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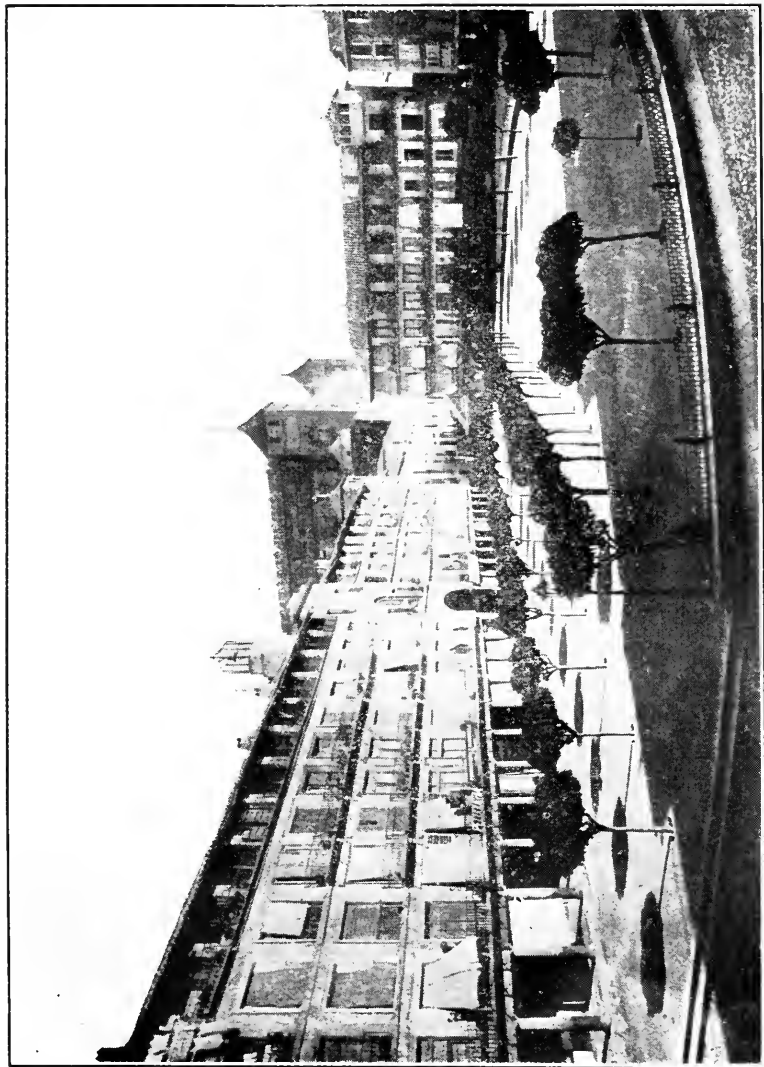
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The Heidelberg catechism in
its newest light

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THE HEIDELBERG CATECHISM IN ITS
NEWEST LIGHT



THE SQUARE OF THE ZOCODOVER, TOLEDO, SPAIN, WHERE AVENTROT, WHO TRANSLATED THE HEIDELBERG CATECHISM INTO SPANISH, WAS BURNED TO DEATH BY THE INQUISITION. SEE PAGES 27-31.

SEP 18 1894

The Heidelberg Catechism In Its Newest Light

BY

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"ORIGIN OF THE REFORMED CHURCH OF GERMANY," "HISTORY OF THE
REFORMED CHURCH OF GERMANY," "HISTORY OF THE REFORMED
CHURCH IN THE U. S.," "HISTORY OF THE REFORMED
CHURCH IN THE U.S. IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY,"
"FAMOUS WOMEN IN THE REFORMED CHURCH,"
"FAMOUS MISSIONARIES OF THE REFORMED
CHURCH," "FAMOUS PLACES OF THE
REFORMED CHURCH," ETC.

PHILADELPHIA
PUBLICATION AND SUNDAY SCHOOL BOARD OF THE
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1914

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PREFACE

This work on the Heidelberg catechism is intended to give the new light that has been thrown on the catechism, mainly within the last fifty years,—since the Tercentenary Jubilee was held, in 1863, by the Reformed Church in the United States. However, it also includes some light previous to that time, but which does not seem to have attracted the attention of the American writers on the catechism.

A number of the chapters have been delivered as Addresses during the 350th Anniversary of the Catechism. The form of address, therefore, appears in a number of places, especially in the last two chapters. Because delivered as Addresses, there is occasionally a reduplication of thought and expression.

The author is especially indebted to the librarians of the libraries of the Leyden and Utrecht universities, and also of the Royal Library at the Hague, Holland; to private docent Charles de Erdos, of Debreczin, Hungary; Superintendent Dusek, of Kolin, Bohemia; Rev. Mr. Bekker, a Dutch missionary of Java; Rev. Mr. Fliedner, of Madrid, Spain; Rev. Prof. Wyckoff, of India; Rev. Dr. Schneder, of Japan; Revs. Drs. Amerman and Chamberlain, of the Dutch Reformed Foreign Mission Board; Prof. Mülinen, of Berne, Switzerland; Rev. Mr. Rauws, of the Dutch Missionary Societies of Rotterdam; Rev. Mr. Clark, Superintendent of the Methodist Missions of Rome; also the Church Missionary Society of London,

and Rev. Mr. Geist, of Riga, Russia, for aid given on the translations of the catechism. The author also desires to express his obligations to Rev. A. S. Bromer for suggestions as to the details of its publication. He sends out this book as a result of the 350th Anniversary of the Catechism, and for the greater glory of this book, which has been such a blessing to the Reformed Church and the world.

P. S.—The author would call attention to the binding of this book (blue and white), which were the colors of the Palatinate and of Elector Frederick III. The shield in the corner of the cover is the shield in the upper right hand corner of the Palatinate coat-of-arms, printed in black and white in the title-page, opposite page 4.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PART I

THE WORLD-WIDE CIRCULATION OF THE CATECHISM

	PAGE
CHAPTER 1. THE TRANSLATIONS	3
“ 2. INTERESTING FACTS CONNECTED WITH THE TRANSLATIONS	22

PART II

THE SOURCES OF THE CATECHISM

CHAPTER 1. THE PREVIOUS CATECHISMS	39
“ 2. THE CATECHISM OF URSINUS' BOYHOOD.....	80
“ 3. PETER RAMUS AND HIS SIGNIFICANCE FOR THE CATECHISM	102

PART III

THE AUTHORS OF THE CATECHISM

A—ELECTOR FREDERICK III

CHAPTER 1. THE CONVERSION OF ELECTOR FREDERICK III TO THE REFORMED FAITH	123
“ 2. IS THERE A MELANCTHON-CALVINISTIC THEOLOGY.	173
“ 3. THE DEFENSE OF THE CATECHISM BY ELECTOR FREDERICK III	184

B—CASPER OLEVIANUS

“ 4. THE THREATENED MARTYRDOM OF OLEVIANUS AT TREVES	201
------------------------------------------------------------	-----

C—ZACHARIAH URSINUS

“ 5. URSINUS' CONVERSION TO THE REFORMED.....	242
“ 6. CRATO OF CRAFTHEIM, URSINUS' PATRON.....	255
“ 7. THE UNIVERSITY DAYS OF URSINUS.....	268

PART IV

CONCLUSION

CHAPTER I. THE PECULIAR SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PUBLICATION OF THE CATECHISM IN 1563.....	283
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ILLUSTRATIONS

THE SQUARE OF ZOCODOVER, TOLEDO, SPAIN.....	Frontispiece
TITLE-PAGE OF THE ORIGINAL EDITION IN THE GERMAN LANGUAGE	Opposite page 4
TITLE-PAGES OF THE LATIN TRANSLATIONS....	Between pages 10-11
TITLE-PAGE OF THE DUTCH TRANSLATION.....	Opposite page 16
“ “ FRENCH TRANSLATION.....	Opposite page 20
“ “ GREEK TRANSLATION.....	Opposite page 24
“ “ POLISH TRANSLATION.....	Opposite page 30
“ “ LITHAUANIAN TRANSLATION.	Opposite page 36
THE FIRST ANSWER OF THE ITALIAN TRANSLATION.	Opposite page 40
TITLE-PAGE OF THE BOHEMIAN TRANSLATION....	Opposite page 46
“ “ ROMANSCH TRANSLATION ..	Opposite page 50
TITLE-PAGES OF THE MALAY TRANSLATIONS....	Between pages 56-57
THE FIRST ANSWER OF THE JAVANESE TRANSLATION.	Opposite page 62
TITLE-PAGES OF THE PORTUGUESE TRANSLATION.	Between pages 70-71
TITLE-PAGE OF THE SINGALESE TRANSLATION....	Opposite page 76
“ “ TAMIL TRANSLATION.....	Opposite page 84
“ “ CHINESE TRANSLATION.....	Opposite page 90
“ “ JAPANESE TRANSLATION.....	Opposite page 96
“ “ SANGIRI TRANSLATION....	Opposite page 110
“ “ AMHARIC TRANSLATION....	Opposite page 116
“ “ ARABIC TRANSLATION.....	Opposite page 120
“ “ HUNGARIAN TRANSLATION..	Opposite page 126
“ “ SPANISH TRANSLATION....	Opposite page 130

PART I
THE WORLD-WIDE CIRCULATION OF THE
CATECHISM

The Heidelberg Catechism

CHAPTER I

THE TRANSLATIONS

“THE Heidelberg catechism, next to the Bible and the Pilgrim’s Progress, is the most widely circulated of books,” is the remark of one of the old writers. Whether this estimate, made long ago, is exactly true now may be questioned, as some other books have since become widely popular. But the fact, nevertheless, remains true; the Heidelberg catechism is one of the most widely circulated books in the world. In order to have such popularity the catechism had to be translated into many languages. Köcher, a century and a half ago, and Van Alpen, a century ago, tried to describe its history and literature. Since then we do not know of any one who has tried to describe its translations in any thorough way. And yet the story of these translations, together with their history, is of wonderful interest and reveals the great popularity of the book.

The original language of the Heidelberg catechism was, of course, the German,* because it was composed for use in a German state, the Palatinate, in southwestern Germany, where it was published early in 1563. A number of German editions appeared in that year. Their

* See its title-page opposite the next page.

number has been generally given as four, but Rev. Professor Goeters, of Bonn university, who has been making researches, has found other editions of that year.

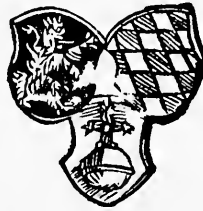
It has been a question which language had the honor of the first translation. No less than three translations appeared in that first year. Heretofore, it has been supposed that the Latin version,* made by Rev. Mr. Lagus, of Heidelberg, together with Professor Pithopoeus, of the Latin school there, was the first. For Latin was the universal language of that day, the language of literature, commerce and diplomacy; and so the catechism was early translated into that language for use in the higher schools and universities. But the late Professor Doudes, of the University of Utrecht, who was one of the great authorities on the catechism, has in his researches unearthed two Dutch translations of 1563, one published at Heidelberg. The other was published at Emden, that Reformed city at the northwestern corner of Germany. Now this Emden translation was made from the second edition of the catechism, while the Latin was made from the third edition. The Emden Church may, therefore, have made this translation before the third edition appeared. The truth probably was that the Reformed Church at Emden, the first of the Reformed Churches in Germany, seems to have been so delighted to have another Reformed Church in Germany that it did not wait long, but hastened to put itself under the powerful protection of the Elector of the Palatinate by publishing his catechism in Dutch, which was the language of Emden at that time, so that it might be used in its churches and schools. From these facts it looks very much as if the Dutch translation was made

* See two Latin title-pages: one of 1563, the other of 1585, between pages 10-11.

Catechismus

Oder

Christlicher Vnderricht/
wie der in Kirchen vnd Schu-
len der Churfürstlichen
Pfalz gerrieben
wirdt.



Gedruckt in der Churfürstli-
chen Stad Heydelberg / durch
Johannem Mayer.
1 5 6 3.

The title-page of the Heidelberg catechism in the German language (the original language). See page 3.

before the Latin. But whether so or not, the catechism* soon came into use in the Netherlands, for in 1566 it was used in Amsterdam by Peter Gabriel, in spite of the persecutions of that time, and in 1568 it, together with Calvin's catechism, was adopted by the Dutch synod of Wesel. Later this adoption was completed by the action of the Dutch synod of Dort in 1574. In 1618-1619 the General Synod of the Reformed Churches of Europe, also held at Dort, adopted it, and thus virtually made it the ecumenical symbol of the Reformed Churches, because that synod had in it delegates from most of the National Reformed Churches. This Dutch translation is now used not only in Holland but also by the Boers in South Africa, in the Dutch East Indies, in the Dutch West Indies and in Dutch Guiana in South America.

A third translation, of 1563, has been one that has caused considerable discussion. This translation was made into the German language. But why, if the catechism was already originally in German, was it necessary to translate it into German. That has been the interesting question. The title-page of this translation bears the words, "in the Saxon language." Prof. Doudes, who found this edition, supposed that it was translated into the language of northern and eastern Germany because the North-German was different from the South-German of the Palatinate, the original language of the catechism. And some very interesting questions have arisen as to why Elector Frederick III had it translated into a dialect in which there was not, at that time, a single member of the Reformed Church. But all questioning has been recently set aside. At the recent meeting of the Reformed Alliance of Germany, at Wesel, where we showed some parts of this version, they pronounced it to be in the Platt-

* See its title-page, opposite page 16.

Deutsch dialect—that is, the dialect of German as it is spoken on the borders of Holland. And this translation, made so early, explains why the Reformed faith so quickly took hold in the region of the northern Rhine, as at Wesel, and in the county of Berg, around Elberfeld.

In addition to these three translations, made in 1563, two others were made very early, and they were made into languages far distant from the Palatinate, and widely separated from each other. All this only shows how quickly the Heidelberg gained popularity. Far off to the southeast, a translation appeared in Hungarian. The catechism found its way into Hungary because of the conflicts there, at that time, about the Lord's Supper. The ministers of Kolesvar, having written to the Heidelberg theologians about their strife, the latter, in sending their reply, sent with it the newly-issued Heidelberg catechism. From that time, says Szilaggi, it spread through Hungary with the rapidity of lightning. It supplanted other catechisms, as by Batisius and Siderius, and even Calvin's catechism. In 1567, the Synod of Debreczin ordered it to be used in the churches and schools. The first translation, made at Papa, 1577, was revised by Rev. Francis Szarasy, the Reformed pastor at Debreczin, in 1604, and was still further revised by Molnar and published in Germany (at Hanau, 1608, and Oppenheim, 1612).

