the secular clergy. The pope was alarmed at the persistency and depth of the reformatory spirit, and declared the council removed, first to Ferrara and then to Florence. But the Basel Council would not break up, even with the disadvantage of a rival council and the absent pope. The pope therefore issued his ban against the Council, whereupon the latter removed the pope, and elected a new one, Felix V., in his stead. But the disadvantages were too great for the Basel delegates to resist. They lacked cohesion, and too many of them were open to overtures from Rome. One by one its members slipped off, and in time it was compelled to cease for lack of numbers. It performed, however, an immense service. Its place of session, just across the Rhine from Germany, made it an object of profound attention throughout the freer Europe north of the Alps, while the evils which the Council labored in vain to remove became more than ever a source of sorrow and of heroism, in dealing with the universal spiritual declension. All these three councils failed of their prime object, but they revealed to the world the fact that no prospect for reform could exist in any new council. The only way open for

improvement was now clear—the independence of the individual reformer. The personal conscience was compelled to fight, with single lance, for the revival of truth and virtue. It was the hour when the fate of modern times depended on the one man.

Chapter IV.

THE GERMAN REFORMATION: MARTIN LUTHER, FROM HIS BIRTH TO THE RETIREMENT IN THE WARTBURG CASTLE.—1483–1520.

1. Martin Luther, the Leader of the Reform.—All the Teutonic countries had been getting ripe for the great ecclesiastical revolt, and central Germany now became the theatre for the Reformation. The popular mind was so fully ready that the only great need now was a man of sufficient courage, ability, and singleness of purpose to become the representative of his generation. Martin Luther responded to the universal aspiration for a leader, to guide into new and safe paths.

2. Early Life of Luther.—Luther was born in Eisleben, Saxony, November 11, 1483, and died in the same place, February 18, 1546. His father—first a slate-cutter in Möhra, and then a miner in Eisleben—was a man of humble tastes and scanty means. He belonged to the peasant class. The boy Martin, in later life, recalled the fact that his mother used to carry on her back the wood necessary for the comfort of the humble home. In this son were combined the characteristics of both the northern and southern German. There were the calm judgment, the solid sense, and the sturdy valor of the colder blood of the north. But with these he possessed a gentle, cheerful, and tuneful nature, a sympathetic and social feeling, which stood him in good stead in his later struggles. As a boy, he was fond of the village sports, had an ardent

love for his friends, and as keen an antipathy towards his foes, possessed a quaint and grotesque humor and innocent wit, and to the day of his death took pride in his lowly ancestry and modest home. His nature seemed to derive its very grandeur and ruggedness from the neighboring Harz Mountains, and its depth from the mines beneath his father's thatched cottage. When the burden of his great mission was upon him, and he was the trusted friend of princes and the learned, he was accustomed to say: "I am a peasant's son; my father, grandfather, and remote ancestors were nothing but veritable peasants."

3. The Home and the School.—But little liberty was granted to the boy of genius and destiny. His parents made free use of the rod, and thereby nearly spoiled their child. The least indiscretion brought severe castigation. His mother once punished him, because of some trouble about a nut, until the blood flowed. In the years of his strong manhood, when looking back upon this harshness, he saw the mistake of his parents, and said: "My parents' severity made me timid; their sternness and the strict life they led me made me afterwards go into a monastery and become a monk. They heartily meant it well, but they did not understand the art of adjusting their punishments." But, with all the severity of the home, these parents seemed to recognize the genius of their son. They determined that he should have an education, and designed him for the law. In 1497 he was sent to Magdeburg, in order that he might prepare for the university. But the expense was too great for the means of his parents, and he was removed to Eisenach, where he could live with relatives, and attend school at less expense. It was then the custom of the poorer

scholars in Thuringia to go about the streets, and sing at the doors of the people, for alms. Young Martin needed such help, and a wealthy lady, Ursula Cotta, was so charmed by his singing that she took him to her own home, where he had the advantages of an excellent teacher.

4. At the University.—In 1501 he went to the University of Erfurt, one of the centres of Humanistic learning in northern Europe. He here came in contact with the advancing learning of the times, and was captivated by it. Neither mind nor heart had rest. With great nervous power, he went from one science to another, and mastered each with a thoroughness and despatch which amazed the professors. The department which he made his specialty was philosophy. On finishing his course, and taking his degree as master of arts, he bade the world farewell, and in 1505 entered the Augustinian cloister as a monk. The resolution seemed to be instantaneous, but his later confessions reveal the fact that he had been led gradually, by certain providential experiences, such as the death of a friend at his side by lightning, to take this step. He now subjected himself to severe discipline, denied himself all comforts, tortured his body, and fasted and prayed to a degree that almost proved fatal to his life. But he kept at his studies, in this respect differing from his brethren, who said: "If this brother studies, he will rule us." The words were a prophecy which was literally fulfilled.

5. Luther in Wittenberg.—In 1508 Luther was called to Wittenberg as professor. While in Erfurt he had come to a knowledge of the Bible, and had seen the difference between the simple Gospel and the life and practice of the Church of his times. His mind was in

doubt. He continued his ascetic life, and waited for the light. The University of Wittenberg had been founded by Frederic the Wise in 1502, and, like Erfurt, was now alive with the new learning of the age. Here Luther had a field, the first in his life, for his remarkable powers. He carried with him the timidity of the monk, but the fire and magnetism of the master mind. He was so diffident that only the greatest persuasion could induce him to preach. "You will kill me," he said to Staupitz, who had been the cause of his call to Wittenberg; "I shall not go on with it for a quarter of a year."

Luther had been in Wittenberg two years when he started on a journey to Rome. To one of his thirsting mind and religious fervor such an opportunity was hailed with inexpressible delight. He had been doubting the practices of the Church, but no thought of keen criticism had arisen in his mind. He was still the devoted servant of his order, the Augustines, and a firm and full believer in the one Roman Catholic Church. When he caught his first view of the Eternal City he fell upon the earth, and, with uplifted hands, cried out: "I greet thee, Holy Rome, thrice holy, from the blood of the martyrs which has been shed in thee!" The scenes which now passed before his eyes had but little influence in strengthening his love for the Church. He saw too much ostentation and pride to satisfy his self-denying nature. While ascending the Scala Santa, or Pilate's Staircase, as a reverent and penitential pilgrim, the words came to him: "The just shall live by faith." He descended the steps, left Rome, and took with him an abhorrence of the superstition and immorality of the Church at its fountain-head which never left him.

6. The Ninety-five Theses.—Luther was still a devoted monk, but had felt the power of a new life. He did not dream of separation from the Church. He continued his lectures on the Biblical books, and fascinated his hearers by the boldness and novelty of his views. His life now moved on without excitement or serious change for seven years. All the while he was growing in the confidence of the students and in fame abroad. His lectures were attractive beyond those of any one else, while his sermons, differing, by their plain speech and direct presentation of the truth, from the current preaching, were heard with an intensity of interest new in Wittenberg, or any other part of Germany, since the Mystics. During this quiet interval a new indulgence was published in Germany, and the tickets of pardon were sold in the public places of the land. Between 1500 and 1517 no less than five indulgences extraordinary had been published, and put up for sale to any buyer. They were wonderfully successful. The money flowed in from every quarter. The cause of the indulgences was alleged to be for defence against the Turks, but it was a singular fact that it had to go by the very circuitous way of Rome and the papal treasure-box. The bishops cried out, half in joy and half in complaint, against the weight of the silver: "Hundredweights of German coin fly light as feathers over the Alps, and no bearer of the heaviest burdens, not even Atlas himself, can drag such heaps of money."

The sale of the indulgences aroused Luther's nature to a high pitch of excitement. He was now ready for his mission. He went over the whole case against Rome, as he saw it, and arraigned the Church in a bill of charges which he called his Ninety-five Theses.

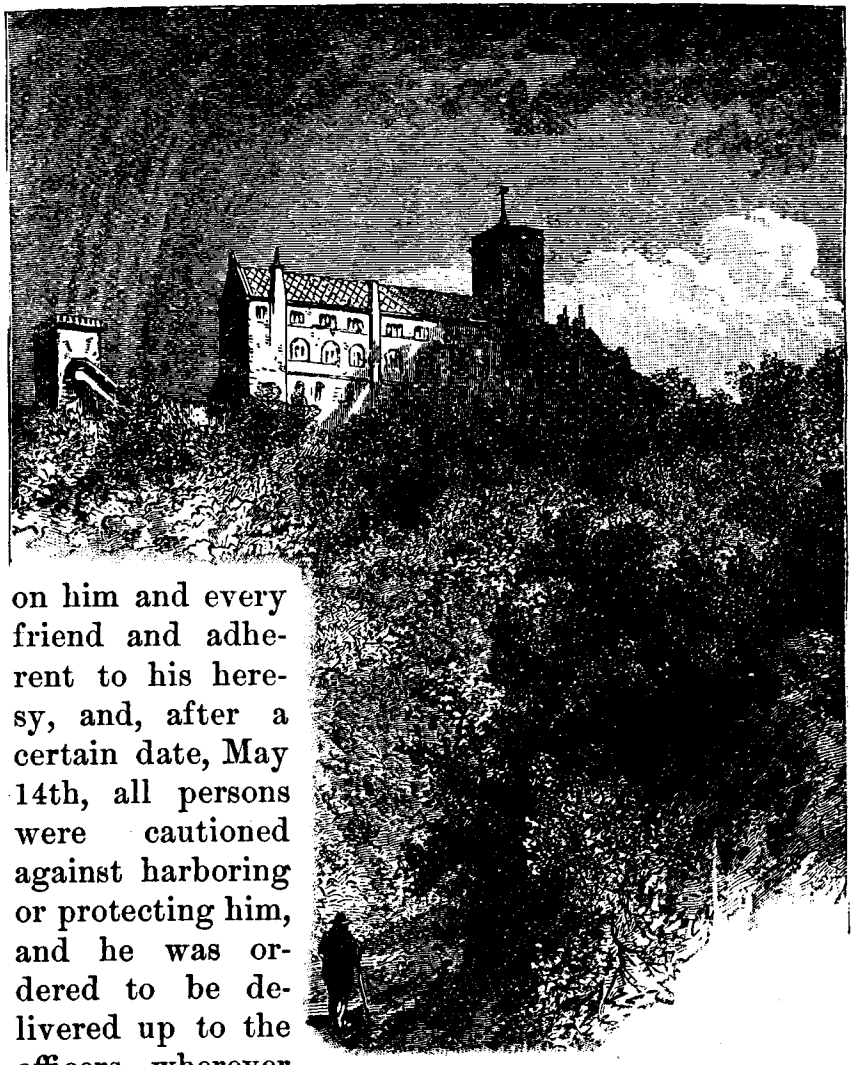
They were directed principally against the sale of indulgences, but they included the whole burden of Luther's soul. He insisted that the Church taught the truth, but that there were excrescences which must be removed. On October 31, 1517, he nailed his Theses to the door of the Schlosskirche of Wittenberg. Now began the storm which lasted until the day of his death. The Theses were soon heard from in Rome, where the pope wrote of him to the Elector of Saxony as that notorious "son of wickedness." He was ordered to recant, but replied, "I cannot recall." He was ordered to Rome, but only wrote a respectful letter in reply to the command. He was summoned to a disputation in Leipzig, in 1519, with Eck, where he attacked the doctrines of the primacy of the pope, indulgences, and purgatory. The Humanist Moscellanus thus described the young monk on this first great appearance before the world: "He was of medium height. His face and whole body were as thin as a skeleton, caused by long study and much care. His voice was clear. His address bore every mark of great learning and acquaintance with the Bible. His bearing was friendly and attractive. He was full of vitality, and calm and joyous amid the threats of his enemies, as one would be who undertakes great things with God's help. In controversy he was defiant and incisive, as a theologian ought to be."

7. The Diet at Worms. Luther left Leipzig with a deeper determination than ever to continue his work. He still had no thought of leaving the Church. He would be an obedient son and servant, and thought only of ever remaining in fellowship with the received faith. But he was carried on by the force of his convictions, and by some providential occurrences, in

which, indeed, he seemed to have little part. He now struck the most vital blow of all. He attacked Rome in a new department. He wrote an "Address to the Nobles of the German People," in which he declared that the time had come when Germany ought to cast off allegiance to Rome, to start out on an independent religious and national life, and take care of its own interests. This was rebellion, and shortly afterwards brought its natural punishment from Rome—excommunication. Luther said: "I would regard the pope as pope, but they want me to regard him as God." He posted a notice on the church door, inviting the people to go out with him, in solemn procession, through the Elster gate, and, in presence of the citizens, professors, and students, publicly burn the papal bull. This notice was observed, and, in presence of the multitude, Luther burned the bull on December 10, 1520. But Rome was even worse off without him than with him.

8. Charles V. had been elected Emperor of Germany on June 28, 1519, and it was now a serious question what position he would take as to the Reform. He was a Hapsburg, and therefore a rigid Roman Catholic, but he was also diplomatic, and was determined to do nothing that would endanger his political strength. He turned the matter over carefully in his mind, and, as at the Diet at Worms, his election contract was to be signed, and such additional business transacted as related to the affairs of the Church, he resolved, before the Council met, that he would give Luther a hearing, and condemn his doctrines. Luther was summoned to Worms, and promised a safe conduct. Before starting he wrote to Spalatin: "If his majesty calls me to account, so that I am ruined, and am

looked upon, on account of my answer, as an enemy to the empire, still I am ready to come. For I have no intention of fleeing, nor of leaving the Word in danger, but I mean to confess it unto death, so far as Christ's grace sustains me. But I am certain that the bloodhounds will not rest until they have put me to death." His friends reminded him of Huss's death at the Council of Constance, but their remonstrance had no influence. He would go to Worms though "the devils were as many as tiles on the house-tops." Every argument was used; threats were multiplied; but all to no avail. When he had finished his defence, he said: "Here I stand; I cannot do otherwise. God help me! Amen." Carlyle describes the historical significance of this occasion, and the importance of Luther's firm attitude, in the following words: "It was the greatest moment in the modern history of men. English Puritanism, England and its parliaments, Americas and vast work these two centuries; French Revolution, Europe and its work everywhere at present: the germ of it all lay there; had Luther in that moment done otherwise, it had all *been* otherwise!" The decree of the Diet at Worms against Luther was as follows: "Thus this individual, not a man, but one like the devil in human form, under a monk's cowl, has gathered into one noxious mass a number of heretics who have been long concealed, and hold most damnable heresies; and he has even devised some fresh ones, under pretence of preaching faith, which he has industriously made every one believe, in order that he may destroy the true faith, and, under the name and guise of evangelical doctrine, put an end to all evangelical peace, and love, and all good order." The sentence of ban and double ban was pronounced on him and every friend and adherent to his heresy, and, after a certain date, May 14th, all persons were cautioned against harboring or protecting him, and he was ordered to be delivered up to the officers, wherever found.



WARTBURG CASTLE.

9. In the Wartburg. When Luther was returning from Worms, and before the publication of the ban against him, some knights, at the instance of Frederic the Wise, took him to the Wartburg Castle, on the heights above Eisenach, lest he might be captured

by his enemies, and possibly suffer death. He here lived as "Junker Georg" (Squire George), a sobriquet given him by the jovial knights. He used his pen vigorously during his eight months "in Patmos," as he called his sojourn. No day was without its line. While here he translated the New Testament entire, and parts of the Old.

Chapter V.

LUTHER: FURTHER LABORS AND PERSONAL CHARACTER. —1520–1546.

1. The Reformation in Danger from its Friends. Luther was now compelled to pay the penalty of every great reformer. He had to shield his work from the errors of his friends. Carlstadt, a firm adherent of the Protestant cause, began to think that Luther did not go far enough. He declared that Romanism still belonged to the Reformation, and, at the head of a fanatical band, the Zwickau Prophets, he made a fierce fight against Luther. He wrote to them from his "Patmos," in December, 1521, as follows: "This business has been undertaken in a harum-scarum fashion, with great rashness and violence. I do not like it at all; and, that you may know it, when it comes to the point, I will not stand by you in this business. You have set about it without me, and so you may see how you can get out of it without me. Believe me, I know the devil well enough. It is he alone who has set out to bring disgrace on the Word." The fanatics would tear down every reminder of Romanism—the ornamentation, pictures, and everything else but the bare walls of the churches. They would make such a thorough work with Rome that not a trace would be left of the old order. They would destroy every work of Christian art, in sculpture or on canvas, wherever found. They turned prophets, and saw visions. Luther, from his watch-tower, saw the

danger that threatened the whole Protestant cause, and was ill at ease. He could stay no longer in the Wartburg. Duke George was ready to arrest him, wherever he could be found at large, but Luther was willing to take the risk. His true friend, the Elector, cautioned him of his danger from Duke George, but the Reformer wrote back: "One thing I can say for myself, if things were at Leipzig as they are at Wittenberg I would still go there, even if it rained Duke Georges for nine days, and every one of them were nine times as fierce as he." He plainly told the anxious Elector that he did not want his protection, that there was no real protection in a ruler of such faith, and that he would go under God's protection to Wittenberg. He kept his promise.

On March 3, 1522, he left the Wartburg, and, proceeding without a guard, reached Wittenberg in safety. The condition of things was alarming. The Zwickau Prophets had frightened the Reformers. Melanchthon was too weak in nerve to withstand their boldness. He could not resist them, and trembled for the whole Protestant fabric. The Prophets declared that they had received special revelations from God to go even further than religious reform, to resist all civil authority, and set up a temporal kingdom. When Luther appeared in Wittenberg it brought confidence to his friends, and to Protestants. He was wise in every movement, and did not even mention the names of the fanatics. For a week he publicly preached against them, but with consummate tact, and, as a result, they left the city a disorganized mass.

2. The Peasants' War. The German peasantry had long been oppressed by the princes, and had several times risen in revolt. In the years 1476, 1491, 1498,

and 1503 they had rebelled against their rulers, but were overcome, and yet were kept down only by violent means. The peasantry saw, in the present religious convulsion, another opportunity for revolt. A league was formed in 1514; by 1524 the insurrection broke out publicly; and by the spring of 1525 it was general. The peasants were largely in the Protestant interest. They pleaded the Bible as their justification in demanding liberty of conscience and freedom from civil oppression. Luther was now put upon trial in a new direction. He studied the matter closely, and then took the side of law and order, but, in an address to the princes, told them of the wrong of oppression, and cautioned moderation in dealing with the fanatics. The peasants were fully conquered, and their leader, Münzer, was beheaded.

3. Luther's Literary Labors. Luther now addressed himself more than ever to severe literary labors. He saw that his work needed consolidation. He must instruct the people, who were looking to him for spiritual guidance. The Münster fanaticism was proof of the great need of Protestantism for the most judicious and safe instruction. So, by pen and speech, he wrought with prodigious vigor. Through the kindness of friends, his sermons and lectures were published immediately after delivery. They were robust in style, and consisted of strong and often homely speech. The people read each word with the gladness that came from an immediate understanding. His translation of the Bible, the strongest and most nervous and comprehensible ever executed, went all over the land. His principle in translation was contained in his own words: "For translating the Bible, we must have a pious, true, industrious, reverent Christian,

learned, experienced, and disciplined heart. We must ask the mother in the house, the children in the alley, the common man in the market-place, how to speak German, and put the language they speak in his own jaws."

As a specimen of Luther's care that he might translate the Bible into a language which the people might understand, he had a butcher "kill some sheep for him," and tell him the names of every part, in order that he might translate accurately those parts of Leviticus relating to the Jewish sacrifices. He wrote his friend Spalatin a request to give him the names and minute descriptions of all the precious stones mentioned in Revelations xxi., as constituting the walls of the celestial city.

4. Hymns and Other Works. Luther's works multiplied rapidly. About one hundred and twenty separate writings appeared from his pen. His Smaller and Larger Catechisms became a household possession throughout German Protestantism. His thirty hymns were sung in palace and hut with equal joy. The favorites were, his martial hymn,

"A mighty fortress is our God,
A bulwark never failing;"

his Christmas Hymn,

"From heaven above to earth I come,
To bear good news to every home;"

his Children's Hymn,

"Sleep well, my dear;"

and the Hymn of Providence,

"Flung to the heedless winds,
Or on the waters cast."

Luther's writings were born of the occasion. He saw deeply, and felt intensely. He held himself ready to sing, or speak, or write, as he perceived a need and felt an inspiration. He thought in images, and all his works abound in striking pictures. To him the devil was no myth, but a visible creature, whom his own eyes had seen all too frequently. Hence he frequently addressed him as Mr., or Madam, Devil. Luther's commentaries were practical expositions, little space being given to philological discussions. It was his habit to present the argument of a book in a full introduction, and in language that the uneducated could understand. His interpretations were crisp and strong declarations of the author's meaning. He gave conclusions, and but little of the process by which he reached them.

5. Luther's Personal Characteristics were of a very striking character. He was of ardent and impulsive nature, and called things by the first name that came to him. He was born for war, and yet was always sighing for peace. His element was the smoke and flame and violence of the hot battle-field. Yet, strangely enough, he thought himself very mild in language. When a friend once expostulated with him on the harshness of his language against the papacy, he replied, in all seriousness, "On the contrary, I complain that, alas, I am too mild. I wish that I could breathe out lightning, and that every word were a thunderbolt!" A hair-splitting theologian once quoted to him St. Augustine's reply to the question, "Where God was before heaven was created?" that he was in himself; and then asked the Reformer what his answer would be. Luther replied, "He was building hell for such idle, presumptuous, frivolous, and inquisitive spirits as you!" His opinions were very decided concerning

some physicians: "Alack for him that depends on physic! When I was sick at Smalcald, the doctors made me take as much medicine as though I had been a great bull. 'Tis these wretches that people the graveyards; though able, cautious, and experienced physicians are the gift of God, those without fear of God are mere homicides. I consider that exercise and change of air do more good than all their purgings and bleedings. When I feel indisposed, I generally manage to get around by a strict diet, going to bed early, and keeping my mind at rest."

6. Luther's Faith. In faith, Martin Luther was as fervent as any crusader in the heat of conflict. The time of prayer was his supreme hour. Every prayer was an importunity. He would not think of silence, much less refusal. He argued with God, and showed him how unlike himself it would be not to grant his petitions. He caught hold of the very robe of the Master, and would not let it go. Or, rather, he violently grasped the divine arm with both hands, and held it until his prayer was answered. He had the habit of recording his wants in the form of a catalogue, and taking them to God in order, as petitions which God could hardly be true to his own honor if he failed to answer. He was overheard to offer the following prayer just before his appearance in the presence of the Council at Worms: "Almighty, Everlasting God, how terrible this world is! How it would open its jaws to devour me. And how weak is my trust in thee! O thou my God, help me against all the wisdom of this world. Do thou the work; it is thine, not mine. I have nothing to bring me here. I have no controversy to maintain—not I—with the great ones of the earth. I, too, would fain that my days should

glide along, happy and calm. But the cause is thine. It is righteous; it is eternal. O Lord, help me! Thou that art faithful, thou that art unchangeable! It is not in any man I trust. O God, my God, dost thou not hear me? Art thou dead? No, thou art hiding thyself. O Lord my God, where art thou? Come, come! Thou hast chosen me for this work. I know it. O, then, arise and work! Be thou on my side, for the sake of thy beloved Son, Jesus Christ, who is my defence, my shield, and my fortress. I am ready—ready to forsake life for thy truth—patient as a lamb. Though the world should be full of demons; though my body should be stretched on the rack, cut into pieces, consumed to ashes, the soul is thine. For this I have the assurance of thy Word. Amen. O God, help thou me. Amen. . . . (and then, as if in soliloquy) Amen, Amen—that means, Yes, Yes, this shall be done!"

7. Organization of the Protestant Church in Germany. When Luther saw the great need of sustaining and building up of the people who were following his leadership, he devised wise plans for ecclesiastical organization. In 1527 he and Melanchthon, at the instance of the Elector John, drew up a plan of general visitation. An order of doctrine and service was established. Parochial schools were instituted, catechetical service was enjoined, and full arrangements made for a complete ecclesiastical life. At the Diet of Augsburg (1530) the Augsburg Confession, drawn up by Melanchthon, was adopted for the Protestants of Germany. In the Convention at Smalcald the Protestants formed a compact, which was the basis of their subsequent civil and ecclesiastical unity. The theological standard of the Protestants was the "Loci Theologici" of Melanchthon. Luther never undertook a systematic treatment

of doctrine, but committed this work to his nearest friend, Melanchthon, who was a complement to him in many other respects.

8. Luther's Private Life was of a piece with his public career. His labors before the world drew all their inspiration from his pure and simple home-life. In 1525 he married Catharine von Bora, a nun of the cloister of Nimptchen, and henceforth his home became the centre of his labors and the rallying-place of friends. His children were his loving companions. In the intervals of his engrossing labors he would sing, and, getting new inspiration, would again take up his pen. Walther, the electoral chapel-master, who was deputed to assist Luther in the arrangement of music for public worship, thus wrote of him: "Many a precious hour did he sing. I have often seen him, the dear man, become so happy and transported in spirit that he could not get enough of it. He knew how to say wondrous things of music." Luther was especially fond of having the students visit him, and sit at his table. He was always thinking of others, and how he might instruct and comfort. His engrossing labors wore heavily upon him. His early ascetic life left an impaired constitution, which he was never able fully to restore. He went on a journey to assist in reconciling a difficulty between the Mansfeld counts, and died from home, but in the place where he was born. He breathed his last, after thanking God for the revelation of his Son, and for having given him the privilege of testifying for him before the world and the pope.

Chapter VI.

MELANCHTHON AND OTHER GERMAN REFORMERS.

1. Philip Melanchthon.—The friends and helpers of Luther came from every class. Of all these, Melanchthon was destined to be of most service, not only as an immediate co-laborer with Luther, but as a promoter of the general cause of Protestantism. He was born in Bretten, South Germany, in 1498, and was educated at Pforzheim, Heidelberg, and Tübingen. When only seventeen years of age he became a professor in the Tübingen University, and began to attract attention by his remarkable knowledge of the classic writers. He edited Terence and other authors, and threw a new light upon both Greek and Roman writers. His fame spread abroad into other countries. Erasmus wrote of him the following: "What hopes may we not conceive of Philip Melanchthon, though as yet very young, almost a boy [he was only eighteen], but equally to be admired for his proficiency in both languages! What quickness of invention! What purity of diction! What vastness of memory! What variety of reading! What modesty and gracefulness of behavior! And what a princely mind!" To Œcolampadius the same man, Erasmus, wrote: "Of Melanchthon I have already the highest opinion, and cherish the most magnificent hopes; so much so that I am persuaded Christ designs this youth to excel us all. He will totally eclipse *Erasmus*." He was called to Wittenberg as professor

in 1518, and the same week began to lecture. He produced a profound impression immediately. Luther heard him, and was charmed by him. A friendship immediately sprang up between them, which was never broken until death terminated the union of twenty-eight years. The annals of literature and theology do not furnish a more beautiful illustration of the manner in which a great work can be performed by the combined action of two men than we find in the case of Luther and Melanchthon. There was no resemblance between them in quality of mind or temperament. The one thing which they had in common was the great cause of reform, and to that all other interests and gifts were made subordinate.