Also at the other end of Europe, far to the northwest, a translation appeared in the English language, made, as it says on the title-page of the edition of 1572, by William Turner, Doctor of Physic. As he died in 1568, it must have been made before that time. Thirlwall mentions an edition of 1570. Of the edition of 1572, there is a copy in the British Museum and another in the Bodleian Library, at Oxford. It was also published in 1578. The

publication of so many editions in so short a time shows that it very quickly gained popularity in England.

Thus, within five years after its publication, the Heidelberg had been already translated into five languages. Then, several more translations appeared before the end of the sixteenth century. Prof. David Pareus, the successor of Ursinus as professor at Heidelberg university, states, in 1633, that a translation of the Heidelberg was made into Hebrew by Tremellius, the converted Jew, who was professor of Hebrew at Heidelberg university. It must have been made before 1580, when he died. We have, as yet, been unable to find a copy of this translation, though we found a translation by Tremellius of Calvin's catechism into Hebrew, made before the Heidelberg was published. There is a missionary suggestion about this translation of the Heidelberg. Tremellius was one of the first Protestants to be interested in the conversion of the Jews, and the catechism was translated for that purpose. It was, therefore, the second attempt by Protestants at missions, the first having been made by Calvin, in Brazil, in 1557.

A translation into the French language* appeared at Heidelberg in 1570, a copy of which is to be found in the library of the university of Leyden. Although the Heidelberg never became the official catechism of the Reformed Church of France, which used Calvin's catechism, yet this French translation was used in the Huguenot churches of Germany and Holland, and also in the southern part of the canton of Bern, where, in the district of Vaud, the French language was used. This translation was also used in Neuchatel.

A Greek translation was also made in the sixteenth

* See its title-page, opposite page 20.

century by Sylburg, in 1597, at Heidelberg. It was translated into Greek, so that it might be sent to the Patriarch of the Greek Church. This edition was later published at Geneva, in 1609, and by the Elzevirs, in 1648. In fact, there were two translations into Greek, this one, by Sylburg, into ancient Greek, and another, made in 1648,* into modern Greek. One of the most elegantly bound translations ever published was this edition in modern Greek. It was published by the Dutch government, and at its expense, and contained also the Belgic Confession and the Canons of Dort. This Greek version was intended for use by Greek Christians. At that time, one of the burning religious questions was, "With which Church would the Greek Church ally herself—the Catholic or the Protestant?" Cyril Lucar, patriarch of Constantinople, visited western Europe and became deeply interested in the closer union of the Greek Church with the Protestant. But he was martyred, and the old, fossilized Greek Church found the Romish Church more congenial. All this shows that the Dutch government saw its opportunity to spread the Reformed faith, and were quick to utilize it by the publication of the Heidelberg.

Another translation was the Polish,† made by Andrew Prasmovius. It there became popular, notwithstanding that Poland had already two or three excellent catechisms. It is still used by the Reformed Church of Poland, which has passed through so many persecutions and oppressions. There was also a translation of the Heidelberg catechism into the Lithauanian language.‡ Still another translation, made in the reformation, was into Italian.**

* See its title-page, opposite page 24.

† See its title-page, opposite page 30.

‡ See its title-page, opposite page 36.

** See its first answer, opposite page 40.

It was probably used by the Italian Reformed of the Swiss canton of the Grisons, southeast of Switzerland.

We thus see that, by the end of the sixteenth century, only a little over a quarter-century after its first publication, it was already translated into eleven languages: Dutch, Latin, Saxon-German, Hungarian, English, Hebrew, French, Greek, Polish, Lithauanian and Italian. All this only reveals the unusual popularity of the book, especially when we consider in what far-distant lands it was published and how it supplanted some of the best catechisms, as Calvin's, in Hungary and Scotland; Pezel's, at Bremen, etc. It evidently met a felt want of the Church by its remarkable combination of head- and heart-piety, or it would not have been so widely and quickly adopted.

The seventeenth century was also a great century of catechism translations. Among the first translations of this century was that in the Bohemian language.* It was translated by James Akantidō Mitis, in Skramnik, and published 1619, when the unlucky Elector Frederick V, of the Palatinate, became King of Bohemia. Quite a number of the Hussites who had been previously fraternizing with the Reformed now became openly Reformed. Especially did Kuttenberg, where thousands of the Hussites had been thrown into the silver mines to die, become Reformed, as also Kolin and other cities. Then came the awful defeat of White Mountain, near Prague, in 1620. After that the Protestants suffered untold horrors for more than a century and a half. When, in 1781, Protestantism was again tolerated, most of the Hussites became Reformed and the catechism, as revised in 1867, by De Tardy, is now used by the Reformed Church of Bohemia and Moravia.

Another translation of this century was made by the

* See its title-page, opposite page 46.

Hungarians into the Wallachian (now called the Rumanian) language, which was used in Transylvania. It was made by Stephen Fogorasi, pastor of the Wallachian Reformed Church, at Lugas, in 1648. But it never exerted much influence, as political trouble broke out in Transylvania in 1660.

A translation was made into the Romansch language*—a language which may be called the modern Italian, and is still spoken in the district of the Engadine, in southeastern Switzerland. There is a copy of this catechism of 1613 in the British Museum, and of 1686 in the library of the University of Utrecht and the British Museum. It displaced Comander's catechism, which had been an imitation of Leo Juda's catechism.

Switzerland also reveals its acceptance of the Heidelberg catechism. Notwithstanding that it had had such excellent catechisms as Leo Juda's and Calvin's, yet the Heidelberg displaced them everywhere, except Zurich, Basle and Geneva. In 1615, the canton of St. Gall officially adopted the Heidelberg. In 1616, the large canton of Bern adopted it, which led to its introduction also into Vaud and Neuchatel. And, in 1663, the canton of Schaffhausen adopted it. Parts of it were also used in the Zurich catechism of 1609.

But it was especially the Dutch who were prominent in the translation of our catechism. For to the Dutch the Heidelberg was the great symbol of Protestantism, and they aimed to spread the Reformed faith to the ends of the earth. As they sailed the seas over to the far East and the far West, they nailed the catechism to their masthead with their flag, and, with Dutch valor and success, proposed to conquer the world for it and Holland. The Dutch repeatedly translated it, even into languages

* See its title-page, opposite page 50.

**C A T E
CHESIS RELI
GIONIS CHRISTIA
NAE, QVAE TRADITVR
in Ecclesijs & Scholis
Palatinatus.**

☉



**HEYDELBERGÆ.
Excudebat Michaël Schirar.
M. D. LXIII.**

The title-page of the Heidelberg catechism in the Latin language, recently found by Rev. Prof. Gceters of Bonn university. See page 4.

CATECHESIS
RELIGIONIS
CHRISTIANAE, QVAE
TRADITVR IN ECCLESIIS
ET SCHOLIS PALATINATVS:

TESTIMONIIS S. LITTERARVM, QVÆ
*pius ad marginem duntaxat erant numeris notata,
plenis integrisq; iam confirmata
& illustrata.*

ACCESSERE

CENSURA THEOLOGORVM QVO-
rundam in hanc Catechesin; &

CL. VIRI D. ZACHARIÆ VRSINI,
*Theologi summi, pie memoriae, ad eam, ac quaestiones
quasdam de Cœna Domini,*

RESPONSIO ET ARTICVLI, QVIBVS
conueniunt ac disident in Eucharistica contro-
uersia Ecclesiae Evangelicæ:

GERMANICE SCRIPTA PRIMUM:
nunc in latinam linguam translata.

SUBIUNCTA EST

DIATRIBE SEV TRACTATVS DE
Vbiquitate & orali manducatione car-
nis Christi:

EDITA IN GRATIAM IUVENTVTIS
verè pietatis, & pie veritatis amanti,

STVDIO ET OPERA QVIRINI REYTERI M,

M. D. LXXXV.

The title-page of the Heidelberg catechism in the Latin language. See page 4.

in which there was not a single Protestant, probably in the hope that it would make some of them Protestants. The Dutch East India and West India Companies had it translated into the different languages of their distant lands, and put their coat-of-arms on the title-page.* This is quite in contrast with the East India Company of Great Britain, for that company, for a long time, forbade the introduction of Christianity into its colonies for fear of exciting the hostility of the heathen natives. Thus, when William Carey went to India, they did not permit him to begin work in their colony, and he was compelled to begin missionary work in the Danish East Indies. And later, when Haldane proposed to go to India, the East India Company would not permit it. In fact, one of its directors once uttered the almost profane expression that "he would rather have devils than missionaries in India." What a contrast between the English and the Dutch East India Companies. The latter had the Heidelberg catechism translated and circulated among the natives of its colonies. With true Dutch bravery they never acted cowardly before their natives, like the British East India Company. They put their coat-of-arms on its title-page. They sent chaplains to their colonies, many of them to become missionaries. Especially in the East Indies they did a great missionary work, of which we of the English language make too little. We hear of Ziegenbalg and Schwarz in India, great missionaries they were, but they were not by any

* The monogram of the Dutch East India Company, N. V. O. C., as shown in our plate of the title-page of the Singalese translation of the Heidelberg, is generally found on the title-page of the catechisms published for the East Indies. Those Dutch Reformed were not cowardly or afraid of their heathen subjects but boldly declared their Christian faith.

means doing as great a work as the Dutch in the East Indias.

The Dutch East India Company had the Heidelberg catechism translated in the Malay language,* Köcher says, in 1621, but the first edition we can find is 1623. It was translated by Rev. Mr. Danckaerts and published at the expense of the East India Company. Two editions of it were published in Latin characters. Then, in 1746, a very curious edition appeared, an edition in the Malay language, but printed in Arabic characters.† It was published by the Dutch government, and made, as its preface says, for the use of the Malay pupils in the seminary at Batavia, so that they might, in their own characters, be better able to learn the doctrines of the Gospel. This reveals the interesting fact that the Malays seem to have had no written language of their own, but had accepted the language of their Mohammedan religion, the Arabic, as their own.

The Dutch also had a translation made into the language of Java by Wilhelm, but in what year we do not know. A new edition by Janz‡ was recently published by Rev. Dr. Bekker, a Javanese missionary.

The Dutch East India Company also had the catechism translated and published in the Portuguese language in 1665 (also in 1689).** This is also a significant translation, for there was not a single Protestant among the Portuguese. But the Dutch were courageous. They proposed to make them Protestants and had the Heidelberg ready for use when opportunity offered. O how great was the faith of the Dutch in their catechism!

* See its title-page, between pages 56-57.

† See its title-page, between pages 56-57.

‡ See its first answer, opposite page 62.

** See their title-pages, between pages 70-71.

And now two hundred and fifty years later, Portugal, at last a republic, is opening up to the Protestantism of which this Heidelberg catechism was a long-ago prophecy.

But an even more interesting translation, of which we shall say more presently, was the translation made by the Dutch into the Spanish language and published by the Dutch government in 1628. It was intended for use in its colonies in the West Indies. This Spanish translation has been for centuries a sort of a phantom. Pareus, early in the seventeenth century, in his "History of the Palatinate," speaks of a translation for the West Indies, but does not tell into what language it was made. Oelrichs, in 1793, calls attention to a rare translation into the Spanish language. Thus the Dutch government was ready to introduce our catechism into the East and West Indies, so as to make the ends of the earth Reformed.

The eighteenth century was not so prolific in the translation of the Heidelberg, but it is to be remembered that the eighteenth century was the century of rationalism, which blighted almost everything. Still two translations are to be noted. And they were both made by the Dutch for use in the East Indies. The first was a translation into the Singalese language,* the language of the island of Ceylon. It had been made in 1726 and was printed by the East India Company, at the suggestion of the Dutch Reformed Consistory of Colombo in the island of Ceylon. It was made by William Konyn, and published 1741 (also 1769 and 1780).

A second translation of that century was made into the Tamil language† of southern India by Rev. Mr. Bronsveld, a Dutch minister of Colombo. It, too, was published by the Dutch East India Company. Its preface

* See its title-page, opposite page 76.

† See its title-page, opposite page 84.

is dated 1754 and there was another edition in 1766. It is still used by the Arcot Mission of the Dutch Reformed Church of America, the mission of the Scudders and Dr. Chamberlain. There is a catechism of 1730 in the library of the University of Leyden. It is catalogued as in the Malabar language, but is really in the Tamil language. It is not the Heidelberg, but is probably based on it, as it, like the Heidelberg, is divided into three parts. It was, according to its preface, published by the Dutch of Colombo.

The nineteenth century however came in to revive the work of translating the Heidelberg catechism. This was due to the great peculiarity of the nineteenth century, namely the spread of foreign missions. A translation of the Heidelberg was made into the Chinese language* for use in the Amoy mission of the Dutch Reformed Church of America. It was made in the Chinese colloquial of southern China and was printed, not in Chinese characters, but in Latin letters.

The same Church, through its Foreign Mission Board, had the catechism translated into the Japanese language. And there was later a second translation made into Japanese about the year 1885, by Rev. Ambrose Gring, a missionary of the German Reformed Church of America.† The catechism was also translated by one of the foreign mission societies of Holland into the language of the Sangiri Islands,‡ which are located near the Islands of Celebes and the Philippines, in the southern Pacific.

A translation was also made into the Amharic language, the language of Abyssinia in northeastern Africa, by a missionary named Isenberg, of whom we will speak

* See its title-page, opposite page 90.

† See its title page, opposite page 96.

‡ See its title-page, opposite page 110.

later. It was published in 1842. It is perhaps the quaintest of all the translations in its appearance.*

The most recent translation is that into the Arabic language† by the Dutch Reformed Church of America. Around the Arabic version of our catechism there has long hung somewhat of a mystery. Van Alpen speaks of such a translation, but we have not been able to find a copy. Professor Hottinger in the seventeenth century said that a translation had been made by Golius, the great Orientalist of that day. Whether it was ever published or not we know not. No copy has been found. It is possible that Köcher in mentioning this, may have confused the Malay translation, in Arabic characters, for an Arabic translation. But whatever uncertainty there may have been in the past, has all been dispelled by this new translation by the Dutch Reformed Board in 1913. This Arabic translation is probably the most beautiful and artistic of them all, because Arabic is the most beautiful of languages, although the Javanese and Tamil versions are quite beautiful.

We have so far mentioned the Heidelberg catechism in twenty-seven languages and dialects.‡ And there are some others that probably exist. Thus Van Alpen mentions a Scotch version. He probably means a translation into English, but published in Scotland, as it is hardly possible that there was a translation into the old Scotch language, known as the Gaelic. Indeed, several editions of the Heidelberg were early published in Scotland, even in the sixteenth and the early part of the seventeenth centuries.

* See its title-page, opposite page 116.

† See its title-page, opposite page 120.

‡ The author has in his library the Heidelberg catechism in twenty-two languages and dialects, among them a second edition of the German, published in 1563.

Professor Doudes also mentions a version of the Heidelberg in the Persian language. We have tried to find it, but it is not known by modern Persian scholars. It must have been in old Persian, and perhaps made by the Dutch government for the Eastern peoples, as it made the Greek version for them. It yet remains to be solved whether there was a version made into the language of the Island of Formosa, where the Dutch missionaries labored in the seventeenth century, and also whether a translation was made into the Tapuyan language, of Brazil, in that century, where the Dutch had a colony. There is also a possibility of a version of an abbreviation of it in one of the languages of the foreign mission of the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa. Nor does this seem to be an end to the translations of the Heidelberg, for within a year we have heard of the possibility of one or two more translations being made for heathen nations.

We have not in this hurried survey paused to speak of the peculiarities of some of these translations. A passing reference might be made to the peculiarities of the original German edition, although these are so well known. The first edition of 1563 did not have the eightieth answer, the second had about five-sixths of it, and the third edition of that year added the last sentence that the mass was an "accursed idolatry."

Some of the translations reveal like peculiarities. Thus one enlarged the catechism, the other shortened it. The first was the German edition of the catechism as used by the Canton of Bern in Switzerland. It made a strange addition to the twenty-seventh answer, that beautiful answer about God's providence. The addition reads:

"And although sin through God's providence was con-

Kerckenordeninge.

C Gelyck als

die Leere / heylige Sacramen-
ten / ende Ceremonien / in des Doo-
luchtrichsien / hoochghebooren Do-
st ende h. Eere / h. E. A. Frederick Paltz-
graue by den sijn / des heyligen Room-
schen Kijcks / Eertzdorst ende
Guervorst / Hartoch in Seye-
ren / &c. Chervorstens
dooms byden sijn /
gheholden
wort.



Wt den hoochduytschen nu-
niew in Nederduytsch neerste-
lick Ouerghesedt.

Shedruckt int Jaer onles He-
ren Ihesu Christi / 1566.

The title-page of the Heidelberg catechism in the Dutch language. See pages 4-5.



trolled, yet God is not the author of sin, for the aim distinguishes the work. See examples of Joseph and his brethren, David and Shimei, Christ and the Jews."

A very interesting question comes up as to the reason why this addition was made. It appears to be a relic of the days when Bern was very highly Calvinistic, even supralapsarian, as in the early seventeenth century.* And this seems to have been added to the catechism so as to explain an objection to their supralapsarian view, that it made God the author of sin. Over against this the answer says, "that God is not the author of sin." It is strange, however, that this addition continued in the catechism, for by the seventeenth century, lower views of Calvinism were common in Bern and in the nineteenth century the canton fell away from Calvinism, as it gave up the Second Helvetic Confession. But this addition has never been revised out of the catechism.

The other amended version instead of lengthening the catechism, shortened it. It was the Hungarian.† This catechism was shortened by leaving out the parts offensive to the Catholics. The catechism was used entire in Hungary up to the reign of the Empress Maria Theresa. She, however, according to privat-docent Erdos, of Debreczin, forbade the use of the catechism three times: in September 23, 1748; January 10, 1749, and March 11, 1757, and this decree was in force during her life. Her son, the more liberal Emperor Joseph II, permitted it to be printed and used, but it was an expurgated edition, the clauses against the Romanists being omitted. Thus, answer thirty is largely omitted, the part where it says, "they boast of Him in words, but

* See my "History of the Reformed Church of Switzerland," pages 46-55 and 166-167.

† See its title-page, opposite page 126.

deny him as Saviour, and that he is a complete Saviour" being left out. Also the end of answer eighty is cut off, "so that the mass is at bottom nothing else than a denial of the one sacrifice and sufferings of Jesus Christ and an accursed idolatry." This expurgated catechism appeared in 1787 and was used by the Reformed Church of Hungary until 1891, when Prof. Joseph Erdos, of Debreczin, published the complete catechism, and this is now used.

Time also fails to speak of the abbreviated editions of the Heidelberg. Thus, in German, Count John Casimir, of the Palatinate, published one in 1585. Another was published by Prof. F. A. Krummacher, and still another at Elberfeld in 1849. There were also abbreviated editions in the Dutch, as the one made by the Synod of Dort and in use in this country by the Dutch Reformed, and entitled "A Compendium of Christian Religion." There was also a Dutch Shorter Heidelberg by Bekker, 1668. Maresius published one in French, Martinius in Latin. Recently Rev. Prof. D. Van Horne, of the Central Theological Seminary, Dayton, Ohio, has published a fine edition with the answers abbreviated. The Heidelberg also served as the basis of various catechetical works, as of "The Milk of Truth," by Rev. Prof. F. A. Lampe (1718) and in our own Church in the catechisms of Helffenstein, Rahausen and others.

Time also fails to speak of the poetical editions of the catechisms. Its prose was repeatedly turned into poetry. Peucer published a German version (1597) and another was published at Wesel, 1742. Thus, Francis Plante, the court preacher of Count John Maurice, of Brazil, wrote epigrams in Latin on it, Leyden, 1679. Klaarbout published its questions and answers in rhyme in Amsterdam, 1725, and Bekker also in 1661. We

found an interesting poetical version in German at Heidelberg, done into quite good German poetry and set to different tunes, so that it could be sung. Its preface says it was made in order that illiterate people might be better able to learn its truth. We also found in Switzerland, especially in the cantons of Schaffhausen and Bern, hymnbooks with catechetical hymns for its use. Thus John Rudolph Keller, of Bern, in 1723, published "Hymns on the Catechism." The Schaffhausen catechisms of 1718 and 1763 had catechetical hymns at the end.

But these translations of the Heidelberg are interesting, not only on account of their authors, but also on account of the history that is connected with them. There is not one of them that has not had an impressive history. Quite a number of them have earned the right to be called "Martyrs' catechisms," because the blood of martyrs has been shed for them. Of these are the German, Dutch, French, Romansch, Bohemian, Hungarian, Polish, Italian and Spanish. We have space here to refer only to a few of them.

Thus our German version has had its martyrs brave and true in the Palatinate, in Nassau and the Northern Rhine.*

The Dutch version has had many martyrs. One hundred thousand laid down their lives for their Reformed faith, whose symbol was our catechism, as they fought and died to free their land from Spain. The awful sieges of Haarlem and Leyden are examples.†

The Romansch translation saw many martyrs to it in the Engadine region of Switzerland, in the Thirty

* See my "History of the Reformed Church of Germany," pages 16-93, 225-307, and "Famous Women of the Reformed Church," pages 177-205.

† See Motley's Histories and Griffi's "Brave Little Holland."

Years' War.*

The Italian version also had its martyrs at the beginning of that 'Thirty Years' War, in the terrible massacre of the Valtellina, where 400 were killed, as at Teglio a whole congregation was killed or burned to death in an awful holocaust.†

The Hungarian version has had its many martyrs, as in the forty Reformed ministers, who were dragged in chains all the way from the Danube to Naples, and there sold as galley-slaves.‡

The Bohemian Heidelberg catechism is also a "Martyrs' catechism," whose adherents were not allowed to worship for more than 150 years. Without pastors, churches or sacraments, they kept the faith secretly, and when toleration came they declared themselves Protestants by thousands and most of them as Reformed.

The Heidelberg catechism has thus in its various translations had a wonderful history,—a history often written in blood. Its centre the blood of Christ, it has itself been bought with blood, the blood of the martyrs. Our Church, if it manufactures another catechism, will never have such a catechism so full of history to send a thrill and inspiration like the Heidelberg.

"They climbed the steep ascent of heaven,
Through peril, toil and pain.
O God, to us may grace be given
To follow in their train."

* See my "History of the Reformed Church of Switzerland," pages 90-98.

† See my "History of the Swiss Reformed Church," pages 84-90.

‡ See my "History of the Swiss Reformed Church," pages 127-133.

Catechisme,
DES POINTS PRIN-
CIPAVX DE LA RELI-
gion Chrestienne: en forme de
Demande, tant en François
qu'en Allemand.

Selon qu'il est enseigné es Eglises & Esco-
les du Conte Palatin, Prince Electeur
du S. Empire.

Auec plusieurs Prieres.

Hauptstück Christlicher Lehre Fragweise
gesetzt. In Französischer vnd
Teutscher Sprachen ver-
fertigt!

Wie der in Schulen vnd Kirchen der Chur-
fürstlichen Pfalz getrieben wird.



Imprimé par Iacob Stær,

M. DCVII.

The title-page of the Heidelberg catechism in the French language. See page 7.



Modern catechisms are singularly uninspirational and flat as compared with the Heidelberg. Modern catechisms don't make martyrs. If our Church would make a great future, as she has a great past, she will cling to the Heidelberg.

CHAPTER II

INTERESTING FACTS CONNECTED WITH THE TRANSLATIONS

THERE is an interesting story connected with some of these translations. Some of them have a romance connected with them. Others have sad and awful tragedies, as we have seen. Perhaps we may take time to pause on three which are especially interesting in regard to their translations.

The first is the English version, which, of course, is especially interesting to us who use that language. It was made, as we have seen, by William Turner, doctor of physic. Now this translator is quite an interesting character, and his publication of the translation of the Heidelberg is quite significant. He was born at Morpeth about 1510, and studied at the university of Cambridge. There he became intimate with the British reformers, as Ridley (who taught him Greek), and Latimer, whom he often heard preach and whose Protestant teachings he accepted. On account of his ability he was made professor there, though young. But in 1540 he seems to have left Cambridge and traveled about, preaching in various places. The truth was he was one of the most ardent of the British reformers. He was hounded by the Romanizers and finally imprisoned for preaching without a license, for he was as yet a layman.

When he was released, he left England and traveled on the continent of Europe, through Holland, Germany and Italy. At Bologna he studied botany and received the degree of doctor of medicine. From that time he

became prominent as a scientist, so that he has been called "The Father of English Botany." From Bologna he went to Zurich, where Gessner, the great naturalist says: "About fifteen years ago, Turner, an Englishman, returning from Italy, paid me a visit. I found him a man of such excellent learning, both in medicine and most other sciences, so that I can scarcely mention another such person." From Zurich he went to Basle, where he published "The Hunting and Finding of the Romish Fox Among the Bishops of England." It was dedicated to King Henry VIII of England, and was a bitter exposure of the Catholics in Britain. He then became private physician of the Duke of Emden, in Germany. During this time he published a number of Protestant books, which became so popular in England that the British government, which was not as yet Protestant, forbade them in 1546.

When England became Protestant under King Edward VI, he returned to England and became private chaplain and physician to the Duke of Somerset. There he had a private botanical garden for his use as a scientist at Kew, in London. Yet he was not satisfied, for he wanted an appointment in the Church. On February 12, 1550, he was made prebend of a Church in York. But he was disappointed, for he sought a yet higher position,—namely, the presidency of Magdalen College, at Oxford, for which his ability and fame as a scientist would have fitted him. Dissatisfied, he was thinking about going to the continent again, when he was appointed dean at Wells. But even there he was uncomfortable, for he could not live in the house which belonged to the canonry, as the bishop refused to vacate and he complained of his uncomfortable quarters. On December 21, 1552, he was ordained as a priest of the Anglican Church, by Ridley. In

1553 he was deprived of his deanery and his predecessor reinstated. So he left England and went to the continent during the reign of bloody Queen Mary. He stayed at Bonn, Strasburg, Spires, Worms, Frankford, Mayence, Cologne, Weissenberg, Chur and Basle. His books were prohibited by Queen Mary.

When Queen Elizabeth ascended the throne, he returned to England, and on September 10, 1559, he preached at St. Paul's Cross, in London, before the Lord Mayor and a great audience. He then brought suit against the Catholic who had taken possession of his deanery and house at Wells. And he was restored to his deanery by royal order June 18, 1560. But meanwhile, through his association with the reformers on the continent, he had become very low-Church in his views. He opposed the ceremonies of high-churchism in the Anglican Church and paid little attention to the authority of bishops. He wanted, if possible, to make the Anglican Church conform as much as possible to the Reformed Churches on the continent. One of his books was influential in bringing about the strife between the high- and low-Church. He became very severe against bishops, calling them "white coats" and "tippet gentlemen," thus ridiculing their robes. Their use of the square cap was especially obnoxious to him, and once he is said to have ordered an adulterer to wear one while doing penance, so as to scandalize it. Once, when a bishop was dining with him, his trained dog, boldly and neatly plucked off the bishop's square hat. His bishop became scandalized and made complaints against his obnoxious acts and indrecret language in the pulpit in 1564. So Turner was suspended from the ministry for non-conformity, especially for refusing to wear the white gown when officiating. He then seems to have gone abroad, for in

ΤΩΝ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΩΝ
 ΤΗΣ
ΒΕΛΓΙΚΗΣ

Χριστιανική Ὁρθόδοξος Διδασκαλία
 καὶ τάξις:

ἤγουν,

ΕΞΟΜΟΛΟΓΗΣΙΣ,
 ΚΑΤΗΧΗΣΙΣ,
 ΛΕΙΤΟΥΡΓΙΑ,

καὶ

ΚΑΝΟΝΕΣ Ἐκκλησιαστικοί.

Εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν κωνίαν γλῶσσαν μεταφρασμένη.



Ἐπιπέτη ἐν Λυγδία τῶν Βασιλέων, Ἰωάν. Βοναβενίερα καὶ
 Ἀ. Θεοδώρου πρὸς Ἑλζεβιέτις, τῶν καὶ μετ' ἐτὶ
 τῶν Χρυσῶν γυνήτων.

The title-page of the Heidelberg catechism in the Greek language. See pages 7-8.

November, 1567, he was at Weissenberg, Germany. He died in London, July 7, 1568, and was buried at St. Olave's Church on Hart street.

He was the first Englishman who studied plants scientifically, and was therefore called "The Father of English Botany." His translation of our catechism was no doubt due to his travels on the continent. It is altogether possible that when he was at Weissenberg, Germany, in 1567, he translated it into English. But its appearance occurred during that period of his life when he was suspended from the Church for being such a pronounced low-Churchman. And it is altogether possible that it was for that reason he translated it, for he may have wanted to show by it what the continental reformers believed, and he thus made it a defense of his low-Church principles.