2. The Labors of Melanchthon were directed at once to the improvement of the methods of study in the university. His students increased rapidly, and soon rose to about twenty-five hundred. He insisted that the old scholastic philosophy was ridiculous, and consisted of terms, rather than ideas. He urged the students to the fountain-heads of truth, and placed before them the Bible as the only source of real knowledge. He then entered into the strife concerning indulgences, Luther going before him, and Melanchthon following closely with his philological lore, his fine logic, and his marvellous unfoldings of scriptural truth. The life of Melanchthon was now so thoroughly identified with that of Luther that it is difficult to separate the two. They lived in the same town, Wittenberg. They were in constant consultation, each doing what he was most able to do, and both working with unwearied zeal for the triumph of the cause to which they gave their life. During Luther's stay in the Wartburg, Melanchthon was sorely grieved. He needed Luther's martial spirit,

his strong will, his quick intuitions, as to the best measures to win new victories. Hence he wrote such words as these: "I feel the need I have of good advice. Our Elijah is confined at a distance from us, though we are expecting and anticipating his return. What shall I say more? His absence absolutely torments me." On the other hand, Luther felt the need of Melanchthon's calm spirit, and, among many other words of the same character, he wrote him from the Wartburg: "For the glory of the Word of God and the mutual consolation of myself and others, I would rather be consumed in a blazing fire than remain here half alive and utterly useless. If I perish, the prophet of Christ will not perish, and you, I hope, like another Elisha, will succeed Elijah." Luther, however, was sometimes out of patience with Melanchthon's great infirmity, despondency, and wrote him the following, in reply to Melanchthon's gloomy picture of the Protestant outlook: "Let those who please talk against us. But why are we to be always looking on the dark side of things? Why not indulge hopes of better times?" He compared Paul's appearance with Melanchthon's in the following words: "Paul must have been an insignificant-looking person, with no presence; a poor, dry, little man, like Master Philip." While Luther was still in the Wartburg he, nevertheless, longed for the society of his "poor, dry, little man," more than for all the robust men of the Fatherland. So, when he returned to Wittenberg, and put the fanatics to shame and flight, he wrote with great joy to a relative: "I am in Amsdorff's house, with my beloved friend, Philip Melanchthon."

Melanchthon's regularity in work was a marvel. He was seldom known to miss a lecture from any cause.

On the day, in 1520, when he was married to Catharine Crappin, the burgomaster's daughter, he departed for once from his inflexible punctuality, and posted on the roster the following release of his students from hearing him on Paul's Epistle to the Romans:

"A studiis hodiè facit ocia grata Philippus
Nec nobis Pauli dogmata sacra leget."

"Rest from your studies, Philip says you may;
We'll read no lectures on St. Paul to-day."

Year after year passed by, and Melanchthon was always at his post, lecturing to the many students who had come from different countries to hear him. If, in the interests of the good cause of reform, he was absent for a day or two, he was always at his post with renewed vigor. His lecture-room was his throne. He was devoted to theological students, and made them his trusted friends. In his last illness he thought of them, and wished, when too weak, to be dressed, and deliver a lecture to them. He died in 1560. A short time before his death he wrote his reasons why it is better for the Christian to die than to live, the column on the right containing the blessings gained by dying, and those on the left the evils avoided:

Evils Removed.	*Advantages Gained.*
"You leave your sins.	"You come to the light.
You are delivered from controversy and the rage of theologians."	You will see God.
	You will contemplate the son of God.
	You will understand those wonderful mysteries which you cannot comprehend in this life: namely, why we are made as we are, and the union of the two natures in Christ."

No man appreciated Melanchthon's character and

work more highly than Luther. Of his "Theological Commonplaces" (*Loci Theologici*), Luther said: "For theological study it is the best book, next to the Bible. Melanchthon has no ground for fear." Of Melanchthon's books, as a whole, he said: "I love his books better than my own. He ploughs and plants and sows and waters with joy, while I am only a coarse forester, digging up the roots and tearing out the thorns."

3. Other Friends and Helpers of Reform.—The friendship between Luther and Melanchthon, as a powerful factor towards the success of the Reformation, was only an illustration of a general fact. There were other attachments not less charming. The whole period of the planting of Protestantism abounds in remarkable adjustments and surrenders of individual tastes and capacities for the achievement of a great end. Each man was as necessary to the rest as their joint work was necessary to the success of the whole movement. It was a harmony of opposites, and as complete a providential blending of diverse natures as the world had seen since the days of the apostles. All temperaments and all classes of society were drawn upon to make the one harmonious picture of a young and vigorous Protestantism. Some of Luther's first and strongest friends were of the princely and noble class. Of the rulers, we count no less than six who were devoted friends of the new movement for the liberation of the conscience, and followed the leadership of Luther: namely, George, Maurice, Frederick the Wise, John, and John Frederick, all princes of Saxony, and Philip of Hesse. While enjoying the full confidence of these men, Luther never faltered in the assertion of personal independence. He never com-

promised a principle. In fact, he gained the confidence of the princes not merely by his valiant defence of the truth, but by his candor towards them.

4. Ulrich von Hutten and Franz von Sikingen.—With the princes, we must not omit to join two fearless knights as friends of Protestantism—Ulrich von Hutten and Franz von Sikingen. These men offered Luther the use of their swords and a home in their castles, but he declined them both, saying that his was a spiritual conflict. In Luther's immediate circle, as coworkers with him, the scholars Justus Jonas, George Rörer, Cruciger, Förster, and Bugenhagen stand next to Melanchthon. These men were mostly won to the cause of reform by the reading of Luther's writings, or the hearing of his lectures, or by his hymns; and, having once come within the charm of his person, became his willing co-operators in the various departments for which each was fitted. Bugenhagen was elected pastor in Wittenberg through Luther's influence, and was a powerful organizer of the new Protestant Church in North Germany. Jonas was a professor in the university, and through his eloquence the city of Halle was led to adopt the Protestant cause. Lucas Cranach, the most celebrated German painter of his times, was an intimate friend of Luther, and through him we have accurate portraits of the parents, the entire family of Luther, and nearly all his friends and fellow-workers. Cranach had a keen sense of the grotesque and satirical, and it was his pleasure to furnish woodcuts, as adjuncts to Luther's stinging words against the abuses of the times.

Chapter VII.

THE REFORMATION IN GERMAN SWITZERLAND.

1. The Political Condition of Switzerland was highly favorable to the introduction of Protestant ideas. The country was divided into cantons, or districts, an arrangement that had existed from early times. Each canton was, in a measure, independent of the rest, and yet was connected in a federation with all the others. While the Roman Catholic Church held sway over all, the people of each canton claimed the right of deciding what their confession should be. The spirit pervading all the cantons was that of civil liberty; and so, when the Protestant doctrines descended from the north the Swiss saw in them a system of religion closely allied to their political traditions and preferences. Freedom in the State, as the Swiss mind saw it, was inseparable from freedom of conscience. In Zurich, the largest city in Eastern Switzerland, the doctrines of the German Reformers, and especially the works of Luther, took strong hold. The people, speaking the same language with the Germans, read the earliest Protestant writings with interest, while correspondence with the Reformers fanned the flame.

2. Ulric Zwingli was the leader of the new movement in Switzerland. He was born in Wildhaus, in 1484. In his ninth year he went to Wesen, where he enjoyed the instruction of his uncle, the dean of that place. He was designed by his parents for the priest-

hood, and no pains were spared to fit him for his calling. In 1494 he went to Basel, and for three years was a student in the St. Theodore School. He then went to Berne, where the celebrated Humanist, Heinrich Wölfin, introduced him to a profound knowledge of the classics. He then went to Venice, where, having Latinized his name, he appeared as the student Cogentius. In 1502 he returned to Basel, and, in addition to prosecuting further studies, taught in the Latin school of St.Martin. Wyttenbach came to Basel as professor, and he entered a bold protest against indulgences. Zwingli came under his influence, and, from that time onward, it is likely that the seeds of Protestantism lay in his mind. In 1506 he became priest in Glarus, and remained there ten years. All the while he was an ardent student. He was enraptured with the new Humanism, and yet he regarded it only as an aid to the study of the Bible. He wrote at this time: "Nothing but God shall prevent me from acquiring Greek; not for fame, but for the sake of the Holy Scriptures." In 1516 Zwingli went to the celebrated Abbey of Einsiedeln, which is situated on a lofty mountain on the north side of Lake Zurich, and is still visited annually by many thousands of pilgrims. Zwingli, seeing the blind idolatry of the worshippers of the miraculous image of the Virgin Mary in that abbey, began to preach against the superstition.

3. Zwingli's Open Rupture with Rome. Zwingli awakened violent opposition in Einsiedeln. He was branded as a heretic, and yet was made by Pucci, the pope's agent, the object of great attention and flattery. The hope was, to conquer him by dissimulation. But Zwingli saw through the deception, and kept steadily on in his course. He did not remain, however, any longer

in Einsiedeln, but removed to Zurich, where he was priest in the cathedral. Indulgences were just now sold in public in that city, and Zwingli proclaimed against them. Zurich was ready for the Reformation, and was only waiting for a leader. The Humanist circles were tired of the old darkness, and were eager for the light of the Gospel. The uneducated masses were overwhelmed with the oppression of the Hapsburgs and the priesthood. "I wish," said Zwingli, "that they had bored a hole through the pope's letter, and hung it to his messenger's back, that he might carry it home. If a wolf is seen in the country, you sound an alarm, that it may be caught, but you will not defend yourselves from the wolves that ruin the bodies and souls of men. How appropriate their red hats and cloaks! If you shake them, out fall ducats. If you wring them, out flows the blood of your sons, brothers, and friends."

Such language could not be tolerated. Maledictions were hurled against Zwingli. But he continued to preach, and the people thronged to hear him. He was fearless, scriptural, and discreet. He was now drawn within the circle of Reformers, and at once became their head among the Swiss. He preached strongly against indulgences, Mariolatry, clerical celibacy, and, indeed, the whole cluster of those perverted doctrines against which Luther was attacking in the north. Mass was abolished in Zurich, and, one by one, the institutions of Romanism fell to the ground. Zwingli's "Sixty-seven Articles" committed him so thoroughly to the Protestant cause that no retracing of his steps was supposable. He was very busy with his pen. His "Choosing and Freedom of Foods," his "Christian Introduction," and "True and False Religion" were masterpieces of polemical literature.

4. Variations from the German Reform. The simplicity of Zwingli's views of worship was a fundamental quality. His repugnance to Romanism was so strong that he resolved on a complete renunciation. He would have no pictures or organs or bells in the churches, or any reminder of the old faith. He was morbidly intense in his dread of all materialistic elements. He differed radically from Luther on the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, the German Reformer holding to consubstantiation, while Zwingli regarded the bread and wine as only symbols of the body and blood of Christ. The two Reformers came into open difference. A discussion was arranged, and they met in the Castle of Marburg, where each defended his views. No compromise was reached. Luther, with a piece of chalk in his hand, wrote in great characters on the table, "Hoc est corpus meum" (this is my body), and with this appeal to Christ's own words by which to defend his belief in consubstantiation, the discussion closed. Henceforward there was no agreement between German and Swiss theology on the Lord's Supper. Luther and Zwingli returned to their fields of labor, each as firmly intent upon the one work of reform as though he did not differ from his brother on non-essentials in theological interpretation. Bucer tried very hard to harmonize the Swiss and German differences, but failed completely. The Helvetic Confession, adopted in 1536, became the final standard of doctrine for the Protestants throughout Eastern Switzerland.

5. The Religious Conflict in the Eastern Cantons became so bitter that it grew into an appeal to arms. Zurich, which had been included in the bishopric of Constance, threw off all episcopal allegiance, banished Latin from its churches, and burned the time-honored

relics. Some of the eastern cantons followed the lead of Zurich, while others remained firm to Catholicism. The result was a civil war. The Roman Catholic cantons were aided by the pope, the Austrian empire, and even by Spain, while France and England helped the Protestant cantons. The Protestants conquered. The battle of Cappel, near Lake Zug, where Zwingli was killed, in 1531, was followed by the Peace of Cappel, which declared that each canton should decide its religion for itself.

6. Basel was an important centre of Protestant movements in German Switzerland. The council which had been held there in the preceding century had left a strong desire for reform among the people. The university was a rallying-place of minds intent upon the liberty of science. Erasmus lived in its cloisters for a time, and gave his scholarly energies to the good work. Hedio, Capito, and Roublin preached the new doctrines with energy and success. Œcolampadius, though a German by birth, became pastor of St. Martin's Church, and was the acknowledged leader of the cause in the city. In other parts of Eastern Switzerland the Reformation spread with amazing rapidity, and, in addition to Zurich and Basel, the cantons of St. Gall and Schaffhausen renounced allegiance to the Roman Catholic faith, and introduced Protestant worship and doctrines throughout their territory.

Chapter VIII.

THE REFORMATION IN FRENCH SWITZERLAND.

1. The Influence of the German Reformers was felt more slowly among the French-speaking people of Switzerland than among those who spoke German. The difference in language made the work of indoctrination no easy process. The course of Protestant evangelism in French Switzerland was simple—an eastern current setting in from German Switzerland, and a western one coming directly from France, and entering by Geneva as a door. The two met in Berne, which city at once became a centre for the dissemination of new doctrines throughout the French cantons. After the battle of Cappel the movement spread rapidly, and went as far as Geneva, where it allied itself with the forces already in operation there. Very soon a strong Protestant party arose in that city, which was firm in the beginning, and never wavered until it gained a complete victory.

2. Geneva had been long an object of the ambition of the dukes of Savoy, an historical struggle later commemorated by Byron in the incident which suggested his "Prisoner of Chillon," an historical poem, in which Bonnivard tells the sad story of a long period of persecution for conscience' sake:

"My limbs are bowed, though not with toil,
But rusted with a vile repose;
For they have been a dungeon's spoil,
And mine has been the fate of those

To whom the goodly earth and air
Are bann'd and barr'd—forbidden fare;
But this was for my father's faith
I suffered chains and courted death;
That father perished at the stake
For tenets he could not forsake;
And for the same his lineal race
In darkness found a dwelling-place;
We were seven who now are one,
Six in youth and one in age
Finished as they had begun,
Proud of Persecution's rage;
One in fire and two in field,
Their belief with blood have sealed;
Dying as their father died,
For the God their foes denied;
Three were in a dungeon cast,
Of whom this wreck is left the last."

A religious convention was held in Geneva in 1534. Farel, who was the representative of the new doctrines, labored by speech and pen for their introduction. As in Eastern Switzerland, so here, the people were their own rulers, and had resisted all attempts at absorption by ambitious princes. Popular meetings were held, where both Romanism and Protestantism were discussed freely. The doctrines of the Reformers spread, however, until the majority of the citizens declared in favor of them. Anton Froment and Peter Viret cooperated with Farel in prosecuting the one work which lay near their hearts.

3. John Calvin. — All the great Reformers had a prompt and subtile perception of character. They seemed to recognize their helpers by unerring instinct. One July evening, in 1536, a French stranger called on Farel, asked advice, expressed sympathy with Reformation, and was about to take his leave and proceed

on his journey. But Farel was so attracted to him that he invited him to spend a few days. This stranger was John Calvin. He was born in Noyon, France, 1509, and died in Geneva, 1564. He received an excellent education, and was thoroughly prepared for the practice of the law. His acquaintance with the classics was intimate. His first work, written when a young man of twenty-three, was a critical edition of Seneca's essay on "Clemency." He studied in Paris, Bourges, and Orleans. While in the last place, and about the year 1532, he came in contact with a German reformer, who told him more fully than he had known the great doctrines of the Protestants of Germany. Calvin resolved to turn his attention to theology, and to accept the doctrines of the new reform. In due time we find him going abroad. There was no peace for his soul, nor any rest for his body. He went southward, and for a time stayed in Angoulême, where, for a century, there lingered certain pleasant traditions of the quiet stranger, who studied hard by day and night. He left Angoulême, and knew not whither to go. In the preface to his "Psalms" he spoke of this period of early uncertainty and anguish of soul: "God led me about by so many circuitous paths that I could nowhere find rest." During 1534 he wandered about in many directions, conversing with the most cultivated people, and doing all that lay in his power to communicate a knowledge of Protestant doctrines. We now find him suddenly in his native Noyon, now publishing a little book, the "Psychopannychia," against the French Anabaptists, now halting a while in Paris, and now, with a good prospect of being cast into prison with the rest of the outspoken foes of the papacy, resolving to go "to some hidden corner" in Germany, where he could study theology in quiet.

4. Arrival in Basel, 1535.—Of all Calvin's friends, only one accompanied him—Louis du Tillet. He was in full sympathy with him, and the two resolved to travel together and share each other's fortunes. The two fugitives had no easy task to reach the limits of France. A servant stole all their money and ran away. They reached Basel in a penniless condition; but the Protestants of that hospitable city had welcomed Farel ten years before, and also, later, both Cop and Courault; and now they welcomed with the same cordiality both Calvin and his friend. While here he devoted himself with passionate eagerness to Biblical studies, for he knew that the Bible underlay the entire Protestant fabric. He heard unfavorable news from France. The Protestants were thrust into prison, and their life was in constant danger. They were without cohesion, guidance, or intention. Calvin resolved to write a theological system for their special benefit. He now conceived the idea of his "Institutes of the Christian Religion," which he published in 1536, and which became the doctrinal standard for all the Reformed Churches of the Continent and Great Britain.

5. Settlement in Geneva.—Calvin had no great sense of relief when his book was completed. His work was published under the assumed name of "Martianus Lucanius," and so retired had been his manner of living, and so timid his nature, that no one knew of his plan or who this new author might be. Probably to avoid discovery, as much as for any other reason, he determined to leave Basel. He, in company with his friend Du Tillet, journeyed to Italy, and stayed a while in Ferrara, where Renata, the Protestant daughter of Louis XII. of France, was duchess. He then quietly returned to his native town, Noyon, and arranged the

affairs of his now broken home, and left it forever. He took with him his brother Anton, who was in full sympathy with his views. He now turned his face towards Germany again, intending to make Strasburg, or perhaps Basel, his permanent home. The war of this time, 1536, made his journey a dangerous undertaking; and, the way to Strasburg being closed against him, he was compelled to go southward through Savoy. One evening, about July 1, he arrived at Geneva. He expected to stay one night, and in the morning to proceed northward. Farel was fascinated by his scholarship and spirit.

6. Calvin and Farel.—Farel invited Calvin to settle in Geneva, and take charge of the new Protestant Church of that city. Calvin refused. He pleaded his youth, inexperience, constitutional timidity, and the need of continuing his studies in a place where he could have perfect quiet. He begged to be spared. But Farel saw in all these reasons only the better ground why Calvin should stay in Geneva. He said, in great excitement, to him: "You plead your studies. But, in the name of the Almighty God, I say to thee, God's curse will overtake thee if thou deprivest God's work of thy help, and seek thyself more than Christ!" Farel's threat accomplished what his persuasion could not do. The call of an hour lengthened into a visit, and the visit into a whole lifetime. The acquaintance between Farel and Calvin ripened into one of those beautiful friendships with which Christianity has always abounded in its periods of throe and agony. By a natural gravitation of his genius, Calvin assumed the direction of the Protestant movements from Geneva as a centre. He was soon in charge of the civil administration of the city, and remained identified with

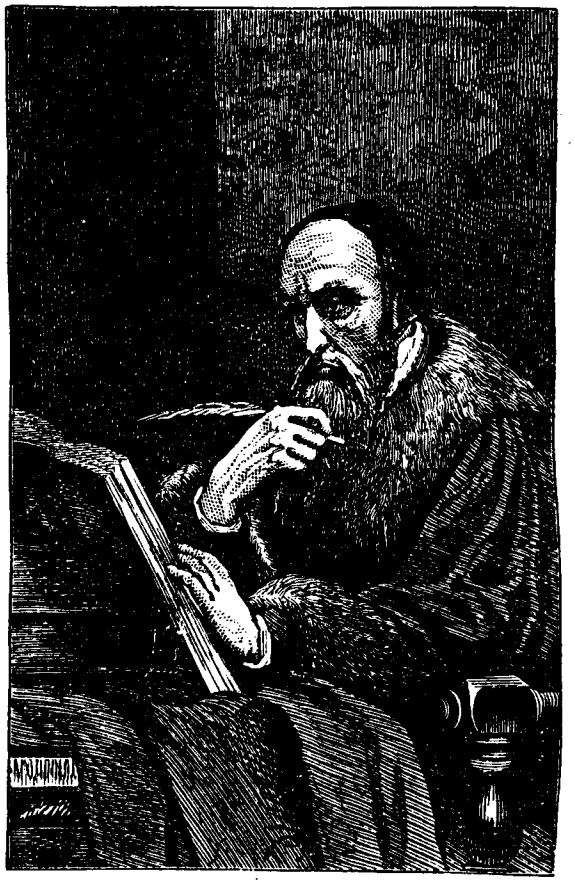
the interests of its citizens until his death. Without knowing it, the group of Genevan Reformers were rather waiting for guidance than following a settled policy. They were pausing for a leader, and now they found him in Calvin.

7. Calvin as Organizer of the Genevese Church.—To a man of less nerve and wisdom than Calvin, the work of organizing the Protestants of Geneva into a compact and aggressive Church would have been a hopeless undertaking. He saw that the first need was a common platform of faith—a Confession. In three months' time the Genevese possessed their Confession, in twenty-one articles. Farel's name stood as the responsible author, but Calvin's exact style and strong spirit pervade every part. On November 10 it was placed before the city council for adoption, and was accepted. Then came new measures, one after another, in rapid succession—a plan for popular education, a scheme of organization of the Church in Geneva, measures of discipline and support, and a catechism. Civil regulations were shaped according to the new ecclesiastical constitution, and some of the regulations were severe and exacting in the extreme. The theologians were novices at civil legislation, but there was no want of Spartan inflexibility.

8. Libertines and the Exile of the Reformers.—The Libertines, a political party of Geneva, who were opposed to the strict life of the Reformers, and saw in the Reformation a restraint on the morals of the people, arose against both Farel and Calvin, and secured their banishment. Farel, after a stay of seven weeks in Basel, went to Neuenburg as pastor, and Calvin went to Strasburg, where, a few years before, he had found a refuge from persecution at home. The two

Reformers were at once brought into close relations with the Strasburg circle of Protestant leaders—Bucer, Capito, and Hedio. It was a happy company. Calvin calculated on a permanent stay there, for they saw little hope of the early rise of Protestant authority in Geneva. He took papers of citizenship as a Strasburg resident, and, later, in 1540, was married to Idelette von Buren, a lady in every way worthy of his confidence and affection. He became pastor of the French Emigrant Church, and, with his practical duties, was absorbed in his studies.

9. The Recall to Geneva.—In due time the people of Geneva repented of their error in banishing the two Reformers, for they found they needed them for the government of the city. Calvin was recalled, but, with true nobility of his soul, refused to accept the offer unless Farel, his early benefactor, was also permitted to return. The same liberty was therefore granted Farel, and the two were welcomed back to the city amid the rejoicings of the whole population. Henceforth Calvin stood at the head of affairs, and continued in that relation until his death. He "belonged to Geneva henceforth, and Geneva to him." The organization of the Genevese Church was perfected in directions where it had proved to be weak; Calvin preached repentance, that the entire population should repent of their sins of many years, and begin to serve God anew. Viret became a powerful aid to him and Farel, and there was no want of strong and wise leadership. Laws relating to the clergy, the church, divine service, and schools were enacted, and there was no department passed by in the new administration under the direction of Calvin. A Protestant university was established in that city, where young men



JOHN CALVIN.

were trained in the new doctrines of Protestantism. A theological seminary was organized in Lausanne, under the direction of Viret, and strongly aggressive measures were employed to extend the work throughout the French cantons.

10. **Beza.**—The work left unfinished by Calvin at his death was taken up by Beza. His nature was different from that of Calvin. The latter had a broader mind, was stronger in purpose, and could have ruled a kingdom, had he been born to an earthly crown. He was a master in the management of men, less by accommodating differences than by inducing men to accept his own views. His theology found its way into Germany, where it produced the Reformed Church; was taught in the University of Heidelberg; extended to Holland; formed the basis of the prevailing confession there; crossed the Channel into England; exerted a marked influence on the new Anglican Church; ascended into Scotland; became the theological foundation of the Scotch National Church; came over to this country with the Pilgrims in the *Mayflower* in 1620; and has had no small share in moulding the faith of the people in the colonies and states, and the territories which have grown from them.

11. **The Second Helvetic Confession,** adopted in 1566, became the formula of faith for the Protestants of all French Switzerland. It was in general harmony with the Augsburg Confession, but with more emphasis on the doctrine of election. The Protestantism of Geneva and other parts of French Switzerland exerted a strong influence on the cause in France. The intercourse was constantly maintained. The works from the Genevan press, and especially the tracts, were carried by tradesmen and others into most of the southern provinces of

France, and aided largely in creating a French sentiment and giving courage to the rising Huguenots. Thus Geneva, which became a refuge for the fugitive Calvin and other French Protestants, became a fort which, for generations, and, indeed, down to the present time, has discharged its Protestant artillery against the very country which produced and drove out its best sons and daughters.

Chapter IX.

The English Reformation.—First Period, 1509–1553.

1. The Early Attempts at Reformation in England were in advance of those in any other part of Europe. To that country belongs the honor of having discovered the need of a universal religious regeneration in Europe. The beginnings of reform centred in Wycliffe, born about 1324. He was a student, and afterwards professor, in Oxford. His first position of hostility to the prevailing doctrines was his declaration against the mendicant monks, who went up and down the land, extorting money from the people, and preaching against learning and progress in every form. He issued several pamphlets against them, and called loudly to his countrymen to get rid of them. So signal was his service that he was promoted to a wardenship in Oxford —namely, of Balliol Hall, or College. Four years later, in 1365, he became master of Canterbury Hall, or the Christ College of a later day.

2. Attacks on Wycliffe.—Schemes were soon in progress on the part of Langham, Archbishop of Canterbury, to eject Wycliffe, and the pope issued a bull to that effect in 1370. Wycliffe replied by a tract against the papal policy arraying itself in hostility to the nation. The king, Edward III., was already in revolt against the pope, and took up the cause of Wycliffe, who was appointed a royal chaplain and rector of Lutterworth. Wycliffe gained a clearer view every year of the corruptions of the church, and preached boldly against them. He was summoned by the authorities of the church for trial for heresy, but was rescued by his friends. A second time he was tried, and escaped through the sympathy of the people. The court, which was held in Lambeth Palace, broke up in disorder, but not without commanding Wycliffe to stop preaching and writing. But he was, if possible, more industrious than ever. He spared no evil that he saw about him, and hurled anathemas against wilful pope and deluded priesthood. He died a natural death in his own house in Lutterworth. The same council which executed Huss, that of Constance, in 1415, condemned the writings of Wycliffe, and in 1428 his dust was taken from the grave, and cast out upon the Avon. The event gave rise to Fuller's lines:

> "The Avon to the Severn runs,
> And Severn to the sea;
> And Wycliffe's dust shall spread abroad,
> Wide as the waters be."

3. Wycliffe's English Bible.—Wycliffe's greatest service to the coming Reformation was, first, his translation of the New Testament, and afterwards the whole Bible, into English. It was the first attempt at reproducing any considerable portion of the Scriptures into the popular tongue, and was a new revelation to the English people. The original of his translation was the Latin Vulgate, a very faulty source, but yet good enough to create a thirst for better things and prepare the way for the pure Word. Between Wycliffe and the Reformers of Henry VIII.'s reign lay a period of nearly two centuries. But through all those years the seeds planted by Wycliffe never died. No great interval passed without some bold spirit arising, and

saying strong words of protest against the errors of the times. The age was not ripe, as yet, for organized effort. The herald's mission must first be wrought out.

4. Agencies of Reform.—The political character of the English Reformation was a striking feature from the outset. In this regard the new movement differed from that in all other countries, except Holland. While the people were fully ready for religious revolt, the first organized rupture with Rome came from the king, Henry VIII. The influence of his court was favorable to the cause, not as a spiritual necessity, but as a means of national independence. Then came the inflow of Protestants from the Continent. Many learned men crossed the Channel, and settled in Oxford and Cambridge, and conducted discussions in favor of the Reformation. Among them may be mentioned Ochino, Peter Martyr, Martin Bucer, Paul Fagius, and Tremellius. But greatest of all the men from abroad was Erasmus, whose Greek New Testament found a ready entrance into England. He settled in Cambridge and taught there.