Though he died soon after his translation of it, yet the catechism continued to win favor and was one of the first catechisms of the Anglican Church. For, in 1579, the university of Oxford ordered that it, together with several other catechisms, as Nowell's and Calvin's, "should be used for the extirpation of every heresy and the preparation of the youth in true piety." The catechism was printed, 1591, in Scotland, and was also one of the first catechisms of the Scotch Church, for it was authorized by the King's Majesty for the use of the Scotch Church. Rev. Dr. Bonar reprints in his "Catechisms of the Scottish Reformation," an edition of 1615, "printed for the use of the Kirk of Edinburgh." The Heidelberg was used after Calvin's catechism, and before Craig's, which was supplanted by the Westminster catechisms. Rev. James Gardiner in "The Faiths of the World," says: "This excellent catechism was the model on which the Westminster divines formed the Shorter

catechism of the Presbyterian Church." The catechism and Ursinus' Commentary on it soon found wide circulation in England and Scotland. The latter work was published at Oxford in 1587, under the title, "The Summe of the Christian Religion." It was translated by Henry Parrie, one of Queen Elizabeth's chaplains, and bishop successively of three sees, Rochester, Gloucester and Worcester.

When the Synod of Dort was held (1618-19), the British delegates, though disagreeing with its exposition of the clause of the creed "He descended into hell," yet agreed that neither in their own nor in the French Church was there a catechism so suitable and excellent, and that those who had composed it were remarkably endowed and assisted by the Spirit of God, that in several of their works they had excelled other theologians, but that in the composition of this catechism they had outdone themselves. Bishop Hall, one of the British delegates at Dort, said, after his return to England: "Our Reformed brethren on the continent have a little book whose single leaves are not to be bought with tons of gold." When the Palatinate was so terribly oppressed by war, the British published an edition of the catechism so as to show their sympathy. It was dedicated to King George I. In 1850, an edition was published by Thelwall against the rising tide of tractarianism, in which he says he never saw a book in which the doctrine of justification by faith was so fully and evangelically stated as in answer 60. The catechism was also published in English, in Holland, for the English Churches there. And later it was translated in America, into English, by Dr. Laidlie, of the Dutch Church, which edition is generally in use by us. But would it not be well for the Dutch and German Church to unite in making an official

translation, as there are errors in the Laidlie version of the Dutch Church, and also in the tercentenary version of the German.

Another exceedingly interesting translation is the Spanish;* indeed, it is tragically interesting, for its translator was burned at the stake for it.†

We have recently been able, after considerable search, to unearth the life of this strange but interesting man, whose name was John Aventrot (in German, Abendroth, meaning Evening-red). He was born about the time of the publication of our catechism at Halteren, in Flanders, and went to Spain in the eighties of that century. He was in his early life (about 1590), a resident for five years of the Canary Islands. There he says not a Bible was allowed him, so that when he left and came to a land of greater freedom he became a Protestant. He became a merchant and seems to have gone back to the Canary Islands, for in his trial it speaks of his having been arrested there by the Inquisition for heresy. He was charged with printing and scattering books, and for this was driven out. His possessions in Spain were also confiscated. Then it seems he lived in Peru, being interested in the silver mines, for he left there about 1601. It seems that there were some Protestants in South America even in those early days, though Romanism kept the door to South America tightly shut.

In 1610 he wrote two letters to King Philip III of Spain (also, in 1612, another letter), in which he endeavored to show him that the Pope was the cause of the loss to him of the seventeen provinces of the Netherlands, and also of the suffering of the Spanish Colonies, under their enormous taxes. He therefore asked the

* For its title-page, see opposite page 130.

† See frontispiece.

king to deliver his lands from the papacy. His first letter, written from England, was given to the King six months after it was written and the second, a year later. He published these letters in a tract in Dutch (1613), and in Spanish (1641). He added an exhortation to the grandees or nobles of Spain in the hope that the King would grant them the privilege of examining the matter for themselves. Of this publication he sent seven thousand in a ship to Lisbon for distribution in Spain. He also sent, by land, one of his servants, a relative, John Crote. But the Inquisition ordered these copies to be burned. And his messenger was condemned to a punishment of six years in the galleys. When the sentence was published, the King himself went to Toledo, May, 1615, so that by his presence he might show his approval of the sentence. Aventrot, on hearing what they had done with his pamphlet and his messenger, laconically remarked: "That the Inquisition has sent my innocent servant to the galleys, that I commend to God; but that they have destroyed my seven thousand pamphlets, that concerns myself, and I feel obliged again to send the tract; so that the glory of God may not be darkened by that crime. By this I have made more manifest than ever the shame of the Pope." So he published the pamphlet a second time, in 1615; in fact it was published in four other languages in that year—the Dutch, German, Latin and Italian, and in the next year in French. In 1620, after the death of his wife, he betook himself to the Netherlands and lived in Amsterdam, Hague and Utrecht.

In 1627 he published his "Letter to the Peruvians." In it was first published his Spanish translation of the Heidelberg catechism. In 1628, this Spanish Heidelberg catechism was published separately at Amsterdam. In

this edition there were added the Dutch Reformed liturgy, together with the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds. This "Epistle to the Peruvians" we have had copied, as it is connected with our new world of America, and shows Aventrot's early relations with, and interest in, our new world. It opens with a preface to the States-General of Holland. In it he says he had so advocated the affairs of Peru, that, in 1622, the States-General of Holland began to equip an armada against Peru, in order to take it from Spain. This expedition was sent in 1623, under General Jaques Lermyte; but it was not successful. Aventrot laid the blame of its failure, among other things, on the fact that the catechism was not sent with it, and so he translated it in 1627. Aventrot is mystical in his writings and in this letter approves of the use of the lot. But in it all he was a statesman; for his aim was to deprive the King of Spain of Peru, on whose wealth Rome relied to carry out her plans to persecute the Protestants. He had this letter printed and had eight thousand copies sent to Peru. It became a somewhat dangerous political document, for in it he appealed to the Peruvians to repudiate the King of Spain, because of his oppressions, and also to repudiate the Pope. And he makes a point dangerous to Spain when he reminds the Peruvians, who were greatly oppressed by the Spaniards, that when Charles, the previous King of Spain, had conquered Peru, he had given a decree that the Indians who had aided him in the conquest should be freed in the fourth generation. And he reminded them that this came due in 1628, and he therefore calls them to rise to their rights and reject the King of Spain. The Holland States-General sent three thousand copies of his letter to the Peruvians, which was signed by them, to Buenos Ayres, in 1628, to

promote their uprising by offering to help them to gain their liberty. It proposed an alliance of Holland and Peru. Thus you see how far-reaching was his appeal. For he felt that the wealth of the silver mines of Peru was used by the Catholics against the Protestants, and he wanted Holland to wrest from them this source of their power.

In 1631, when many of the leading men of Peru went to Madrid to seek some remedy for the low condition of their commerce, Aventrot himself went to Madrid; for on account of his prominence he had often been previously consulted by Spanish authorities on commercial and financial questions. At an audience with King Philip IV, he dared to plead for religious liberty, a thing Spain does not as yet have. He handed to the king two memorials. The answer of the King was to deliver him to the Inquisition, at Toledo. It happened that after Aventrot's death, an account of his trial and death was published at Amsterdam. From it we glean the following: "Charged with heresy in his publications, he wrote a Protestant confession of his faith. The Inquisition offered him that if he would return to Romanism, he would be reinstated in his properties which had been confiscated in Spain, and would be elevated to a higher rank than he had ever had before. But such bribes only found him immovable and steadfast in the faith. He was, therefore, delivered to the police-justice for punishment. And not only was he punished, but also his sons-in-law and daughters-in-law, for all their dignities and offices were taken away from them." The decree in regard to them reads thus: "We forbid them to wear gold, silver, pearl, precious stones, silk, beads, fine broadcloth, riding horseback, bearing arms, taking part in military drill, etc." The sentence ordered him to be

KATECHIZM HEIDELBERSKI

UŁOŻONY PRZEZ TEOLOGÓW

Zacharyjasza Ursyna i Kacpra Olewiana

i pierwotnie wydany w Heidelbergu 1583 r.

z polecenia

Elektora Palatynatu Fryderyka III,

odtąd zaś powszechnie uznany i używany w Kościele
Ewangelicko-Reformowanym.

Wydanie drugie poprawione, poparte dowodami z Pisma Świętego,
i poprzedzone historycznym wstępem.

WARSZAWA.
W DRUKARNI ALEXANDRA GINSA.
Nowowiejska № 47.

1900.

The title-page of the Heidelberg catechism in the Polish language. See page 8.

burned, May 22, 1632. This took place at that date, after he had been seven months in prison. There, in the open square of the Zocodover, at Toledo,* he, like Elijah the Prophet, went to heaven in a fiery chariot. And as his name Aventrot means "Evening red," it was then evening red as he passed over into heaven. Nothing is more beautiful in Switzerland than the Alpine-glow, which takes place as the sun sets, when the white Alps catch the hues of the western sky and reflect them, turning from white to pink and then to red, and then back to white again. Such an Alpine-glow surrounded the death of Aventrot as he went to glory in the fires of the Inquisition. His catechism was bought with his own blood as he had been bought with the blood of his Redeemer. It is interesting to know that this Spanish translation of the Heidelberg catechism is now used in the German Protestant missions in Spain, founded by Fliedner, and in the very house where King Philip II of Spain, their great persecutor, lived, when he built his great palace near Madrid, called the Escorial. This house is now used as a Protestant orphanage.

Still another catechism of unique interest is the Amharic version. This is such an unknown language that when we first found this translation we had to go to the Gazetteer to find out where it was spoken. It is modern Abyssinian. The translation has a strange history.

It was made by a missionary, Rev. Charles Isenberg. He was born September 5, 1806, at Barmen, in the Wupperthal, that great Reformed valley of Germany. His family later moved to Wesel, in northwestern Germany, where he was apprenticed at the age of fourteen to a Catholic tinner, under whom he worked for three years. His master was severe and ill-treated him, especially

* See frontispiece.

when he found he was inclined to be religious. And yet all the while, from his earliest boyhood, the missionary call was coming to him. Finally, at the close of his apprenticeship, in 1823, he presented himself to the Rev. Mr. Kloenne, one of the pastors at Wesel, asking to be sent as a missionary. He and another young missionary applicant were examined at Wesel, November 10, 1823. He was approved, but it was felt, as he was yet young, that he had better wait some time, and meanwhile he spent the time in study. He then entered the Mission-house at Basle, December 8, 1824. After three years there, he went to the Berlin Mission Institute, so as to prepare himself to become a translator of the Bible, and spent two years there.

In 1830, the Church Missionary Society of England (the society of the low-churchmen in the Anglican Church) wanted a translator for Malta, in the Mediterranean, and he entered their service as translator. He then went to London to study Arabic, Ethiopic and medicine. But his destination was changed by the death of one of their missionaries, and he was sent out as a missionary to Abyssinia, in 1832, to labor there with Gobat, later bishop of Jerusalem. He, however (January, 1833), went first to Egypt to study Arabic and Amharic. He entered Abyssinia, in 1834, with Gobat. They went through Tigre, the northern province of Abyssinia, and settled in Adowah. But the Prince, Ibie, was hostile and there were intrigues at court against the missionaries. Gobat was soon compelled to leave on account of ill-health, and Isenberg was left there without any experience as a missionary or the tact to adjust himself. The priest of the Abyssinian Church, which is a curious combination of Judaism and Christianity, mixed with formalism, and lax morally, used all his influence

at court against Isenberg. Rumors were spread abroad that not only did these foreigners intend to introduce a new Church, but that they were secretly digging a subterranean passage to the Red Sea, so as to lead British soldiers into the heart of that land. When the three children of Isenberg died, one after the other, the priests would not allow them to be buried, because they had not been baptized in the Abyssinian Church, and he had to bury them in his own garden. In 1838, the priest pronounced a ban on all who visited the missionaries. The Jesuits also intrigued against him at court, for they were then trying to win the Abyssinian Church to Romanism. On March 12, 1838, they (Blumhardt, Krapf and Isenberg) were compelled to leave, though their departure was mourned by many of the natives, but their friends were poor and without influence at court.

He then went into another part of Abyssinia, to Shoa, where he suffered many privations, but he was soon recalled by the Church Missionary Society to Europe, so as to publish his translations for the mission. He arrived at London in April, 1840. It was strange that an Episcopalian Society would publish, at London, his translation of the Heidelberg catechism, and at their expense, especially as they had a catechism of their own. In 1842 he went back to East Africa to make a third attempt to enter that land. He found that the missionaries were forbidden by the king to enter Shoa. Still the missionaries chose a new field, hoping to enter by the province of Serawah, in northern Abyssinia. The missionaries finally got back to Adowah, May 21, 1843. As they went, they scattered Amharic Bibles. But when they arrived at Adowah, the Abyssinian priest demanded to know whether they had changed their religion and conformed to the Abyssinian Church in its belief in tran-

substantiation and the worship of Mary. Finding that they had not, he then excommunicated them and forbade them to enter the town, though many of the people were favorable. He committed "the souls of the missionaries to Satan, their bodies to hyenas, their possessions to thieves." Still, Isenberg did not give up. He loved Abyssinia in spite of the treatment he had received there. He was ready to give his life for them. And he would not leave it until every stone was turned to enable them to stay. He, therefore, appealed to the patriarch of the Coptic Church, who was somewhat favorable to Evangelical religion, but in vain. Finally, with a broken heart, he was compelled to leave Adowah, June 27, 1843. He had now been a missionary for more than ten years and yet had failed on all sides. He was driven out from that land, and yet in all his after-life he retained a homesickness for Abyssinia and would have gone back to it again.

He went back to Germany for a time, but was then sent by the Church Missionary Society to Bombay, in India, where he labored for many years. Yet even there he cared for his beloved Abyssinia. When, in 1847, about sixty boys and girls from Africa were brought to Bombay, he helped to care for them and rejoiced in bringing them to Christ. This he could the more easily do as many of them spoke Amharic. Again, in 1849, he took into his house five Abyssinians, who had been brought there by a French ship. But he was never to return to Abyssinia. Still his influence remained. One of the later missionaries, Krapf, paid a tribute to him, saying that "he had been the only man who had been truly interested in the welfare of the Abyssinians, and who, without fear, had told the truth to everybody." Later, when in Germany on furlough, he helped the Basle Mis-

sionary Society prepare missionaries for an industrial mission in Abyssinia, as he taught them the Amharic language. He remained at Bombay till 1863, when he came back to Germany, and died in 1864, and was buried at Kornthal, in Wurtemberg. To his missionary son, Charles, who succeeded him at Bombay, he said: "You, Charles, be valiant, for an exceedingly glorious work has been entrusted to you. Pray daily for new strength to execute it."