5. Henry VIII.'s Patronage of the Reformation. Henry's grievance against Romanism was purely personal. He wanted more wives than Rome was willing to grant him. He had been married, while his father was yet king, to Catharine of Aragon, the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, and the widow of Henry VII.'s eldest son, Arthur. The king, for political reasons, chose Catharine as wife for his second son and successor on the throne, Henry VIII. After a marriage of nearly twenty years, Henry VIII. resolved on a divorce from Catharine, and the disinheriting of their daughter Mary. His object was to marry Anne Boleyn. But the question was, how to get the pope's consent. Wolsey was

deputed to do this work, and to proceed in person to Rome. Should the pope consent, he would offend the Emperor Charles V., who would be insulted by the divorce of Henry from Catharine. Should he refuse, he knew that it would be an affront to England. He chose the latter, as by that course he thought he would have less to lose. What should Henry VIII. do? He had made public his determination. The religious revolt in Germany proved to him that rebellion against the papacy was in the air of the age. His own people were eager for reform. So he determined to put away his wife, disavow his daughter, and make Anne Boleyn his queen. This brought about an open rupture with the pope. Henry's real purpose was a National Roman Catholic Church, with himself as head. But this proved an impossibility. He saw there could not be two independent Catholicisms, one on the Tiber and the other on the Thames. He was borne along by the current of his people, and found himself finally compelled to link himself ostensibly with the new Protestantism, and yet, in reality, deeply in sympathy with the old Romanism. Henry VIII. was a Roman Catholic in all but name and endorsement of the papacy. He despised the Lutheran doctrines, and even wrote against them. His book against Luther was so fully Romanist that it was hailed in Rome as a powerful attack on Protestantism, and it even secured to Henry VIII., from Leo X., the title of "defender of the faith." Luther, however, went on steadily. He was master of his theme, and, besides refuting the positions of Henry, paid him the compliment of saying: "When God wants a fool, he turns a king into a theological writer."

There was no positively settled policy on the part of king or parliament. One day the Roman Catholics,

under the lead of Cardinal Pole and Bishop Gardiner, had the confidence of the king, and on another Thomas Cromwell and Cranmer were the stronger. Parliament was the willing servant of a capricious tyrant, and at one hour was ready to revoke its work of the preceding one. As a proof of how nearly England remained Roman Catholic under Henry VIII., we may mention the fact that, at his dictation, in 1538, parliament established the following six articles of faith:

1. Transubstantiation, or the real presence of Christ in the bread and wine of the Lord's Supper.
2. Sufficiency of communion in one kind only.
3. Illegality of the marriage of priests.
4. Obligation of vows of celibacy.
5. Propriety of retaining private masses.
6. Necessity of the confessional.

It must be remembered, however, that, notwithstanding all these attachments to the old Romanism, the country was gradually drifting away from it. The old order was breaking up. The Bible was publicly distributed, and Protestant doctrines were gaining more friends every day.

6. Colet and Sir Thomas More were of great influence in bringing about the revolution in the popular mind. The former had studied the classics in Italy, and brought with him to Oxford an ardent love for the new Humanism. His great object of attack was the profligacy of the Church, from the papacy down, through all grades of priesthood, as he had witnessed it in Rome. He cried aloud for the redemption of his beloved England: "Oh, Jesu Christ, wash for us not 'our feet only, but also our hands and our head.' Otherwise our disordered Church cannot be far from death!" Sir Thomas More was a student in Oxford

when he adopted Protestant doctrines. He became Lord Chancellor of England, and was a devoted and confidential friend of the king. But he incurred the king's displeasure by disapproving the latter's divorce from Catharine of Aragon, and absented himself from the coronation of Anne Boleyn. He refused to take the oath of allegiance to her as queen, and was sent to the Tower of London, and afterwards beheaded. He was a model of eloquence, purity of heart, domestic virtue, simplicity, and tenderness. After kissing his executioner, he said, "Thou art to do me the greatest benefit that I can receive; pluck up thy spirit, man, and be not afraid to do thine office. My neck is very short; take heed, therefore, that thou strike not awry, for saving of thine honesty."

7. Cranmer was, of all men of his time, most powerful in hastening the English reform. He erred in favoring the divorce of Henry and Catharine. He was rewarded by the king with the highest ecclesiastical preferment in his gift, the archbishopric of Canterbury. But Cranmer was a pure and unselfish man, and expressed only his real convictions. When he afterwards yielded to Henry so far as to pronounce his marriage with Anne Boleyn void, he was still the same pure man, but unwisely and irresolutely submitted to the pressure of the king. Cranmer became one of the regents of the kingdom after Henry's death. The young Edward, who succeeded Henry, was a Protestant, but he died early, and was succeeded by Mary, a rigid Roman Catholic. The court was at once filled with men in sympathy with her. The Reformers were now in danger. Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley were thrown into the Tower. Cranmer, in a moment of weakness, signed a recantation, but soon withdrew it.

He, with Latimer and Ridley, was burned at the stake in 1556. His last words were, as he held in the flames the hand with which he had written his recantation, "This unworthy hand! Lord Jesus, receive my spirit!"

8. The Publication of the Bible in the language of the people was the most powerful single agency in bringing about the English Reformation. Tyndale translated the New Testament, which was printed in Antwerp, in 1526, and introduced into England, and circulated quietly over the country. Miles Coverdale's translation of the entire Bible appeared in 1535. This was the first complete English Bible ever printed. Without bearing any imprint of place or printer, the evidence is strong, founded on the resemblance of types, that it was printed in Zurich, by Christopher Froschover. Coverdale also published several of the Psalms in verse, with musical notes. The date is not known, but it was probably before 1538. The following was the way in which he sent out his little book on its singing mission:

"Be not ashamed I warande the
Though thou be rude in songe and ryme,
Thou shalt to youth some occasion be
In Godly sportes to passe theyr tyme."

The following is his first stanza of Psalm cxxxvii.:

"At the rivers of Babilon
there sat we doune ryght hevely
Even whan we thought upon Sion
we wept together sorofully
for we were in soch hevynes
y^{t} we forgat al our merynes
and left of all our sporte and playe
on the willye trees y^{t} were therby
we hanged up our harpes truly
And morned sore both night and day."

Matthew's Bible appeared in 1539, with the royal sanction. Cranmer's translation of the Bible had, likewise, the royal approval, and was powerful in gaining many minds to the cause of reform. In addition to the Scriptures, other writings were circulated, as formularies of doctrine and the public services. Among these must be mentioned "The Ten Articles," "The Bishop's Book," "The King's Book," and "The King's Primer." Then comes Erasmus's "Paraphrase of the Scriptures," which, in 1547, was placed in the parish churches. In the same year the first "Book of Homilies" went out, with the royal approval. In 1548 the "First Communion Office," "Cranmer's Catechism," and the "First English Liturgy, or, Book of Common Prayer," were issued. In 1552 the "Second English Liturgy, or, Book of Common Prayer," was ordered for use, while, in 1553, the "Fifty-two Articles of Religion" and the "Larger Catechism" were approved and enjoined.

9. The Condition of the Reformation. At Henry's death Protestantism in England still continued to be an uncertainty. Much had been done, but no fixed state of things had been reached. Protestant influences were permeating the masses, and this was the most hopeful sign. Both the king and his subjects had rejected the pope's supremacy. The people had become acquainted with the Bible, and many now possessed copies in their own tongue. The monasteries had been suppressed, and their vast wealth secularized. A visitancy, to arrange services and preach Protestantism, was ordered throughout the kingdom. Religious formularies were made binding upon the people, and all the ecclesiastical offices were filled with Protestants. But Rome was still watchful for the opportu-

nity of restoration in England. It was too fair a land to lose. Besides, there was a powerful party at home which was eager to restore the old order, and, by so doing, to bring itself to power and wealth.

Chapter X.

THE ENGLISH REFORMATION.—SECOND PERIOD, 1553–1603.

1. The Reaction under Edward VI.—There was great uncertainty as to the succession to Henry VIII. On the occupant of the throne depended largely the question of Protestantism in the British Isles. Henry had left three children — Mary, whose mother was Catharine of Aragon; Elizabeth, whose mother was Anne Boleyn; and Edward, whose mother was Jane Seymour. It was now a question as to whether Mary, Elizabeth, or Edward should rule. The result proved that each one wore the crown. But who should first wear it? Henry VIII. and Catharine had been divorced, and hence that ruled out Mary. Anne Boleyn was condemned to death, and that was a declaration that her child, Elizabeth, was illegitimate. Against Edward no such objection could be made. His mother died a natural death, too early and too young to be cast away by the king. All England was divided into parties. The friends of Edward were shrewd and bold. They won at last, and seated the boy on the throne, in 1547, when he was only ten years of age. There was a protectorate over him, the first protector being the king's uncle on his mother's side, Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset; the second, Dudley, Earl of Warwick. In addition to these men, who were Protestants, and gave a Protestant direction to the ad-

ministration, Cranmer was the constant and practical adviser of young Edward. In due time England was brought into strong Protestant sympathies, and special efforts were employed to indoctrinate the people in Protestant principles. An improved catechism was used for popular instruction; the Lord's Supper was administered in both kinds; and the mass, clerical celibacy, the worship of images, and the invocation of saints were abolished.

2. Mary as Queen.—Edward VI. died in 1553. There now arose new troubles about the succession, and it was a question as to whether a Protestant or Romanist should wear the crown. The strongest party would again win, and this time it was Mary's friends. Mary had been a sufferer on account of her Roman Catholic faith. The daughter of Henry VIII. and Catharine of Aragon, she carried to her new position the bitter memory of the injustice done her, and a determination to restore the land to the faith of her mother and her remote Spanish ancestors. A formal alliance with Spain was brought about through her marriage with Philip II. of Spain. No pains were now spared to bring into force the old order. Parliament hesitated; but its members, finally fearing for their heads, tamely submitted. Power was restored to the ecclesiastical courts to depose and punish as they might judge best. No less than sixteen thousand clergymen were deposed from their positions. Strict celibacy was enjoined on every pastor. The oath of royal supremacy was no longer required. The English language was banished from the public services, and the Latin restored to its old place. All the old ceremonies in use before Henry were brought back again. Protestant teachers were ejected from the universities. A commission was appointed to suppress heresy, and martyr-fires were kindled in various parts of England. A low estimate of persons burned places the martyrdoms at eight hundred. The number would have gone to thousands had not many leading Reformers fled to the Continent. Strasburg, Zurich, Geneva, and other places became their homes, where they established services in the English language, and waited until the time might come when they could return home.

3. The Final Triumph of the Reformation.—Elizabeth succeeded Mary in 1558. She was gifted with rare caution, strong will, and a quick and accurate perception of character. She was a devoted Protestant, and immediately set to work to complete the interrupted fabric of reform in her dominions. The country was desperate because of material reverses. England was losing at home and abroad, and the people were ready for any change. Roman Catholic rule had proven its inability to make them prosperous and happy. The queen at once recognized Protestantism as the national faith. The "Articles" and second "Book of Homilies" were adopted in parliament and convocation, in 1563, and Protestants were placed in charge of all the churches. The exiles came home from the Continent, and were among the most zealous in promoting the work of reform.

4. The Independents were a growing class of people, who believed that neither Henry nor Elizabeth had broken fully from Rome. They looked upon the elaborate ceremonial, the episcopacy, the use of robes, and the mild observance of the Sabbath as wretched remnants of the evil times, and would do away with all such reminders of Antichrist. They refused to adopt the new order, and would establish one of their own,

in harmony with the example of the Genevan Church. Elizabeth took strong ground against the Independents. The Act of Uniformity was enforced in 1563, and this was the first stroke of separation. Lords Burleigh and Walsingham endeavored in vain to secure a compromise. The first English presbytery was organized at Wandsworth, and was the practical beginning of all the non-conforming bodies of England. But, despite all the internal divisions of English Protestantism, the Reformation became a fact under Elizabeth. Her long reign brought to England material prosperity; but, still more, a strong and enduring Protestantism.

5. The Puritan Pilgrims.—The most important event of the English Reformation, in its relation to America, was the rise of the Brownist sect. Robert Brown, born about 1550, was a student in Cambridge. While there he adopted Puritan views, and became a warm advocate of them. His followers went by the name of Brownists, and were alike firm in their hostility to the Church of England and Romanism. The Brownists were persecuted, not so much by royal order as by the ecclesiastical courts. Unable to circulate their writings or hold public services, they fled from England, and organized a Church in Amsterdam, and afterwards in Leyden. In the latter place John Robinson was their pastor. They resolved on leaving Holland, and set sail for the New World. They landed at Plymouth, Massachusetts, in 1620, and became the chief factor for the civil and religious development of the colonies and the United States. Holmes, in his "Robinson of Leyden," thus pictures the hour of their departure:

"No home for these! Too well they knew
The mitred king behind the throne;
The sails were set, the pennons flew,
And westward ho! for worlds unknown.

"And these were they who gave us birth,
The Pilgrims of the sunset wave,
Who won for us this virgin earth,
And freedom with the soil they gave."

Chapter XI.

THE SCOTCH REFORMATION.

1. The Scotch Reformers were of sturdy type, like their own rugged hills. Their country was not as yet under the English crown, but was a separate kingdom, divided into fierce and warlike clans, and ruled by the Stuarts, a royal family in full sympathy with Rome. The bishops and the rulers were in close league to resist all Protestant encroachments. The new doctrines, however, did cross the Tweed, and were adopted there in various parts of the country. Cardinal Beatoun was appointed leading inquisitor, and he did not hesitate to burn heretics without mercy. Patrick Hamilton was the first Protestant leader. He was for a time on the Continent, and though the movement was hazardous, he returned to Scotland, to carry out the cause that lay near his heart. He was not long permitted to preach and teach the new doctrines. He suffered martyrdom, and his followers were left without a guide.

2. Mary, Queen of Scots.—Mary Stuart was the daughter of James V., King of Scotland. Her father said of her: "The kingdom cam' wi' a lass (daughter of Robert Bruce), an' it wull gae wi' a lass." His words became a correct prophecy. The country was under a protectorate during her minority, about nineteen years. Through this period the drift was constantly towards Protestantism. The Scotch had imbibed the Calvin-

istic doctrines, and were growing firmer in their attachment every year. Mary, on her reception as queen, caused great offence to them. Her French confessors and courtiers gave extreme Roman Catholic color to the very first days of her reign. Knox expressed the deep feeling of the people when he prayed: "Purify, O Lord, the heart of the queen from the poison of idolatry. Release her from the bondage of Satan in which she was brought up, and in which, from want of true teaching, she still remains." Mary's life was not blameless. In 1565 she was married to the Earl of Darnley. A disagreement took place between them, and, the queen being attached to an Italian, Rizzio, Darnley headed a conspiracy which murdered him. Darnley himself, according to the general opinion of the Scotch at the time, was put to death by Bothwell, at Mary's instance, through the combined method of strangling and the explosion of the house in which he lay ill. Shortly afterwards Mary married Bothwell. The people had endured her rule as long as possible. The illustration of Romanism in the rule and life of their queen was enough to make the whole land thoroughly Protestant. The revolution broke out with great violence, and Mary fled to England. She had been invited by Elizabeth, and when the invitation was accepted, Elizabeth showed her hospitality by throwing her into prison. Mary hoped that, Elizabeth having once been declared illegitimate, she might lead the Roman Catholics of the country to revolt against Elizabeth's rule, and herself become queen of England. But Elizabeth was too shrewd to allow such a plan to succeed. Mary was tried, and put to death in 1587, and Elizabeth became practically queen of both England and Scotland. Mary's revenge came, however,

after her death, when her son succeeded Elizabeth, as James VI. of Scotland and James I. of England.

3. John Knox.—This man was Hamilton's natural successor. He began just where his predecessor had left off, and very soon the Scotch Protestants felt the power of his genius. He was born in 1505, and in 1542 publicly proclaimed himself in Edinburgh as a Reformer. His studies had been leading him thither for some time, but from the moment of his public renunciation of Romanism he never wavered. His heroism was as intense as that of Luther. He felt, and therefore he spoke. He was degraded from his office as preacher in St. Andrews, and sent to France, where he was subjected nearly two years to hard labor in the galleys. As soon as he was released he promptly returned to Scotland, and preached the doctrines of the Reformation with great eloquence. When Mary, Queen of Scots, ascended the throne, he fled to Germany, where he established himself in Frankfort-on-the Main, as one of the three hundred Protestant exiles. He became pastor of the little colony of English refugees. From there he went to Geneva, where he imbibed from Calvin himself the Calvinistic type of Protestantism. He was burnt in effigy in Scotland by Mary's order—a very harmless proceeding on her part. In 1558 he published his "First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women." The Protestants formed an organized body, and bound themselves to resistance by a covenant. The country became involved in civil war, and when peace was restored Queen Mary had six interviews with him, and, though moved to tears by his eloquence, afterwards caused his arrest on the charge of treason. But the court acquitted him. He was fearless in all his work. His life

was in constant danger, but he at no time hesitated to preach and teach the Protestant doctrines. He died in Edinburgh in 1572. By the time of his death the triumph of the Scotch Reformation was complete. It was the victory of the people, under the leadership of a brave and true man, against the combined forces of a queen, a court, and a powerful nobility. The Scotch Reformers did their work so thoroughly that it was never necessary to do it over again. They had written their protest with their own blood, and it stands to this day.

Chapter XII.

THE REFORMATION IN THE NETHERLANDS.

1. The Union of the Netherlands under the Spanish crown was a firm bond with the old order of monarchical and hierarchical despotism. Charles V., King of Spain and Emperor of Germany, received the country as an inheritance from his grandmother, Maria of Burgundy. The Dutch had always been distinguished for their love of freedom, and, even as far back as the Roman period, Julius Cæsar was compelled to annex Batavia to his dominions, less as a conquered than as an affiliated province. The same love of independence still prevailed through all the mediæval period, and expressed itself in both civil and religious life. The Brothers of the Common Life, a society which was founded in 1384, made it their chief aim to improve the morals of the people, and looked intently upon a thorough reform. Gerhard Groot and Florentius Radewin represented the order, and the Brothers' House, in Deventer, was a centre for both laymen and preachers to teach and preach, and send their evangelists through the country. In the two schools of Deventer and Herzogenbusch alone there were, at one time, as many as twelve hundred students in attendance. When the news of the Wittenberg revolt from Romanism came, the whole country was eager for co-operation. In fact, in no land was there such a complete and popular preparation for the Reformation as in the Netherlands. Luther's writings were caught up with avidity, while his hymns were sung with fervor along the Dutch dikes, in the boats, and in the cottages of the whole country. The Reformation assumed a political character. The people were prohibited from adopting Protestantism, and were slaughtered for disobedience. Charles V.'s measures were cruel and unremitting—a course which he continued until his abdication. Even among the last words spoken, in the far-off Spanish monastery of Yuste, to his son, Philip II., he urged no leniency to his heretical subjects. So violent was the opposition to Protestantism that the people were driven to revolution, and the Spanish army marched thither, under the cruel Duke of Alva, to conquer the people into submission.

2. The Edict of Worms, the cruel order against all sympathy with the Protestant cause, was made binding upon the Netherlands. The Inquisition was established, and the fires of martyrdom blazed all over the land. To be known as a Protestant was certain death. Not less than one hundred thousand people are computed to have been put to death for professing the new doctrines. After Charles V. abdicated, and Philip II., his son, succeeded him, there was even greater cruelty. After 1555 not a vestige of civil or religious liberty remained in the country. The Protestant nobility formed themselves into the Beggars' League, otherwise called the Compromise, by which they made it their object to overthrow the Spanish authority and establish Protestantism and national independence. They were derisively called "Beggars" by their oppressors. They adopted the term for their entire league, wore plain clothes, made of the coarsest cloth, and carried a wooden bowl, hung to a wooden chain, as

an emblem of their simplicity, and of their readiness to be called poor, for conscience' sake. The Duke of Alva, at the head of the Spanish army, succeeded in conquering the Beggars. But the peace was of only short duration. The seven northern provinces united in a league, the Utrecht Union (1579), and in due time conquered the Spanish army. William of Orange stood at the head of the movement for national independence, and he was succeeded, in 1584, by his son Maurice, who completed the work begun by his father.

3. Erasmus, of Rotterdam, belongs in the front rank of Reformers. He was the one cosmopolitan character of the times, and was Holland's greatest gift to the ecclesiastical scholarship of Europe. He did more than any man of the period of the Reformation to disseminate a knowledge of the New Testament. His pen touched all the lands which showed signs of awaking to the new life, for it was he who handed over to the Protestant cause the best and purest philological learning awakened by the Humanists. He was born in 1467, and died in 1536. After a thorough training in Oxford University, whither he went through the influence of Lord Montjoy, he began to teach privately. Here began his attachment with Sir Thomas More, which was only interrupted by the latter's death. Erasmus went to Italy for further studies, and took his doctor's degree in Turin. He stayed for a time in Bologna and Venice, at which latter place he published his first books. Henry VIII. invited him to England, and while on his way thither he wrote his "Praise of Folly," the most satirical work of the times. In this he makes Folly speak her own mind, and boast of her silliness. The work is a picture of priestly superstition, ignorance, and corruption.

4. Erasmus in Basel.—Erasmus returned to the Continent, and dwelt a long time in Basel, where he enjoyed the friendship of Œcolampadius and Beer, then prominent Reformers. He divided his time chiefly between Basel and England, all the while writing with great industry, and spreading a knowledge of the New Testament. His chief works were his "Colloquies," his edition of the Greek Testament, his Paraphrase on the same, and his "Praise of Folly." He was a profound and versatile scholar, and it was alone as such that he was important as a Reformer. He was always hesitant about withdrawing from Rome, allowed himself to come into opposition to Luther, and had no clear conception of that firm and strong theological basis which underlay the Protestant structure. He placed much faith in a compromise, and had not that clear vision to see that such a course was an impossibility in a grave crisis of principle.

5. Erasmus and Luther.—One of the most unpleasant chapters in the history of the Reformation, abundant as it is in beautiful and lasting friendships, is the unfraternal relationship between Erasmus and Luther. There was a time of cordiality, but this gave place to coldness, and even to bitterness. Erasmus always held that Luther's course was right, only that he was too vehement. Doctrinally, they differed on the freedom of the will, Luther taking the Augustinian view in almost its full force. Besides, Erasmus hesitated to break openly with Rome, and so the distance between them widened. Luther wrote the following of Erasmus, a proof of how unable men of genius often are to appreciate each other: "I have cracked many hollow nuts, which I thought had been good, but they fouled my mouth and filled it with dust: Erasmus and Carl-

stadt are hollow nuts. Erasmus is a mere Momus, making his mows and mocks at everything and everybody, at Papist and Protestant, but all the while using such shuffling and double-meaning terms that no one can lay hold of him to any effectual purpose. His chief doctrine is, Hang the cloak according to the wind. He only looked to himself, to have good and easy days, and so died like an Epicurean, without any one comfort of God. I hold Erasmus of Rotterdam to be Christ's most bitter enemy. I leave this as my will and testament." This was harsh language, unjust towards Erasmus, and not at all in harmony with Luther's generous nature.

Chapter XIII.

THE REFORMATION IN FRANCE.

1. The Outlook for Protestantism in France was very favorable at the beginning. The conditions were such that no violent opposition could be expected, especially along the Seine and in the southern provinces. The seventy years' residence of the popes in Avignon had inflamed the people with a desire for a national Roman Catholic Church, and a corresponding hostility to Rome. The "Gallican," as against the "Papal" Church, had long been a hope of French kings and people. There was abroad a spirit of dissatisfaction with the existing order, and an ardent craving for religious liberty and freedom from the despotism of provincial princes. There were six principal causes which led to this desire for Reformation: the remaining influence of the early Paris Reformers, which was still powerful in private circles; the religious fervor of the inhabitants of the Cevennes mountains, in the south; the example of the heroic Waldenses in the Vaudois Alps; the example and force of the Genevan Reformers, with Calvin at their head; the great work of the German Reformers, with Wittenberg as their centre of life and force; and the literary spirit, or free tendency towards inquiry, which radiated from the university into every part of the kingdom.

2. The Dread of the German Reformation. Nothing was more dreaded by the Romanism of France than

the work which was done by the German Reformers. The books of Luther found their way into France, and were translated and read extensively. By an order of the Sorbonne they were publicly burned, in the year 1521, and violent threats made against any person reading them. Francis I., who succeeded to the French throne in 1515, was a mixed character, now half Protestant, and again thoroughly Roman Catholic. In 1535 he was lenient enough to invite Melanchthon to accept a chair in the University of Paris—a bait which that calm German was too shrewd to accept, gladly replying that the Elector of Saxony refused permission to leave Wittenberg. It will add emphasis to the real meaning of this generous patronage of German scholarship when we remember that, in that very year, Francis I. burned to death from twenty to thirty of his own subjects, because they were Huguenots.

3. The Danger of French Protestantism. The real danger to the Protestants came from a firm alliance between the authorities at Rome and the French throne. Francis I., whatever pleasant exterior he presented, remained, at heart, a bitter advocate of oppressive measures against Protestantism in his own dominions. But the Protestants, who, in France, were called Huguenots, proceeded to the work of evangelization and organization. In 1553 their first church was established and recognized, and the first pastor installed, in Paris. They also had fifteen other societies in various parts of the kingdom, those in Meaux, Angers, and Poictiers being among the chief. But there was no cohesion between them. They were simply isolated Christian bodies, tired of Romish supremacy, and in thorough sympathy with the great Protestant cause in other lands. However, the scattered Huguenots soon coalesced, and in 1559 the General Synod of Paris met, and the Gallic Confession was adopted as the creed of French Protestantism.

4. Opposition to the Huguenots. The Huguenots possessed a martial spirit. Many of them had a military education, and their fundamental error was their hope that, by political and martial measures, they might succeed in the end. The royal family was divided between Huguenots and Romanists. The Bourbons were with the Huguenots, and the Guises with the Roman Catholics. The subdued opposition came to violent outbreak. The appeal was to arms, and, in 1561, the land was convulsed by a civil war, which lasted thirty years. Three wars were carried on, and three times a peace was patched up. The third peace, that of St. Germain, in 1570, guaranteed liberty of doctrine and public worship to the Huguenots, with the exception of the residence of the court and the city of Paris. Catharine de Medici became regent in 1560, her son, Charles IX., being only ten years old. She professed profound sympathy with the Huguenots, but was only playing a shrewd game of deception. She was waiting for an opportunity to deal destruction on every side.

5. Rapid Spread of the Huguenots. The increase of Protestantism at this time was remarkably rapid. The Synod of 1559 had not only adopted a Confession, which bore every mark of Calvin's hand, but had also thoroughly organized a Protestant Church, with a provision for provincial synods throughout the kingdom, and a complete system of Church discipline and liturgical order. When the war began, in 1561, there were, according to Beza, four hundred thousand Huguenots throughout France, and Condé's list of their churches,

presented as an exhibit to Catharine de Medici, comprised two thousand one hundred and fifty names. They were distributed chiefly through the south and west. Normandy, also, possessed many of their societies, but in the north the Huguenots were less represented.

6. Massacre of St. Bartholomew. It was arranged by Catharine that the semblance of a thorough reconciliation between the Protestants and the Roman Catholics should take place. Charles's sister was to marry Henry of Navarre, the leader of the Huguenots. Brilliant festivities were arranged, and the whole land was alive with new joy that, at last, the Huguenots and Roman Catholics could live henceforth in peace, and each worship with equal rights before the law. The marriage was celebrated August 18, 1572, but on the night of the 24th a bell in the palace belfry gave the signal for general slaughter. This was the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's eve. The Huguenot chiefs were all in Paris, and their whereabouts was known. Admiral Coligny, an intrepid warrior and firm Huguenot, was murdered in cold blood, and cast out of the window into the stone court below. For seven days and nights the streets ran with Protestant blood. Outside of Paris the massacre was sudden and overwhelming. The Loire and the Rhone ran red and thick with the blood and bodies of victims. The cities of Meaux, Orleans, Bourges, Lyons, Rouen, Toulouse, and Bordeaux were centres of the persecution. Not less than one hundred thousand Huguenots fell beneath flame and sword. The pretext for the universal murder was, that Coligny had concerted a secret conspiracy against the crown. There is not, and never was, a vestige of authority for even the suspicion of such a thing.