This wonderful history of the translations of the Heidelberg reveals that the catechism is one of the most widely circulated of books. It is to-day the catechism in use by at least six millions of adherents and by perhaps eight millions. The extent of its use has only been limited by the extent of the world. It evidently, almost as soon as it appeared, met a felt want of the Christian world, or it would not have spread so rapidly. Its high position among Protestant catechisms is shown by the way in which it took the place of other catechisms, and good ones, too. Thus it succeeded Calvin's in Hungary and Scotland, Pezel's in Bremen, the Zweibrücken catechism at Zweibrücken, etc. It seems to have had something that they lacked.

What, then, has made the Heidelberg such a popular religious book? We believe that it was because it was so essentially Biblical,—so true to the Bible. Jesus once said: "The words that I speak unto you, they are life." (John 6: 63.) The Bible contains His "Wonderful Words of Life," and the Heidelberg catechism is the best echo of its words. And, like the Bible, it speaks with authority, because based on the Word of God.

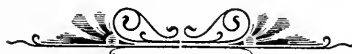
And as the catechism has been so true to the Bible, so also it has been so human, too,—that is, so true to human nature. True to God, it is also so true to man.

Other catechisms there were that were splendid statements of intellectual truth or contained fine rules for ethical living. But the Heidelberg has something these others had not, and therefore supplanted some of them. For it was not one-sided, but whole-hearted, taking in all—the head, the heart and the will. It began with religion as a comfort and ended with a prayer. And all through, pulsating so loud that one can hear the heart-beats, is the loving heart of Christ as that love culminated in his sacrifice for us. The catechism meets and satisfies the *whole* human heart. Are we sad, it begins with comfort; are we sinful, it points to a Saviour. Do we want communion, it offers the sacraments as seals of God's grace. Do we want hope hereafter, it offers heaven, whose eternal life, it says, is begun here. No wonder the catechism spread thus universally.

KATEKIZMAS

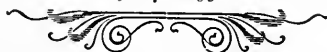
evangelikų-reformatų tikėjimo vaikams.

Motto: „Viską mėginkite, ir kas gera yra, palaikykite“.
(1 Tess. 5, 21).



SU PRIEDAIS:

1. *Trumpa bažnyčios istorija.*
2. *Apie šventą raštą.*
3. *Tikėjimų sulyginimas.*



VILNIUS,
M. Kuktos spaustuve, Dvorcova 4,
1909.

The title-page of the Heidelberg catechism in the Lithuanian language. See page 8.

PART II

THE SOURCES OF THE CATECHISM

CHAPTER I

THE PREVIOUS CATECHISMS

THE study of the sources of the Heidelberg catechism has recently become a prominent subject. The old view was that Ursinus and Olevianus were the original authors of the work. But the latest view is that the catechism was not the product of two men only, but of a commission appointed by the Elector Frederick III and taken from the court, the university and the church. This commission, however, gave the preparation of the book to Ursinus and Olevianus, who were the main authors.*

But this subject has been still further pursued, and now the view is that the catechism was not original with Ursinus and Olevianus, but that much of it was the product of many previous catechisms, which these two authors utilized in preparing it. Prof. M. A. Gooszen, of Leyden university (*De Heidelberg Catechismus*, 1890), and Prof. A. Lange, of Halle university (*Der Heidelberger Catechismus*, 1907) have elaborately shown how they used the previous catechisms. This does not cast any discredit on the ability of Ursinus and Olevianus. It rather enhances their credit, as it reveals their great knowledge of the previous catechetical literature of their day and their wonderful ability in arranging it, and adding to it so as not merely to produce a splendid mosaic of others' thoughts, but also an original production, both

* For proofs of this view, see Hauck's "Real-Encyclopedia," article "Heidelberg Catechism."

in ideal and in method.

The truth is, there has grown up a sort of higher criticism of the Heidelberg catechism. With the higher criticism of the Bible the world has become somewhat familiar, but how about the higher criticism of the Heidelberg catechism. There is, however, this difference to be noted between these two higher criticisms. In the case of the Bible there is no contemporary or previous literature in the same language, so that one can safely make comparisons. The Old Testament is practically the only book in the Hebrew language. But how different it is with the Heidelberg catechism, for there is an abundance of catechisms to lay alongside of it for comparison. Because of this, the higher criticism of the Bible is predominantly subjective, that of the catechism, objective. The higher criticism of the Bible has to be evolved out of the minds of the critics,—out of some speculative German's or Dutchman's mind,—because there are no external sources. It is, therefore, the merest hypothesis. But the higher criticism of the Heidelberg catechism is objective, a comparison of that catechism with other catechisms previous to it. This gives us some real basis for higher criticism. Compared with this, how weak and unproved the higher criticism of the Bible seems. We, therefore, set aside the higher criticism of the Bible as unproved, but of the catechism as proved. And we enter on our task.

But before entering on our task it might be well to call attention to the reason why this comparison of catechisms is so easy and so sure. It is because all the catechisms of the sixteenth century were built more or less around the same four subjects,—the creed, the Decalogue, the Lord's Prayer and the sacraments. One has simply to compare the corresponding answers in the different catechisms to

ISTRUZIONE CRISTIANA

Questa Istruzione " è un piccolo catechismo per domanda e risposta, scritto in buona lingua italiana e con dottrina evangelica. " Così dice il Catalogo della collezione Guicciardiniana stampato per cura del conte Piero Guicciardini. E soggiunge: " Non ne conosco l'autore, nè per qual chiesa cristiana è stato fatto. " Allettati da questo giudizio, abbiamo trascritto l'Istruzione in discorso, la quale consiste in un'aurea traduzione del rinomato catechismo di Eidelberg uscito a stampa l'anno 1563. Siamo lieti di convenire col conte Piero Guicciardini che la dottrina di questo catechismo è evangelica, e non dubitiamo che, siccome fu reputato utile dagli avi riformatori che lo tradussero, così debba riuscire a' nostri di per le Chiese e le Scuole specialmente.

Dimanda — Quale è la tua unica consolazione nella vita e nella morte?

Risposta — Che io di corpo e anima, tanto in vita quanto in morte, non sia di me stesso ma del mio fedele Salvatore Gesù Cristo, il quale col suo preziosissimo sangue compiutamente ha pagato per i miei peccati e mi ha liberato d'ogni possanza del Diavolo, e conserva di modo che senza la volontà del mio Padre celeste non mi può cader pur un pelo dal capo, anzi bisogna che ogni cosa mi serva a salute, e perciò mi assicura della vita eterna per il suo S. Spirito e mi rende pronto a

The first question and answer of the Heidelberg catechism in the Italian language. See pages 8-9.

see wherein they agree or differ.

To understand our subject still further, it might perhaps be well to give a brief history of the previous catechisms. The first Protestant catechism, according to Professor Lang, was a Dialogue-book by Rev. John Bader, of Landau, 1526, which inclined to the Reformed. In 1527 there was a catechism published at St. Gall and used there until the Heidelberg was introduced in 1615. It turns out to be the catechism of the Bohemian Brethren slightly changed. The catechism of Ecolampadius, the reformer of Basle, comes next. In 1526, he published an address to the confirmed, and then a catechism, which appeared somewhere between that time and 1529, when it was incorporated in the Church-Order of Basle. On the Lutheran side, before Luther's Shorter catechism, 1529, which marked an epoch in catechetical literature, the main one that had appeared was by Brenz, the reformer of south Germany (1528).

About this time the catechisms, from which the Heidelberg was especially drawn, began to appear. There were so many catechisms of that time that we must limit ourselves only to those directly related to the Heidelberg. For there were scores of catechisms published in Switzerland and Germany up to 1563 and the end of the sixteenth century. They fill several thousand pages.*

For the sake of the English readers, to whom the Dutch books of Professor Gooszen and the German work of Professor Lang are inaccessible, we may here give a

* See Cohr's "The Efforts at Protestant Catechisms Before Luther's Shorter Catechism"; in "Monumenta Germaniae Pedagogica," 4 vols., XX-XXIII, Berlin, 1900-1902; and Reu, "The Sources of the History of Ecclesiastical Instruction in the Protestant Church of Germany Between 1530 and 1600," Vol. I, South German Catechisms; vol. 2, Middle German Catechisms Gutersloh, 1904 and 1911.

brief summary of the sources of our catechism. There were, in the main, four sources of the Heidelberg:

1. The Strasburg catechisms by Capito, 1527; Bucer, 1534, and Zell, 1535 and 1537.

2. The Zurich catechisms of Leo Juda, 1534, 1535 and 1538, and of Bullinger, 1559.

3. Calvin's catechism, 1537 and 1541. Sometimes also Calvin's "Institutes."

4. The Lasco catechisms, Lasco's, 1551; Micronius', 1552; the London compend, 1553, and the Emden, 1554.

This subject may be considered in three different ways: 1, Biographical; 2, Historical; 3, Topical.

1. Biographical. The two authors of our catechism were so situated in their lives that they came into contact with many catechisms. They were, therefore able, before writing the Heidelberg, to make a study of the catechetical literature of that day. This was true in the case of Ursinus more than of Olevianus. Olevianus had, in his previous life, come into contact with the catechism of Calvin while in France, and especially at Geneva, where he studied under Calvin. His predilections were all Calvinistic, and this will appear in his share of the authorship of our catechism. Ursinus, however, had had a more wandering life, and had come into contact with nearly all the great catechisms. When he studied at Wittenberg he came into contact with the catechisms of Luther of 1529, and the Latin catechism of Melancthon, 1532. Then he, in his travels, came into contact with Calvin's catechism and with the catechisms of Leo Juda and Bullinger during his stay at Zurich. He, therefore, had a wide acquaintance with catechetical literature before he came to Heidelberg. When he returned to Breslau to teach, in his "Introductory Address" (1558), he has much to say of catechisms and catechization. This

shows that his attention was early drawn to that subject.

Then after Olevianus and Ursinus had come to Heidelberg they came into contact with the Dutch refugees from London and Frankfort, who had brought with them the different Lasco catechisms. Indeed Ursinus, when a student at Wittenberg, had already become personally acquainted with Lasco.

All this served to prepare them for their task of writing our catechism. Besides, both of them had first started out as teachers of the young, Ursinus at Breslau and Olevianus at Treves. The first problem that had been forced upon them was the instruction of the youth in religion. It is interesting to note that Ursinus, in his "Introductory Address" at Breslau (1558), gives a definition of a catechism as "a sum of the doctrine of faith and love once delivered by the prophets and apostles—*a sum of Christianity briefly, orderly and plainly composed,*" a definition which may be the germ from which the Heidelberg sprang four years later. All this gave a bent to their minds to study the subject of catechetical education. And out of all this came our Heidelberg catechism. Thus the providence of God prepared them as he had done Moses at Sinai and Paul in Arabia for their future lifework.

2. Historical. There are two ways of studying historically, forwards or backwards. We can, according to the first, begin at a certain point and trace history forwards, chronologically, up to a certain point as its culmination. Or we can take up a certain event in history and trace it back to its sources. The one is the reverse of the other, but both methods are suggestive and serve to complement each other. We shall try both in this study of the sources of the catechism.

(A) COMPARISON OF URSINUS' TWO CATECHISMS WITH THE
HEIDELBERG

We will take the forward method first and begin with the catechisms that were the immediate predecessors of the Heidelberg. There was an old tradition, based in a statement by one of the historians of the catechism, that Ursinus wrote two catechisms before he wrote the Heidelberg, and that Olevianus wrote one, and that out of these the Heidelberg was made. The reference to Olevianus seems to have been an error, for no previous catechism of Olevianus has been found. One of the historians of the Heidelberg, Seisen, thinks it refers to the Firm Foundation (*Fester Grund*) of Olevianus. But that work did not appear until after the catechism.* Again, his "Farmers' Catechism," in his "Covenant of Grace," also appeared later than the Heidelberg. So this idea about Olevianus must be given up.

It remains, therefore, to examine the two catechisms which Ursinus wrote before the Heidelberg—namely, his Larger and Smaller catechisms, both of which in Latin, are at the beginning of his published "Works." How he came to write these catechisms has been a question. The best theory proposed has been that he was led to write the first—namely, the Larger, for use in his theological instructions in the Theological Seminary at Heidelberg, named the "College of Wisdom." He, therefore, composed his Larger catechism, which was admirably adapted to that purpose. Then, later, he prepared an abbreviation of it called the Shorter catechism, and submitted it to

*"Fester Grund" was not begun until the fall of 1563; for on October 23, 1563, Olevianus wrote to Bullinger, "I am now at work on a larger catechism, in which I shall follow the order of the smaller." It was therefore based on the Heidelberg instead of the Heidelberg being based on it.

Frederick III for use in the Church of the Palatinate. The Smaller was, therefore, used as the direct basis of the Heidelberg, and the Larger was also used, but not so directly.

Let us pause for a moment on the Larger catechism. In it the central idea is that of the covenant.* This catechism is of especial interest, because we can see in it most clearly the sources. For the ideas of the catechism become so modified and are so thrown together in the later catechisms, the Smaller and the Heidelberg, that it is often sometimes difficult to trace them back. The foundation of this Larger catechism is undoubtedly the catechism of Calvin. This may seem strange, for Ursinus was not a pupil of Calvin, but of Melancthon. But it is, nevertheless, true. Of the 323 questions of the catechism, 173 refer back to Calvin's catechism, more than half.† The Lasco catechisms come next with 58 references to them. There were also 28 references to Bullinger.

But where does Melancthon come in. There are 31 of the answers that refer to Melancthon's "Considerations of Ordinances." Their comparative fewness is the more remarkable, not only because Ursinus had been a scholar of Melancthon, but because he had used this work of Melancthon in his first school at Breslau. But it seems that when Ursinus later went to Zurich he gave up Melancthonianism for the Reformed, indeed he says so in a letter to Dr. Crato at that time. And yet the influence of Melancthon modifies some of the harder characteristics of Calvinism in it.

* For the source of this idea of the covenant, whether from Bullinger as Gooszen says, or from Calvin and Melancthon, see Lang, "Der Heidelberger Katechismus," preface, 64-65.

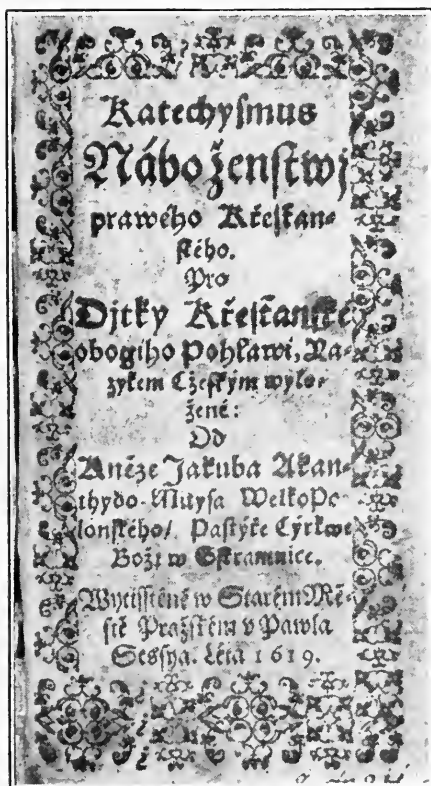
† Our figures concerning the sources of the catechism are here and hereafter mainly, though not entirely, based on Professor Lang's statements.

Some of the answers are taken almost word for word from these sources.* There are 22 references to the Strasburg catechisms of Bucer and Zell, 17 to the catechisms of Juda. And 24 refer to Calvin's Institutes, which, added to the references to his catechism, would make the total references to Calvin 197, about two-thirds of the catechism. Evidently there was a strong sympathy of Ursinus for Calvin, their minds being very much of the same analytic, dialectic type.

Let us turn, now, to the Smaller catechism of Ursinus. This has only 108 questions, and is about one-fifth less than our Heidelberg. A good many of the answers of the Larger are omitted, and some of them are thrown together in one answer. It is to be noticed that the unimportant subjects of the Larger catechism are omitted, as the discussions of theological points, which were suitable for Ursinus' school, but not so well adapted for popular use. The arrangement of the catechism, however, is entirely different, being like the Heidelberg—threefold. The idea of the covenant is given up, indeed appears only in one or two places. Also the Lasco catechisms become more prominent as sources.

When, finally, we come to the Heidelberg, we find that it is mainly taken from Ursinus' Shorter catechism. Our catechism is really only a revision of the Shorter. Ninety-nine of its answers are evidently taken from the Shorter,—that is, four-fifths of our catechism is directly or indirectly taken from the Shorter Ursinus. Outside of the references of the Heidelberg to the Smaller and Larger Ursinus, there are 7 answers that refer to the Strasburg catechism, 12 to Calvin, 13 to the Zurich and

* Thus 42 and 120 are taken word for word from Melancthon, 59-61 are almost verbally from Calvin's answer 20, and 125 is from the Emden (45).



The title-page of the Heidelberg catechism in the Bohemian Language, see page 9.

20 to the Lasco catechisms.

As we thus examine these three catechisms we are especially struck with the differences between the Larger Ursinus and the other two, not merely in the size, but in the subject matter. The idea of the covenant is prominent in the Larger. In the other two there is the same threefold division: 1, Sin; 2, Redemption; 3, Thankfulness. In passing from the Larger to the Smaller there is an entire change in the centre and the perspective of the catechism. It has been suggested that the threefold division of the Smaller and of the Heidelberg was the logical result of making the centre of the catechism to be the idea of comfort.

But the better solution seems to be suggested by Lang and Reu, that Ursinus probably gained the idea from a sort of catechism, or better, a book of religious instruction, published at Heidelberg in 1558, entitled, "A brief and orderly statement of the true doctrine of our holy Christian faith for house-fathers." It was published by John Khole, and was a re-publication of a catechetical work by Gallus, of Ratisbon, a few years before. This book perhaps made such an impression on Ursinus, between the time of the writing of his Larger and Smaller catechisms, that he changed the order of the catechism. He introduced its threefold division, but somewhat altered and improved. We have had the privilege of examining this catechism and copying it in Heidelberg. Its three divisions are:

1. The law, which included sin and penitence.
2. The gospel or faith.
3. Good works.

This is nearly the same as the Heidelberg—1, Sin; 2, Redemption; 3, Good Works.

The first part of this little book is divided into four

parts—original sin, actual sin, punishment of sin and the law as a schoolmaster to reveal our sin.

The second part describes the work of Christ's redemption and how we lay hold of it—namely, by faith. Faith comes by the preaching of the word and the use of the sacraments. The book is Lutheran on the sacraments, and like the Lutheran catechisms, includes confession with the sacraments.

The third part speaks of good works as the fruit of faith, and then has a reference to the Christian's cross here, and his eternal joy hereafter.

This threefold division Ursinus adopted, but he also improved on it. The first part, he does not like its name, "the law," for that is cold, but he names it "misery," which is concrete and reveals the result of breaking the law. The second part of the Heidelberg, which is on redemption, is more like this book. And in the third, Ursinus adds to its "good works," the motive for them,—namely, "thankfulness." Indeed in the first, as well as in the third part, Ursinus, like Christ in the "Sermon on the Mount," goes down below the outward act to the inward motive. Thus, in the first part, he does not stop with the law, but he goes to the motive which leads to the breaking of the law,—namely, hatred to God; and in the third part, instead of good works, he gives the motive for them,—namely, thankfulness.

In studying these three catechisms, it is important to notice two prominent doctrines in them—namely, the one on which Calvin and Melancthon differed, and the one on which they somewhat neared each other. The first is the doctrine of election, the second the doctrine of the Lord's Supper.

On the doctrine of election Calvin and Melancthon differed. Melancthon held to synergism, while Calvin

held to monergism and election. One of the most noticeable peculiarities in this comparison of these three catechisms is the way in which the doctrine of election is treated. In the Larger catechism of Ursinus, election is frequently referred to. When one reads this Larger catechism there can be no question about Ursinus' Calvinism on election. Election is referred to in Question 110, which asks "What is the sanctification of the elect?" In 113 the Church is said to be "the congregation of the elect." In 123 it says: "For whomsoever God has elected to eternal life." Answer 125 speaks of "the Church elected to eternal life." Answer 218 says: "We must not do so nor does any elect do so." In answer 219 the question asks:

"But since none are saved except God, who has, from eternity, elected to salvation, how can you believe that the promise of grace belongs to you, when you do not know that you are elect?"

"Just because I embrace with true faith the grace offered me. From this most certain argument I know that I am elect by God to eternal life, and shall be kept forever. For if he had not elected me from eternity, he would never have given me the spirit of adoption."

Election is, therefore, referred to in six answers.

Let us now turn to the Smaller catechism and see what it has to say about election. Here we find it referred to in eight answers. In answer 17, Ursinus speaks of God "upholding and governing all according to the eternal decree of his will." Answer 38 says, "he will deliver me with all the elect." Answer 39 says: "the Holy Ghost is sent to the hearts of all the elect." Answer 40 speaks of the Church as a "company elect unto everlasting life." Answer 43 says: "the body will live forever with him and all the elect." Answer 50 says:

"Because God elected me to eternal life in Christ be-

fore the foundation of the world were laid, and has regenerated me by the special influence of the Holy Spirit. Otherwise such is the depravity of my nature that I, knowing and willing in my sins, may perish, as do the reprobate multitude."

Answer 51 asks:

"Does not this belief, which prompts you to declare that you have been elected to eternal life, free you from responsibility, and make you less devoted to the daily exercise of repentance?"

"Not at all, but it kindles in me rather the desire for persevering and growing in piety. Since, without genuine conversion to God, I am not able to console myself with the assurance of my election; and the more sure I am of salvation the more anxious I am to show my gratitude to God."

Answer 52 goes on to add:

"But are you not troubled with doubts about your salvation when you are told that none are saved except the elect?"

"Not in the least, for this strong consolation is especially present to me in all temptations. For if, with a sincere affection of heart, I desire to trust and obey God. I ought to regard this as the surest proof that I belong to the number of those who have been elected to everlasting life, and therefore can never perish, no matter how weak my faith may be."

From these answers it is very evident that Ursinus was not a Melancthonian, as Revs. Drs. Nevin, Schaff, Rupp and others in our Church have erroneously held. Ursinus shows here that not only was he a Calvinist, but that he held to the double predestination, for he speaks of it in the Smaller catechism, as answer 50 shows. Indeed, he is stronger in his statements on election in these first two catechisms than is Calvin himself in his catechism, and is even more like Calvin's Institutes, than like Calvin's catechism.

Il Christian
CATECHISEM

fuainter ch el vain usito in las
Baselgiàs da Heidelberg; &
quasi in tuots lous del
Evangelì,

*Huossa danöf vertien in Ru-
maunsch & cun bgers lous
d:lla Scrittür a prüvò.*

træs

CASPARUM FRITZUM
da quaiſt temp Minister del
plæd da Dieu in Samœdan,

*Cun privilegio dallas illust. Refor-
madas trais Lyas.*

Stampò in Scuol træs
JACOB DORTA V. D. M.
Anno MDC LXXXVI.

The title-page of the Heidelberg catechism in the Romansch language. See page 10.

And just here the interesting question arises, why Ursinus, who expressed himself so strongly on election in his two previous catechisms, should say so little about it in the Heidelberg. Others have found the doctrine of election in five or six places in our catechism, but we can find it mainly in three,—in answer 52 and answer 54, where the “elect” are spoken of, though the word in our translation is the word “chosen” instead of “elect.” The other place is in answer 26, where the words “eternal counsel” occur, which, according to the sources of the answers as well as to Ursinus elsewhere, refer to God’s eternal decree. Now why was the doctrine of election so modified in the Heidelberg? Gooszen suggests that it was due to Bullinger’s influence, for he enlarges Bullinger’s influence on catechism to a maximum. We believe election was modified for two reasons:

1. The doctrine of election was too profound and scholastic a doctrine for practical purposes, especially for the teaching of the youth.

2. It was perhaps modified, at the suggestion of the Elector, as was done in the case of the Lord’s Supper, so as not to give offense to the Lutherans of the Palatinate, who might make trouble when it came to the adoption of the catechism by the Church of the Palatinate. Yet enough of it is left in the catechism to show that election is part and parcel of the gospel, but on its positive side and viewed as a comfort. For election can be viewed from two standpoints, from that of God’s sovereignty, and also from that of God’s grace. It is the latter view that makes it a comfort, and it is this view that is incorporated in the catechism.

The second doctrine that is interesting to study in these three catechisms is the Lord’s Supper, especially that phase of it that relates to the way in which Christ’s

body is present in the sacrament. The Larger catechism of Ursinus (answer 300) reads thus:

“Is to eat Christ merely to become partakers of the merits of Christ and the gifts of the Holy Spirit?”

“It is not this alone, but also the communication of the person and substance of Christ himself, for his divine nature dwells in us, but his body is united with our bodies, so that we are one with him.”

This is pretty high doctrine, and would suit the Lutherans, who emphasized the presence of the *substance of Christ*. Still that high phrase “substance of Christ” is somewhat equivocal and may have been for that reason used by Ursinus, for it is to be remembered that he had only just come to the College of Wisdom and had to be careful how far he departed from Lutheran orthodoxy. He could use “the substance of Christ” and the Lutherans could give it a Lutheran meaning. And yet that phrase is given quite another meaning in Calvin’s catechism, which, in answer 35, says:

“If we will have the substance of the sacrament, we must lift up our hearts to heaven, where our Saviour Christ is in the glory of his Father, etc.”

Calvin thus put Christ’s body in heaven, while the Lutherans, in using that phrase, put it in the Lord’s Supper.

Let us now turn to the Smaller catechism of Ursinus. Here we find (Answer 68) this peculiarly Lutheran phrase, “substance of Christ,” left out, and we have 68:

“But do the bread and wine become the real body of Christ?”

“No, for Christ has only one real body, born of the Virgin Mary, crucified for us, dead, buried, risen again, ascended to heaven, and is now there at the right hand of God, but is not upon earth, until he comes again to judge the quick and dead.”

This question evidently brings up a new thought. It was directed against the new and rising doctrine of ubiquity among the high-Lutherans. And probably it was the fear of this new doctrine that caused the leaving out of the phrase "substance of Christ" in the Larger catechism.

Let us now turn to the Heidelberg. There is a strong similarity between the Smaller and the Heidelberg, and yet there are one or two significant changes. In the Heidelberg the idea of the sacrament, as a means of grace, is retained; but the idea of it, as a sign of duty (Pflichtzeichen), and as producing obedience to Christ, is omitted. We can see why the first is retained, although it would be more offensive to the Lutherans, who held that the Lord's Supper was not only a means of grace, but grace itself. For the Lutheran doctrine was the immediate presence of Christ, the Reformed the mediate.* Why the other idea of the sacrament, as personal consecration, is left out, we know not, but perhaps it was because of the increasing emphasis in the Heidelberg in both the sacraments on the death of Christ. On the death of Christ the Heidelberg adds a new question not in either the Larger or Smaller, the 67th, in which it emphasizes the relation of the sacraments to the death of Christ. This emphasis on it, as a memorial, may have interfered with its reference to it as a duty.

And when we come to compare the exact phrasing of the Heidelberg with the Shorter, we find it uses a peculiar phrase. It says "the bread is not changed into the very body of Christ, though agreeably to the nature and

* Luther's Smaller catechism says the Lord's Supper *is* the true body and blood of Christ. It does not allow room for any means of grace, for it is grace itself. The Lord's Supper, as the Reformed held, brought not merely "the benefits of Christ's redemption," but the redemption itself.

properties of sacraments it is called the body of Christ.”

“The Heidelberg (78) is here not quite so clear as its predecessor, the Shorter, for its phrase, ‘according to the nature and properties of sacraments,’ is a more general statement than the Shorter, and also somewhat equivocal.”

The Shorter (65) asks:

“What is it to eat of Christ’s body and drink of his blood?”

“It is by true faith in Christ to receive from God the forgiveness of sins and the gift of righteousness, on account of the sacrifice of Christ’s body and the shedding of his blood. It is also, through the Holy Spirit dwelling at the same time in Christ’s body (which is and remains in heaven) and in us (who are upon the earth) to be united to Christ our Lord so that we are bone of his bone and flesh of his flesh; and so having one and the same spirit (even as the members of my body have one and the same life) we live and reign with him.”

A high sacramentarian could put a high meaning into what was meant by “the property of sacraments,” and a low sacramentarian could put a low significance into it. We wonder whether this somewhat indefinite phrase was not put into the catechism intentionally, so that those of divergent views in the Palatinate might be satisfied by a general phrase; when they might have gotten into a controversy over a more definite statement. We can, however, easily understand what it means by seeing how Ursinus explains it in his Smaller catechism, that he does not mean that Christ’s humanity is on earth, but in heaven, as indeed answers 47 and 76 of our catechism say.

The doctrine of the sacraments all through the catechism is Calvinistic, as the Larger catechism (301) more clearly states it:

“The Holy Spirit, as an intermediate bond holds us

and Christ together, holding bodies distant from one another by the greatest interval much better and more firmly, just as the body is joined together with the head, or grapes with a vine."