At Rome there was great rejoicing over the bloodshed. Pope Gregory ordered the ringing of the bells of the city, and a special medal to be struck in honor of his triumph.

7. The Huguenot Uprising. The Huguenots were not willing, even yet, to surrender. They had lost immense numbers, but were eager to renew the conflict. The struggle began again, and in 1576 the Peace of Beaulieu guaranteed the Huguenots once more the liberty of worship and doctrine. Henry of Navarre ascended the throne in 1589, as Henry IV. He renounced his Protestantism, as the price of his crown; but, by the Edict of Nantes, in 1598, he gave full liberty to the Huguenots to worship in places where they had established services, and to stand equal with Roman Catholics before the law. Protestants now increased very rapidly. Henry IV. granted them personal safety and the right of worship in one hundred and fifty places throughout the kingdom, the chief of which were Bordeaux, Poictiers, and Montpellier. By the year 1628 they possessed six hundred and eighty-eight churches, and by 1637 these had grown to seven hundred and twenty. For nearly a century they enjoyed comparative peace, and rapidly multiplied in every department of ecclesiastical prosperity. When Louis XIV. came to the throne he strongly opposed them. No wrong was spared to make France an unwelcome home. There were at this time about two million Huguenots throughout the country; though, at one time, they had numbered at least one third the entire population of the country. In the quarter of a century preceding 1685, not less than five hundred and twenty of their churches were destroyed. They were permitted to leave the country, and the exile began in 1666. It continued not less than a half-

century, during which time a low estimate of the number of Huguenots who forsook France places it at one million. But still many remained, and, to give a finishing stroke to them, the Edict of Nantes was revoked, in the year 1685. This act destroyed the last vestige of civil and religious rights now remaining to the Huguenots. There were still about one thousand of their pastors, and of these one hundred were sent to the galleys or put to death, six hundred fled the country, and the other three hundred disappeared in unaccountable ways. For a century Protestantism was almost blotted out of the country. Only at the close of the 18th century was there a comparative revival of the old Protestant spirit.

Chapter XIV.

The Reformation in Italy.

1. The Soil Prepared by Savonarola. — The Italians were prepared by Savonarola to give hearty credence to the new doctrines. He was born in Ferrara in 1452, and was executed in Florence in 1498. In 1484 he began to preach in Brescia on the book of Revelation. In 1489 he removed to Florence, and became a monk in the convent of St. Mark. He was an eloquent pleader for reformation in the church, and showed no mercy in declaring against the corruptions of Rome. His great error lay in having interfered with the political convulsions of Florence. Not for his bold protest against immorality alone was he compelled to suffer; he became an object of political hostility on the part of Lorenzo and Pietro, of the Medici family, who had stood in charge of the Republic of Florence. Savonarola was at the head of a revolution against them. The people of Florence, who were witnesses of his pure and sacrificing life, believed in him fully, and supported him by their sympathy. Pietro de Medici, unable to resist Savonarola alone, called to his aid the pope, Alexander VI., who was already eager to suppress the Florentine monk. The brave Reformer fell beneath the power of Rome. Savonarola had wrought alone. He held a free lance, and the power of his speech and the heroism of his life long survived his

death. For the moral greatness of the man there was not, and could not be, a martyrdom.

2. Protestant Books from the North.—Venice was at this very time in the throes of the religious revolution. The works of Luther and his coadjutors were not only circulated, but even printed, along the Grand Canal. Some little skill was needful to escape papal interdiction. For example, the "Loci Theologici" of Melanchthon—the Greek term into which he translated his name, after the usage of scholars, from his German name of Schwarzerd, or Black Earth—was translated into Italian, and published under the almost undistinguishable, but accurately Italianized, name of "I Principii della Theologia di Ippofilo de Terra Nigra." This work reached Rome, and was sold and read for a whole year with enthusiasm. When the copies were exhausted an order was sent to Venice for a new supply. A Franciscan friar discovered the identity of the author with the German Melanchthon, and exposed it. Of course, Rome was not long in seeing the heresy, and ordering the burning of the dangerous book. Chardon de la Rochette wrote: "My hostess, the good mother Coleti, says her prayers every day before a beautiful miniature, which represents Luther on one side and Melanchthon on the other." Zwingli's works were circulated under the name of "Coricius Cogelius," and Bucer's "Psalms" went abroad in Italy and France as the commentary of "Aretius Felinus." Melanchthon was not astray when he wrote to George, Prince of Anhalt, "What libraries have been carried from the late fair into Italy, though the pope has published fresh edicts against us!"

3. The War Between the German Empire and Italy broke out in 1526, and in 1527 the imperial army sacked

Rome itself, and for a long time occupied Naples. With this army there was a large number of Protestants. They carried the reform south of the Alps, and the contagion spread among the Italian peoples. We have positive proof that Melanchthon corresponded with the Venetian Reformers in 1529, and that Modena was a Lutheran city.

4. The Sceptical Humanism.—Italy was the native country of Humanism. But the new scholarship was so negative, and manifested itself in the cultivated circles by such positive indifference towards all religious life, that the land, though rising in intelligence, drifted far from the Gospel. The poems of Portano, Sanazzaro and Marcellus were nothing but fulsome praises of the gods of Greece and Rome. The clergy introduced the whole dead mythology of the pagan times into their sermons, and drew parallels between Jupiter Maximus and God the Father, Apollo and Jesus, and Diana and the Virgin Mary. The people were left in profound ignorance. Dante said of the preachers of his day:

> "E'en they whose office is
> To preach the gospel, let the gospel sleep,
> And pass their own inventions off instead."

In another place he became still more bold:

> "The preacher now provides himself with store
> Of jests and gibes; and, so there be no lack
> Of laughter, while he vents them, his big cowl
> Distends, and he has won the meed he sought.
> Could but the vulgar catch a glimpse the while,
> Of that dark bird which nestles in his hood,
> They scarce could wait to hear the blessing said,
> Which word the dotards hold in such esteem."

Of the moral condition of Rome, Petrarch exclaimed:

"Foul nest of treason! Is there aught
Wherewith the spacious world is fraught
Of bad or vile—'tis hatched in thee;
Who revellest in thy costly meats,
Thy precious wines and curious seats,
And all the fruits of luxury."

5. Spread of Protestant Doctrines.—The Protestant doctrines spread rapidly through every part of Italy. In the extreme south, or Calabria, where the descendants of some Waldensian emigrants lived, the sympathy with the new doctrines was prompt and strong. In the north every important town numbered among its people some disciples of the German Reformers. Ferrara, Modena, Florence, Bologna, Padua, Verona, Brescia, Milan, Lucca, and Venice had large numbers of devoted Reformers, who were reading, praying, and consulting, hoping that the same good providence which had favored their spiritual fathers in Germany would bless their country. Lucca had, perhaps, more adherents to the Reform than any other city. But Venice excelled all others in the distribution of the Scriptures. To Florence belonged the great honor of having three of its sons—Brucioli, Marmochini, and Teofilo—prepare, each, an Italian translation of the Scriptures. The version of Brucioli became the favorite. Among the firmest Reformers were Ochino, Peter Martyr, Paleario, Paschali, and Vergerio. None were more fully the objects of suspicion than the two former, both of whom succeeded in leaving the country before the officers could arrest them.

6. Woman's Work.—In no country of Europe were women so prominent in the advocacy of the Reformation as in Italy. There was one court, Ferrara, where the duchess Renata was a firm adherent, and her court

was, in a quiet way, a rallying-place for all Protestants. Calvin visited her once, and afterwards kept up a correspondence, until the poor woman fell a victim to her loyalty to Protestantism. Other women were none the less true, and, either socially or by their writings, did all in their power to advance the new measures. Olympia Morata, Isabella Mauricha, Lavinia della Rovere, Madonna Maddelena and Madonna Cherbina (both of the Orsini family), the learned duchess Julia Gonzago, and the brilliant Vittoria Colonna, were representatives of a large class of noble and heroic women, who were among the first to welcome the doctrines from the north, and also among the first to suffer for their devotion to them.

7. Oppression of Protestantism.—The cause of the Reformation advanced just far enough to be recognized as an opposing and dangerous religious factor, when the orders went out from Rome for its forcible suppression. There was nowhere sufficient momentum to the new cause to organize a church or establish a formulary of doctrine. But there were indications enough to begin the work of resistance. In 1542 the Inquisition, which was already in operaton in Spain, was ordered to begin in Italy. Caraffa was put in charge of the work, and a more competent man could not be found. In every city where Protestants could be found they were publicly executed, and without delay. Antonio Paleario, the author of a powerful treatise, "The Benefit of Christ," was burned. Paschali suffered a like fate. As a result, by the end of the century nearly every trace of Protestantism was suppressed.

8. The Council of Trent.—The Council of Trent was the papal method of dealing with Protestantism outside of Italy. It was a recognition by Rome of the

necessity of adopting a new course to arrest reform. It convened in December, 1545, and adjourned in 1547. One of its first acts was to revoke the old method of the rule of the majority, and to order that the pope's consent was necessary to every decree. Reforms in a small way were ordered. The two principal reformatory measures were, that better teachers and preachers should be provided by the bishops, and that bishops should be punished for neglect of their duties. But, with these concessions, the work of reform ended. The general spirit of the council was relentless in its opposition to Protestantism.

9. Italian Protestants in Exile. — Many Italians escaped death. Owing to the difficulty of detecting them, so soon as they reached the Alps they were generally safe from arrest. Italy was a confederation of little duchies and republics, which were often at war with each other, and this want of civil connection favored their escape. The larger Swiss towns and cities had little groups of fugitive Italian Protestants, who received a cordial welcome, and to whom avenues of trade and industry were opened. The canton of the Grisons, in the Eastern Alps, was almost populated by them. Its population consisted of three folk-stems, the old Rhetian, the Italian, and the German, and when the Protestants from the south took their place among them, they gave their impress to the faith and language of the whole people. A body of exiles from Locarno settled in Zurich, and established a Protestant service and organization there. Peter Martyr accepted an invitation of Cranmer to go to England, and became a professor in Oxford. Ochino also went to England, and preached in London. Exiles from Italy, likewise, among whom may be named Paolo di Colli, Grataroli, Corrado, Teglio, Betti, Celso, and Curio, went to Basel, and settled there. All these men were talented, some being authors, who had made themselves objects of suspicion at home because of their heroic devotion, by pen and speech, to the new Protestantism.

Chapter XV.

THE REFORMATION IN SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

1. Religious Despotism in Spain.—No country in Europe was under a more complete despotism than Spain. It was too far removed from the life and heart of Europe to respond aggressively to any profound movement elsewhere. The Church and the State were attached together as by hooks of steel. Charles V., and, later, his son, Philip II., ruled in harmony with the spirit of mediæval oppression and superstition. There was no need of counsel from the pope, for they carried out every extreme measure which could be acceptable to Rome. The completeness of the hierarchical rule in Spain can be seen from the statistics of the clergy and minor priesthood of this time. There were 58 archbishoprics, 684 bishoprics, 11,400 monasteries, 23,000 brotherhoods, 46,000 monks, 13,800 nuns, 312 secular priests, and over 400,000 ecclesiastics of other grades. With such a machinery as this, it can easily be imagined that to introduce Protestant ideas was no easy task. Still, in spite of the distance of Spain from the general intellectual activity of Europe, so powerful was the Protestant movement in the north and east that a sympathy with it was awakened even among the people of the Spanish peninsula.

2. Spanish Mysticism, a peculiar phenomenon, indicative of coming religious life, had already permeated

many classes. The new prosperity that came from discoveries in America created an intellectual activity which took note of every new movement in other countries of Europe. The writings of Erasmus, and even of Luther, found their way south of the Pyrenees, and were read in secret by many persons of the more cultivated classes. A taste for them had been awakened by the Mysticism, which was a popular aspiration for purer morals and ecclesiastical government. The officers of Charles V., and other members of his military court, came in contact with Luther's doctrines while in the German wars, and when they returned they brought this new attachment with them. As representatives of this class may be mentioned Alphonso de Vives and Ponce de la Fuente. Translations of the Bible into Spanish were a powerful auxiliary. Franz Enzinas, of Burgos, issued the first Spanish Bible in Antwerp, in 1543. Knowing that his emperor, Charles V., was a patron of learning—some kinds—he had the simplicity to dedicate his version to that ruler. His reward was a confinement of fourteen months in a Brussels prison, on the ground that he had printed in capital letters the passage, "Where is boasting then? It is excluded. By what law? Of works? Nay, but by the law of faith" (Romans, iii. 27).

3. Spread of the Reformation.—Entire cloisters, such as San Isidoro del Campo, threw off the authority of Rome, and adopted the Protestant doctrines. Valladolid, Seville, and Medina del Campo became centres for the distribution of Protestant writings. Rodrigo de Varelo, Juan Ægidius, Augustine Cazalla, and Diaz were representatives of the new measures. Small societies were organized in many places, and public worship was held.

4. Suppression by the Inquisition. — Just as soon as the Spanish people expressed sympathy with the Reformation in an organized and public way, violent means were employed to arrest the work. The Inquisition was ordered from Rome. Fernando Valdez was appointed Grand Inquisitor. He was the very man for the work, having an indomitable will, blind zeal for Roman Catholicism, and intense hostility towards the cause of reform. Autos-da-Fe (Acts of Faith), or public burnings of heretics, were kindled in twelve cities. All spectators of these scenes were granted plenary indulgences. The first prominent martyr was Carlos de Seso. Then came Domingo de Roxas, Garcia de Arrias, Montanos, and Hernandez, as leaders of a great host of victims. Even women were not spared, whether from the nobility or lower classes. Maria Gomez, Maria de Boborguez, and Eleonora de Cisneros were noble representatives of their sex in joyful readiness to endure martyrdom for their faith. Protestant Englishmen, temporarily in Spain, were likewise executed when known to be in sympathy with Protestantism.

5. Portugal was much less affected by the reformatory movement than Spain. Still, there were indications enough to excite alarm. Diego de Silva was appointed Grand Inquisitor. He performed his work thoroughly, and soon all Protestant traces were destroyed.

6. The Causes of Failure in the whole Spanish peninsula are not difficult to find. Protestantism was largely a measure of scholars and thinkers. No Spanish Protestant was gifted with popular powers. There was not a strong preacher or powerful speaker among them. They were men of the study, quiet authors, who thought that they could win by the pen alone. They wrote in

the language of the learned, and their writings never pervaded the masses. In Spain there was no exception to the general law, that no reform succeeds which is confined to the educated and the aristocracy. The persistent energy of the Spanish authorities, reinforced from Rome, made thorough work of suppression. The rights of conscience and intellectual liberty shared a common fate. Even all lectures on morals were prohibited in the universities, as favoring, by implication, the Protestant cause.

Chapter XVI.

THE REFORMATION IN SCANDINAVIA.

1. The Groundwork of Protestantism in the three Scandinavian countries—Sweden, Denmark, and Norway—was already laid in the dissatisfaction of the people with the prevailing order of civil and ecclesiastical government. The barons and priests had long since united in popular oppression. The masses were ground down, and centuries had passed without an improvement in their condition. When the people learned of the reform in Germany they hailed it as a blessing to them. They eagerly listened to its first representatives in their own country.

2. Olaf and Laurence Petersen were the first native Swedish Reformers. They went to Wittenberg as students of theology, returned to Sweden, and, after 1519, were devoted preachers of the new doctrines. But many of the people were reluctant to give up their old faith, which, indeed, was intermixed with traces of the old Gothic paganism. The king, Gustavus Vasa, was a firm Protestant, and was greatly beloved by his people. He told them that unless they would become Protestants he would abdicate. This he proposed in public, at a great meeting held in Upsala. The people then declared in favor of Protestantism, and, at the Diet of Orebro, in 1529 and 1537, and of Westerås, in 1527, the Protestant doctrines were declared to be the faith of the kingdom. The Augsburg Confession was

endorsed in 1593, and the Form of Concord in 1663. Apostasy to Romanism was punished with banishment.

3. Protestantism in Denmark and Norway was introduced by men who had studied in Wittenberg, and brought back with them the new doctrines. Christian II., King of Denmark, publicly adopted them, and took measures for their approval by the whole people. John Tausen, who had studied under Luther, was appointed pastor in Copenhagen. The Roman Catholic bishops were deposed, and the property of the monasteries was appropriated to the national treasury. Protestantism was publicly adopted in Copenhagen in 1536, and the Diet of Odensee, in 1539, completed the work. The Reformation was introduced, and formally adopted, into Norway, in 1528. Danish missionaries carried it to Iceland in 1551, where an ecclesiastical constitution, similar to that of Denmark, was adopted.

Chapter XVII.

THE REFORMATION IN THE SLAVIC LANDS.

1. The Hussite Preparation was a powerful aid towards introducing the new measures. John Huss was born about 1373, and burned at Constance in 1415. He became acquainted with Wycliffe's writings when at Prague, as a professor of theology and philosophy in the University, through students who had brought them from England. He eagerly adopted them. In 1402 he was appointed preacher in the Bethlehem chapel, where he preached in the Bohemian language. He afterwards became rector of the University. He attacked all the chief evils of the Church in his day, and in due time the opposition to him became intense. The King of Bohemia took his part. The struggle between the pope and Huss was long in doubt, the people being with the latter, and the priesthood with the former. Pope John XXIII. summoned a general council, which met in Constance in 1414. Huss was ordered thither, and was promised personal safety. But the pledges were violated, and in June, 1415, he was publicly burned, and his ashes cast into Lake Constance. But his cause did not die with him. His followers lived as a political and ecclesiastical party in the retired parts of the country. They withdrew to the rugged mountains of Moravia, and lived in quiet. The Moravians who afterwards went from there, and settled in Herrnhut, in Saxony, and, under Zinzendorf, became known as the United Brethren, are the spiritual descendants of John Huss.

2. The Protestantism of Germany had warm sympathizers in every part of Bohemia. Preachers went back and forth between Bohemia and Wittenberg, and Luther was in frequent consultation with them as to the best means of introducing the reform. The Calvinistic theology, together with that of Luther, was likewise introduced. So successful was the work, that the greater part of the country became Protestant. The Jesuits, however, made this one of their favorite fields, and, with the emperor on their side, gradually gained the upper hand. In 1627 Protestants were declared heretics, and had to choose between Romanism and death. A universal exile was the result.

3. Poland. Bohemian Protestants carried the doctrines of Protestantism into Poland, at this time a powerful and independent kingdom. The crime of the partition and absorption of that country by Prussia, Austria, and Russia was reserved for a later and more enlightened century, being begun in 1768, and completed in 1795. Luther's writings were introduced with great success, but opposed by the king, Sigismund I. His successor, Sigismund Augustus, was favorable to Protestantism, but the movement was weakened by a strife between the Lutheran and Calvinistic confessions. The Protestant nobility formed a league, by which a compromise was reached, in 1573. But there was no general prosperity of the Protestants. They grew in Livonia, and other parts of the Baltic coast, but in the interior they led a feeble existence, being ground beneath the schemes of Jesuits and the political revolutions that came from the efforts of Poland to preserve

her independence. The work of Protestant disintegration was greatly aided by a colony of Italians, who were so permeated with the skeptical Humanism of their country that they were illy prepared for an evangelical Protestantism.

4. Hungary and Transylvania were early fields for the Reformation. Many students went from those far-off regions to Wittenberg, and carried back with them a warm admiration of Luther and an inborn devotion to his cause. Martin Cyriaci was one of the number, and he began to preach, in 1524, in favor of the reform. Matthias Devay translated the Bible into Hungarian, and it was widely circulated. In 1545 the Synod of Erdod formally adopted the Augsburg Confession as the theological standard of the country. Much of the favor which was shown to Protestantism came from the merchants who had attended the Leipzig Fair every year since Luther had begun to preach. When these returned, they not only brought back with them books in favor of the Reformation, but a profound sympathy with the doctrines. Reformers went from Basel, which was in the Protestant ferment, and did much to aid in the good work of propagation. The kings Lewis II., Ferdinand, and John Zapoyla opposed the reform, while Maximilian I. favored it. The Peace of Vienna, however, in 1606, resulted in its favor. Both the Lutheran and Calvinist types of theology were represented. The people who spoke the German language, and heard of the Reformation from preachers who had studied in Wittenberg, adopted the Augsburg Confession, while those who were under the teaching of Swiss preachers adopted the Helvetic Confession.

Chapter XVIII.

SURVEY OF RESULTS.

1. The Fruits of the Reformation are not difficult to find. Hitherto there had been but little liberty granted the common people. They were oppressed both civilly and ecclesiastically, and all the political convulsions were of little fruit for them. The Hanse or Free Cities constituted a confederation of powerful centres, extending from the North Sea down to the Alps. They arose as a reaction against despotic measures, but no sooner did they gain independence than they were as repressive as their masters had been. The effect of the Reformation was to elevate the people to a thirst for liberty and a higher and purer citizenship. Wherever the Protestant cause extended, it made the masses more self-asserting. Social respect and order were introduced, and subjected to firm regulation. Nations were taught a higher regard for each other's rights, and kings learned that their subjects were no longer mere playthings or serfs. In some countries the aspiration for independence took organized shape. The Reformation became the mother of republics. The Dutch Republic was born of the efforts of the Protestants of the Netherlands to secure liberty of conscience. No thought of civil independence animated the Dutch at the outset. They simply fought for liberty of doctrine and worship. But once in the current, they were carried on. They builded

more wisely than they knew, and so founded a nation whose commerce covered every sea, whose discoveries reached the antipodes, and whose universities became the pride and wonder of Europe.

2. The American Union owes a large measure of its genesis to the European struggle for reform. The Germans who came with Penn to this country were strongly attached to the doctrines of Luther, and immediately began to build churches and establish schools in that interest. The Dutch who settled in New York and the adjacent country brought with them a fervent love of Protestantism, which had been the creative force of their nation at home, and which their fathers had bought at the price of their treasure and blood. The Swedes of New Jersey and Delaware were animated with the same attachment, which they had enjoyed in Scandinavia. The Huguenots, who came here and settled in many places along the coast, from Massachusetts down to Georgia, found that safe asylum which was denied them at home, because of their fidelity to their conscience. The Pilgrims who came over in the *Mayflower*, and became the strongest nucleus in the development of our northern colonies, were fugitives from oppression in their native England. All these elements, the finest wheat from the trampled harvest-fields of Europe, combined on these shores, and became a unit in this western planting of evangelical Christianity. Villers says with truth, after speaking of the debt which the United States owe to the Reformation: "Powerful republics are based on the Reformation. Republican principles, more powerful than weapons of steel, have been introduced among all nations. Great revolutions have come from this source, and those yet to come are innumerable."

3. The Promotion of Learning was not the least benefit conferred upon the world by the Reformation. Cultured men were its first advocates. The universities were the cradles of Protestantism. Wherever superstition and other abnormal tendencies appeared, the Reformers promptly rebuked them. The translation of the Scriptures had the effect to formulate and solidify the languages as no other literary movement had been able to do. Wycliffe's Bible preserved the Saxon tongue, and our Authorized Version, or King James's version, shows its constant dependence upon his translation. Luther found the German a mere conglomeration of rude and coarse dialects, and, in his translation of the Bible, he grouped the best and purest idioms, and, for the first time, made the German a unit.

4. Literature.—Universities sprang up throughout Germany as an immediate fruit of the Reformation. The University of Leyden was the first creation of the new nation, which was born after the siege of that city was raised, and the Spanish troops left the land. Not until now, and then only as a fruit of the Reformation, was the Gospel generally preached in the popular language. When Œcolampadius, in 1522, began to preach in German, in the castle of Franz von Sickingen, even the friends of the reform regarded it as a dangerous procedure. His friend, Caspar Hedio, for example, thought it hurrying matters too rapidly. In 1515 Leo X. issued his prohibition against the printing and publication of all books translated from the Greek, the Hebrew, and the Arabic languages, but when the Reformation was once in progress the printing-press was free. The study of all the languages became a new fascination, which no edict could destroy. Public schools were introduced, though crudely at first, in Germany,

directly through Luther's labors. The intermediate schools, between the lower and highest education, were established. The German gymnasium of our times owes its real origin to the period of the Reformation. During the centuries since the Reformation over twenty universities, three fourths of which are Protestant, have been founded in Germany alone. Holland has built up, in addition to the University of Leyden, five other universities, and all are the direct result of her Protestantism. Everywhere, where the Reformation triumphed and became a permanent force, the cause of education, good morals, and political liberty advanced securely and rapidly.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE 400TH ANNIVERSARY OF LUTHER'S BIRTH.

The Memories of the Reformation have been renewed by the celebration on November 11, 1883, of the 400th anniversary of the birth of Luther. The day was observed with becoming festivities in all the Protestant countries of the world. In Germany, as might be expected, the enthusiasm was more intense than anywhere else. In Berlin there was a procession of children, numbering nearly one hundred thousand, to whom the Emperor William distributed copies of the works of the Reformer. Services were held in all the Protestant churches, and eulogies were pronounced on Luther and his achievements in behalf of all Teutonic peoples. In anticipation of November 11, the Crown Prince of Prussia, Frederic William, proceeded to Wittenberg, taking with him a laurel wreath, which, amid the silence of the multitude, he laid upon Luther's grave, in the floor of the Castle Church. Immediately afterwards the people sang Luther's martial hymn, which was caught up by the throngs in the streets and along the country roads. In Eisenach, which claimed the honor of having discovered Luther's genius when a choir-boy singing for his bread, the festivities were such as to attract people from every part of the Thuringian Forest. In Eisleben, where he was born and died, there was a popular rejoicing not excelled in any part of Germany. The entire day was devoted to the

celebration. The nobility and peasantry vied with each other in doing honor to the miner's son. Scenic representations, in which all the leading participants of the Reformation were personified, and marched at the head of a great procession through the streets, constituted the chief feature of the ceremonies by which the quaint town did honor to its own child. Even the Old Catholics of Germany, through the example and encouraging words of Döllinger, paid a tribute to Luther's memory, because of the service he had done to the language and spiritual life of the Fatherland.

In all the Slavic and Scandinavian countries the same regard was paid to the memory of Luther. Even in the very lands where his writings had been burned, wherever a little Protestant society exists, by whatever denominational name it may be called, religious services were held and tributes to the Reformer pronounced. Such celebrations were observed in Spain, where the Protestants in Madrid, Barcelona, Seville, Bilboa, and other cities united with their brethren in Germany and the whole world in honoring Luther's name and memory. In Paris and other parts of France, where his doctrines had been despised, and from which Calvin, and, later, hundreds of thousands of Huguenots, had been driven, the same rejoicings took place. In Italy, there was a thoroughly organized plan to celebrate the Reformer's birthday wherever Protestantism had gained a foothold. In Florence there was first an immense children's meeting, which was followed by a general gathering, where missionaries from foreign countries united with the Waldenses and other native Protestants, each making an address in his own language, and the people singing Luther's hymn in Italian:

"Forte Rocca é il nostro Dio."

In Rome a large memorial service was held, where a sermon was preached, addresses made, and hymns sung. In Naples there was a similar celebration, where representatives of the Protestantism of many countries united in doing honor to the memory of Luther. Even as far south as Sicily, where, in the 16th century, it was certain death to profess sympathy with the Wittenberg heretic, there was a large meeting in Palermo, under the presidency of the venerable patriot, Emmanuele Sartorio. In the United States all Protestant denominations united in doing honor to the memory of Luther. Every department of his great work and character was made the subject of special consideration, in churches from the Atlantic across to the Pacific Ocean. It is a striking proof of the growing interest, even in secular circles, that, on the morning following this unique celebration in Eisleben, all the details appeared in both English and German in the New York daily papers. History nowhere furnishes a higher tribute to the recognition of the worth of the worker for his fellowmen than in the fact that multitudes of Americans gathered in the churches and public halls to recall in gratitude and love the life and service of a miner's son, who was born when there was not a Christian on this Continent, and nine years before Columbus set out on the voyage that led to its discovery.

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