While we are thus making comparisons between these three catechisms we might also pause to note another fact, which, however, does not concern Ursinus but his co-laborer, Olevianus. There are some things in the Heidelberg that are not in the Smaller Ursinus, and, therefore, probably come from Olevianus. There have been a number of attempts to show what part of the Heidelberg belongs to Ursinus and what part to Olevianus. But they have generally been mere guesses. Thus we notice the recent statement that Ursinus gave the Latin body of the catechism, and Olevianus contributed the beautiful German style. There is absolutely no reason for this. Olevianus was not a better German scholar than Ursinus, for the latter was also a German by birth. Indeed one of the best writers on the history of the catechism, Gillet, in his "Crato of Crafftheim," praises the fine German style of Ursinus. On the other hand, Olevianus was also a Latin scholar as well as Ursinus, for there are several published works by him in Latin, as his *Dialectics*, etc.

But while these guesses are without foundation, we now come to something in the Heidelberg catechism that is probably contributed by Olevianus, because it is in neither of the Ursinus' catechisms. This is the section in the Heidelberg about Church discipline. For it is to be remembered that at that time there were parts of the Church, which held with Calvin, that the Church itself had the right to discipline its members. On the other hand, there was the view of the Zurich Church, that the Church could only admonish its members, but that Church discipline belonged to the state. This latter view has been

called Erastian (after Professor Erastus at Heidelberg), especially as a controversy about it broke out later at Heidelberg and greatly divided the Church. In this controversy Olevianus led the Calvinists, and Erastus the Zurich party, and was one of the first to fall under the ban of Calvinistic church discipline by being himself excommunicated. Now, what was Ursinus' view of church discipline. We can easily see what it was when the Heidelberg was written, by comparing his catechisms with the Heidelberg. The Smaller catechism has nothing on church discipline, but the Larger has. In the Larger, at the end, is a section containing three long answers on church discipline. In this Ursinus sympathized with the Calvinistic position, for in it he gives the Church the right to admonish unworthy members, though he also carefully defines the rights of the state. Like Calvin, he did not hold to the absolute separation of Church and state, but to their alliance, and he gave to each its sphere. It is somewhat remarkable that after having come so recently from Zurich he should take the other side. Later, when the controversy raged at Heidelberg about this Calvinistic Church government, Ursinus comes out squarely on the Calvinistic side. Erastus then wrote to Bullinger: "Ursinus rages; he is foolish." The theses of Ursinus for the Calvinistic form of government are given in his commentary on the catechism under answer 85. The Heidelberg catechism is Calvinistic in church government, and in the later controversy on church discipline its statement was used as an argument. And because of it Elector Frederick finally decided the controversy in favor of Olevianus and the Calvinists.

There may also be noted a second thing in this comparison between the two catechisms of Ursinus and the Heidelberg. Another statement, in regard to the share

R I N G K A S A N
PĒNGADJARAN
AGAMA ORANG KRISTĒN
DĒNGAN
PĒNGATOERAN GREDJA.

TĒRSALIN
OLIH
R. AKKERMAN.

Tĕrtjita
olih
J. M. Chs. NIJLAND
di
SOERABAIA.

The title-page of the Heidelberg catechism in the Malay language in Latin letters. See page 12.

تعليم لدين المسيحي
 اي ايت
 قشجارن
 ايم مسيحي
 اتس جالن سوال دان جواب
 اتس قينه
 خون بيخ امن بختاوان
 پورتناف ويلم جارن دن امهرف
 پورندور جنرال د اندريا اين



دجندير بتاويجه

قرتلا اوله هرمانوس ملدي قنرا كشتني
 تاهن ۱۷۴۹ *

The title-page of the Heidelberg catechism in the Malay language in Arabic letters. See page 12.

of each author, has been that Ursinus gave the thought and the doctrine to the catechism; Olevianus its devotional character. But there is also no reason for so bald a statement as this. Olevianus was a theological thinker as well as Ursinus. For both before and after the publication of the Heidelberg, he was professor of dogmatics, before at Heidelberg, after at Herborn. Nor is it true that Ursinus did not reveal the devotional in his writings. His earliest writings, more especially his inaugural address at Breslau (1558), are full of religious earnestness. So are his private letters. And this is by no means wanting in his two catechisms—the Larger and the Smaller. That he, later in life, became more scholastic is undeniable. His controversies, his continued ill-health, his natural inclination toward pessimism all contributed to this. But when he wrote the Heidelberg he was full of the warmth of youthful faith. And yet, while this is true, this devotional experimental character is considerably stronger in the Heidelberg than in Ursinus' two previous catechisms. More of the questions and answers in the Heidelberg are in the first and second person singular. Perhaps one of the most notable differences is in the Lord's Prayer. For in the Heidelberg these answers are in the form of prayers. Why? That the catechumen might pray these answers on his knees. The catechism thus became a liturgy, an act of worship. Now all this would seem to show that there was a grain of truth in the thought that Olevianus helped to make the catechism even more devotional than either of Ursinus' previous catechisms were. But it is not true that he gave all that was devotional to it, for Ursinus also revealed the devotional, which was never swallowed up by the merely intellectual

(B) COMPARISON OF THE HEIDELBERG WITH PREVIOUS
CATECHISMS

We have thus far been using the forward method in our historical examination of this subject, going from the previous catechisms to the Heidelberg. Let us reverse this process and go backward from the Heidelberg to the catechisms before it. We have already called attention to the fact that the Heidelberg was indebted to the Strasburg, Zurich, Genevan and Lasco catechisms. Before we take them up let us pause for a moment on a catechism to which attention has not as yet been directed—namely, the catechism of Brenz.

Brenz had been the great reformer of southern Germany and had been low-Lutheran, though late in life he became high-Lutheran. He early published two catechisms—a Larger and a Smaller, which are mildly Lutheran. It is with the latter that we have here to do, because it was the official catechism of the Palatinate when Ursinus came there, having been incorporated in the Church-Order of Elector Otto Henry of 1556. It was, therefore, used all over the Palatinate before the Heidelberg was published. It, therefore, must have come under the notice of Ursinus. Indeed, it is a wonder that when he first began his catechetical lectures at Heidelberg soon after he arrived, he did not use this catechism as a basis, for it was the official catechism of the Church of the Palatinate. Yet he did not. Perhaps this was because it was entirely too simple and too brief, for it consists of only eighteen answers,—namely the creed, the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer,—with an additional answer on the first and two additional answers at the end of the Ten Commandments. This was followed by two answers on the Lord's Supper and one

on the power of the keys. There may also have been another reason why Ursinus did not use Brenz' catechism. He had already in his theological views gotten far beyond Brenz' catechism. That was Lutheran and agreed with the Unaltered Augsburg Confession in saying that "Christ reaches out to us his body and blood with the bread and wine." Ursinus had gotten beyond that, over to the Reformed position, as is shown by his Larger catechism. The catechism of Brenz is peculiar in being a sacramental catechism. It is framed in the sacraments. It begins and ends with a sacrament; with the creed, Lord's Prayer and the decalogue thrown in between. Ursinus, therefore, in beginning his lectures to his students in the college of Wisdom soon after his arrival, went to work to frame up his own catechism, as Brenz' catechism was unsatisfactory. And the product of his work was his Larger catechism.

And yet while he did not seem to use Brenz' catechism in his lectures there are several answers in Brenz that remind us somewhat of the Heidelberg. For it is to be remembered that Ursinus, just at that time, was on the alert for any catechetical suggestions to help him in lecturing to his students in the theological seminary. He not merely made use of his previous catechetical knowledge, but from every quarter available he was gathering material to be woven into his catechism. There are especially two answers, the one after the creed and the one after the Ten Commandments, that remind us somewhat of the Heidelberg. The answer after the creed reads thus:

"Of what profit is this faith?"

"That *for the sake of Jesus Christ I am counted righteous and holy before God*, and there is given me the spirit of prayer and calling on God as Father, and also of ordering my life according to God's commandment."

The Heidelberg (59), at the end of the creed, thus reads:

“But what doth it profit thee that thou believest all this *That I am righteous in Christ before God*, and an heir of eternal life?”

The first part of this answer is about the same as Brenz’s. The answer of Brenz, after the Ten Commandments, is:

“For what purpose were the Ten Commandments given?”

“First, *that we may learn from them to recognize our sins*, and, secondly, *what works are pleasing to God and are to be done in order to lead an honorable life.*”

Listen to what the Heidelberg (115) says and see the parallel:

“Why, then, will God have the Ten Commandments so strictly preached, since no man in this life can keep them?”

“First, *that all our lifetime we may learn more and more to know our sinful nature*, likewise that we constantly endeavor and pray to God for the grace of the Holy Spirit that we *may become more and more conformable to the image of God.*”

Brenz then goes on in the next answer about good works, which is significant:

“Can we, by our works, perfectly fulfill God’s commandment?”

“No. If, therefore, we believe in Jesus Christ, God, with his gracious favor, for Christ’s sake, *reckons us just as though we ourselves had fulfilled all of God’s commands.*”

The Heidelberg, in Answer 60, clearly states the same idea:

“God, without any merit of mine, but only of mere grace, *grants and imparts to me the perfect satisfaction, righteousness and holiness of Christ*, even so as if I never had had nor committed any sin, yea, as *if I had fully*

accomplished all that obedience which Christ hath accomplished for me."

The two catechisms somewhat parallel each other on "good works."

Brenz' catechism asks:

"Why ought we to do good works?"

Not that *by our works we make satisfaction for sin and merit life eternal*. For Christ alone hath made satisfaction for our sins and merited for us life eternal. But we should do good works that by them *we may attest our faith* and render thanks to our God for his benefits."

The Heidelberg (91) asks:

"What are good works?"

"Only those *which proceed from a true faith*, one performed according to the law of God and to His glory, and not such as are founded on our imaginations or the institutions of men."

But there is an additional idea that the Heidelberg got from this answer of Brenz. We have already seen that Ursinus probably received the threefold idea of the catechism from a theological treatise published at Heidelberg. But the third part of that catechism was named good works. Ursinus changed it to thankfulness. Where did he get the idea of good works as thankfulness? We know not. And yet it is significant that here in this answer of Brenz it speaks of good works as "thanks to God for his benefits." Perhaps Ursinus got from Brenz the idea of thankfulness, which makes the latter part of our catechism so beautiful, thus making the Christian life a thank-offering to God.*

But the contrast between Brenz' catechism and the Heidelberg is as interesting as the likeness. Catechisms

* Had we time, we would also like to compare the Heidelberg with the "Articles on the Creed" by Peter Martyr, who was Ursinus' favorite teacher at Zurich before he came to Heidelberg.

are of different sorts in their contents. Some are chronological—that is, begin with the creation and fall of man, and follow it historically. Others are cosmological, making the decree of God in relation to man and the universe, their keynote. Others are sacramental,—they begin with baptism. Brenz was of this kind. After an introductory question about religion it starts in the second answer by taking up baptism. The Heidelberg is quite different. It begins with the idea of comfort, and is, therefore, experimental.

And now, having paused for a moment on a Lutheran catechism, let us take up especially the Reformed catechisms that were the sources of the Heidelberg. And to do this most effectively let us take up the peculiarities predominant in the Heidelberg and trace them back.

The first and one of the greatest is the idea that the Heidelberg gives of religion at its very beginning—namely, that religion is a comfort. This is the antipodes of the Catholic teaching of religion, which makes religion to be fear. And so over the doorway of every Catholic cathedral is carved in stone a picture of the Last Judgment. But over the doorway of the Heidelberg is carved the word “comfort.” It, more than any other catechism, gives a cheerful aspect to religion. A true Reformed can never be a pessimist—he must be an optimist. Ursinus, with his natural bent toward melancholy, is always combating it with Christian optimism. This is beautifully shown by his letters. It is remarkable that one so much inclined to pessimism has given us what may be called the most optimistic of catechisms. Ah, it was because the catechism was the expression of his deepest spiritual struggles. The Heidelberg catechism is an experimental catechism, because Ursinus and Olevianus wrote their own experience into it. We are surprised that

they were able to write so great a catechism at so young an age, their ages being 26 and 28. We may be glad they wrote it then and not later in their lives, for it would then have been more didactic and cold, like the Westminster catechism. But written in their youth, it is full of youthful aspirations and buoyant earnestness. Neither could they have written a catechism of such a spirit later in their lives. It is the catechism of youth, and that is what gives it eternal youth.

Well how does this prominence of comfort in religion get into the Heidelberg? It is very interesting to trace it back. There is a hint of it away back in Leo Juda's Shorter catechism (answer 73), where religion is described as a joy. But the idea of comfort does not come out prominently until in the Lasco group of catechisms.

In the first catechism of that group, the Lasco catechism (1546), which, as a manuscript, was first used among the Reformed Churches of East Friesland in Germany and later published in 1551 in London, this idea begins to appear. In its answer 125, referring to the Lord's Prayer, the question asks what *comfort* does the word "Father" have in it? The answer replies: "*A very special comfort in life and death.*" Here you have exactly the wording of the first question of the Heidelberg. Again in that catechism, question 127 asks what *comfort* does it bring us that God is Almighty?

Another catechism of this group was published in London in 1553 for the refugee church there, of which Lasco was the pastor. They had had a catechism of their own, made by Micronius, Lasco's assistant. The Micronius' catechism was an abbreviation of Lasco's catechism, but they needed a still shorter catechism, intended especially for those about to join Church. So this Shorter London catechism was published. In it, question 23,

referring to the articles of the creed (the communion of saints, forgiveness of sins, resurrection of the body and eternal life), asks: What *comfort* is given by these? And the answer then proceeds to give three *comforts* derived from them. This idea of comfort is repeated in Question 34, where, referring to the Lord's Supper, it asks: What *comfort* have you in it?

The Emden catechism was the fourth of this group of Lasco's catechisms, published in 1554 by the pastors of the city of Emden, in Germany, where Lasco had, eight years before, introduced his first catechism, then in manuscript (of which we spoke above). This Emden catechism is the last of the Lasco group of catechisms, and is based on the three others. In its 24th question the idea of comfort appears as it asks: Where shall this poor man, condemned man, made fearful by the law, seek *comfort*? The reply is "Not in himself, but in Christ." Indeed this answer is somewhat like the beginning of our first answer so that we will give it in full:

"Not in himself, or in any other work in heaven or earth, but alone through faith in the only mediator and Saviour Jesus Christ, who has revealed to us the doctrine of the Holy Gospel, by which God urges and impels us by that law as by a schoolmaster."

These answers of these different catechisms reveal that the idea of religion, as a comfort, was becoming more prominent just before Ursinus wrote his catechisms. And this idea Ursinus seized upon for the beginning of our catechism. These refugees of Lasco's Church had been driven out of England by the persecution under bloody Queen Mary. They had fled to Denmark and then to north Germany for a refuge. But the high-Lutherans of those regions had driven them away. They at last, for a few years, found a resting-place at Frank-

ford. But the Lutherans soon drove them away from there. Then it was that Elector Frederick III, of the Palatinate, gave them an asylum, and they settled at Frankenthal, not far from Heidelberg, in the spring of 1562, forming a large congregation.* It was this congregation that brought with them from London these Lasco catechisms. And so Ursinus and Olevianus came into contact with them and utilized them in writing the Heidelberg. This idea of comfort appears in Ursinus' first and Larger catechism, which begins thus (and you can now see how our beautiful first answer grew):

"What firm comfort do you have in life and death?"

"That I am formed of God according to his image."

Ursinus then goes on to base this comfort on the covenant of God as he continues:

"And after I had lost this image willingly in Adam, God, out of his infinite and free mercy, received me into the covenant of his grace, in order that he, on account of the obedience and death of his Son, sent unto us in the flesh, may give to me, a believer, justice and eternal life; and this covenant he had sealed in my heart through his spirit, re-forming me in accordance with the image of God and calling me 'Abba Father,' through his Word and the visible sign of the covenant."

Let us follow this first answer of our catechism one step farther to the second or Smaller catechism of Ursinus. There we see it is exactly like the first part of our answer though briefer:

"What is your comfort by which in life and death your heart sustains itself?"

"That God, for Christ's sake, has truly forgiven my sins and given me eternal life, that in it I may glorify

* The story of the sufferings of these Reformed refugees had long stirred the heart of Ursinus. Even in his university days at Wittenberg he refers to them in his letters, as he also does in his Inaugural Address, at Breslau, 1558.

him forever.”

The ending of this is like the ending of our sixth answer. Then our Heidelberg catechism completes these two answers of Ursinus' catechisms by agreeing with the Smaller catechism in accepting the idea of comfort rather than that of covenant in the Larger. But it adds to the answer in the Smaller the reasons for our comfort, four in number—first, redemption (“that Christ has fully satisfied for all my sins”); second, deliverance (“and delivered me from the power of the devil”); third, preservation (“so preserves me that not a hair can fall from my head”); fourth, assurance (“he also assures me of eternal life”).

It was Ursinus who seized on this idea of religion as a comfort before Olevianus became his helper in preparing the catechism, for he uses this idea in his Smaller catechism. It is interesting to notice that Ursinus, four years before he aided in the composition of the Heidelberg, refers to this idea in his Inaugural Address at the school at Breslau. He there says: “Let us rather, with all submission and thankfulness, embrace this sweetest *comfort* by which we are assured that our labors please God.” He also, in that address, speaks of the three tests of the Christian and calls the third “this *comfort* that, for the differences and inequalities of gifts and degrees, we shall not be cast off and suffered to perish, which *comfort* must be opposed to the grief conceived upon our own unworthiness.”

In a number of other answers the influence of these Lasco catechisms is evident, but time fails to note them, except to call attention to the influence of the catechism by Lasco, on the form of the answers in the Heidelberg on the Lord's Prayer (122-129). In them there are occasional sentences taken from Lasco's, but the similarity

does not lie in the words, but in the form. The form of them is that each answer is a prayer. This is a beautiful idea. The catechism not merely teaches us what prayer is, but it makes us pray. These answers on prayer, when taken singly or together, make a beautiful prayer. It is well, when studying them, to get the catechetical class to pray them together in concert. For they are the Heidelberg version of the Lord's Prayer. They remind us of Elector Frederick III's version of the Lord's Prayer, to which we shall refer in the chapter on "How Elector Frederick III Became Reformed."

And as we have watched the influence of the Lasco group of catechisms, to which about twenty of the answers or about one-sixth of our catechism refer, so too we might also watch the influence of the other catechisms. Next to the Lasco catechisms come the Zurich group of catechisms, especially Leo Juda's Smaller catechism. Their influence is shown in 14 answers; as Juda, in 21, 25, 27, 45, 56, 60, 86, 91, 117, 127, and Bullinger, in 80, 91, 102. After the Zurich catechisms comes Calvin's catechism, with twelve of the answers of the Heidelberg referring to it, as 30, 31, 32, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 88, 108, 109 and 110. And some of the answers have also a likeness to Calvin's Institutes, as 26-28. The Strasburg catechisms of Bucer and Zell reveal themselves in seven answers; Bucer in 27, 104, 106, 129, and Zell in 2, 52, 94, 120, 128. Some almost unknown catechisms reveal their influence, especially a Bavarian catechism by Meckhart (1553), to which five answers refer. Indeed, one of the answers of the Heidelberg, the 26th on Providence, together with three of Ursinus' Smaller catechism (39, 40, 41) go back to what may be called the earliest of the Protestant catechisms,—Bader's Dialogue-book of 1526. We give it here and then give answer 26. Bader says:

The first article of the creed has the meaning "that I believe and am certain in my heart that the *only eternal and Almighty God, who has created heaven and earth, is my friendly, propitious and beloved father, and I am his chosen child, beloved as his own heart.*" Our answer 26 reads: "That the *eternal father* of our Lord Jesus Christ (who, *of nothing made heaven and earth, who likewise upholds and governs the same by his eternal counsel and providence*) is, for the sake of God, his Son, *my God and my Father.*" We shall also, in the next chapter, refer to another hitherto unknown source of our catechism. But time fails to dwell any longer on these details. We refer the reader to the works of Gooszen and Lang on the Heidelberg catechism for fuller details.

3. Topical.—Let us, before closing, turn to individual answers in the Heidelberg and see them grow. Let us begin at the beginning of our catechism and take up some of its prominent answers.

The first question and answer is always interesting, where did it come from? We have already noticed in this chapter where the idea of comfort in the question came from. Concerning the answer, perhaps the best description of it is that the first and last part came from the Lasco group of catechisms and the middle part was filled out by the authors of the catechism. And yet the analysis may be better made than that. That answer consists of a proposition: "that I am not my own, but belong to Christ." This is followed by four reasons to prove it, satisfaction, deliverance, preservation and assurance. The first of the reasons (the satisfaction of Christ) is taken from the first answer of the London, which says: "*who hath cleansed me and the holy offering of His body and the shedding of His blood for my sins,*" and from the

second answer of the Emden catechism: "that I am again saved from sin and death by the *satisfaction of Christ Jesus.*" The last reason (assurance), is from the London catechism, answer 1, and the Emden, answer 3, both of which speak of the Holy Ghost making us willing to serve him. We give here the answer of the London, answer 3:

"How are you assured that you are a true Christian?"

"First, by the witness of the Holy Spirit, who, by faith in my high priest Jesus Christ, *testifies to my Spirit, that I am a child of God, and, secondly, by the inclination and desire to serve God, which, by the Spirit of God, I feel in the inward man.*"

The question has been asked, where does the very first idea of the first answer come from, "that I am not my own, but belong to my faithful Saviour." It is undoubtedly Biblical, but seems not to have been used much in the catechisms. Prof. Lang calls attention to its use in a Bavarian catechism of Huber, of 1543, which speaks of "*Christ my Saviour and head, and I his member and property.*" out of which originally this answer in our catechism after twenty years may be said to have grown. But while a number of the ideas of this answer existed in other catechisms, yet with what remarkable genius did the authors of our catechism put them together and fill in between them the missing parts until the whole answer becomes a beautiful, complete whole.

Another answer that has always been prominent and dear to readers of the Heidelberg has been the answer about faith, the 21st.

"True faith is not only a certain knowledge, whereby I hold for truth all that God has revealed in his Word, but also an assured confidence, which the Holy Ghost works by the gospel in my heart, that not only to others, but to me also, remission of sin, everlasting righteous and salvation are freely given, merely of grace, only for the

sake of Christ's merits."

Following this backward, in Ursinus' Smaller catechism, it reads:

"Faith is a strong assent, by which we accept all that is revealed to us in the Word of God; and a sure confidence created by the Holy Spirit in the hearts of God's elect, whereby each one feels assured that, through the merits of Christ alone, remission of sins, righteousness and eternal life are freely given by God, only for the merits of Christ."

Going still further back to Ursinus' Larger catechism, it there reads:

"Faith is a firm assent to every Word of God, and a firm confidence, by which every one holds that forgiveness of sin, righteousness and eternal life are given him by God, freely, on account of the merits of Christ; and through confidence is an illumination in the hearts of the elect by the Holy Spirit, making us living members of Christ and producing in us true love of God and prayer."

All these answers are very much alike, but when we go beyond the catechisms of Ursinus, where does Answer 21 come from? Away back in Leo Juda's catechism of 1534, the germ of it appears where he says: "Faith is a knowledge of God and a confidence and a gift of God." In his next catechism, of 1538, he says: "Faith is a certain trust and firm confidence in the true living God." Calvin (1541) speaks of faith as "a sure knowledge and sure confidence." We will, in the next chapter, show that this idea first came to Ursinus when he studied the catechism of his boyhood by Moibanus. As he later studied these other catechisms and found this idea enforced again and again, he put it in our catechism as the basis of this 21st answer. In fact, he found a good deal of his answer in Micronius' catechism (1552), answer 44.

"Faith is a fixed and firm confidence in God, awakened

CATECHISMO,
Que significa,
FORMA DE INSTRUÇÃO,
que se ensina em as
ESCHOLAS E IGREJAS
REFORMADAS

Conforme a Palavra de Deos, posto por Perguntas
e Répostas sobre os principios da doutrina
Christãã.



t'AMSTERDAM,

Voor *Cornelis Jansz*, Boeckverkooper, aende
Nieuwe Kerck, in Calvinus, 1665

The title-page of the Heidelberg catechism in the Portuguese language (first edition.) See pages 12-13.

CATECHISMO,

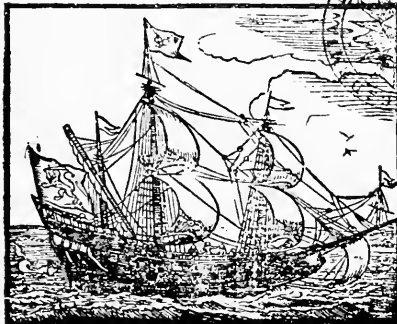
Que significa,

FORMA DE INSTRUÇÃO,

que se ensina em as

ESCHOLAS E IGREJAS REFORMADAS

Conforme a Palavra de Deos, posto por
Perguntas e Respostas sobre os principios
da doutrina Christãã.



Por ordem dos Srs. Directores da Companhia Oriental,

Em AMSTERDAM,

Em casa dos Erceiros de Paulus Matthyisz., 1639.

The title-page of the Heidelberg catechism in the Portuguese language (second edition). See pages 12-13.

in our hearts by the Holy Spirit, that he is our gracious Father, only by the will of Jesus Christ his son."

And there is a phrase in our answer, "not only to others, but to me also," that Prof. Lang finds in Melancthon.

Let us take another prominent subject, the answers on providence (26-28). In answer 26, the phrase "the eternal Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who of nothing made heaven and earth, who likewise uphold and governs the same," goes away back to Leo Juda's first catechism (1534). The latter part of that answer, which says: "he is able to do it, being Almighty God, and willing, being a faithful Father," harks back to the London catechism (12), where it says:

"I place all my confidence in the eternal God, assured that he will stand by me in all the need of my soul and body, for he is an *Almighty God*, and to me a *willing Father*."

The catechism of Micronius (48) is very much like this:

"I believe that the eternal God is my God and Father, who is the creator, upholder and ruler of heaven and earth, and all that in them is. In whom alone I put my confidence, assured that he is able to help me, and also will, seeing that he is Almighty, and thereto my Father."

The authors of our catechism had simply to enlarge these thoughts in order to produce the 26th answer of our catechism. But when we come to the 27th, we are somewhat surprised to find that the concrete part of that answer, "so that herbs and grass, rain and drought, fruitful and barren years, meat and drink, health and sickness, riches and poverty, yea, all things come not by chance, but by His fatherly hand," is taken from Calvin's catechism, Answer 27, which says:

“It is he that sendeth *rain and drought, hail, tempest and fair weather, fertility and barrenness, dearth and plenty, health and sickness*, and to be short, he hath all things at commandment to do him service at his own good pleasure.”

Prof. Lang thinks that these three answers, 26, 27 and 28, remind one of what Calvin says in the first edition of his Institutes (1536), volume 1, page 63.

Answer 31, “Why is He called Christ, that is anointed?” where Christ is spoken of as our prophet, priest and king, goes away back to Leo Juda (1534), who speaks of Him as king and priest. Then Calvin adds the office of prophet, in which he is followed by Bullinger in his Latin catechism. These Ursinus enlarged in his Larger catechism into five answers and they are almost like our catechism. His Smaller catechism unites these different answers into one, which is almost verbally copied in our catechism. Our catechism always inclining, as it does, to emphasize the personal, adds to this answer of the Smaller, the beautiful 32d answer, “Why art thou called a Christian?” which seems to be original. Prof. Lang, it is true, says that in answer 32 he finds a source in answer 64 of Ursinus’ Larger catechism, but it is only in one clause, “reigning with Him eternally.” He also quotes Calvin’s answer 22 as a source, but we see no likeness. This answer, however, is interesting in its balancing of the passive and active life of the Christian. It emphasizes the strenuous life when it says: “That so I may confess His name,—I may fight against sin and Satan in this life.” This sounds like Olevianus, who had just done this at Treves before he wrote our catechism, as we shall describe in a later chapter. And yet this demand for the strenuous life is balanced by the emphasis on the self-denying life as it says: “a living sacrifice”;

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 ග්‍රෙගුරියානාග්.

The title-page of the Heidelberg catechism in the Singalese language. The Coat of Arms of the Dutch East India Company is in the center. See page 13.

and he connects this with one of his main ideas in the catechism by adding "of thankfulness to Him." The previous lives of both the writers of the catechism, with their struggles, disappointments and persecutions, are written into our catechism and find expression in this answer.

Our answer 54, on "what is the Church," has an interesting history. The first Protestant definition of the Church was given by Bucer and Calvin, "a congregation elect to eternal life." Leo Juda's gave it as "a gathering of believers elect to eternal life." This gives us only the first part of our answer, which says :

"That the Son of God, from the beginning to the end of the world, gathers, defends and preserves to Himself out of the whole human race a Church elect to everlasting life agreeing in true faith."

But the beautiful ending of our answer, "and that I am and forever shall remain a living member thereof." Where does it come from? It has remained for the Lasco catechisms, so full of devotion, to put it in the London (21) and Micronius (67). Both add to the answer about the Church the clause, "of which I know myself to be a member."

The Emden is virtually the same as our catechism :

"I believe that my Lord Jesus Christ, out of this lost world by the Holy Spirit and by the voice of the Holy Gospel, has, from the beginning of the world, gathered and preserved an eternal, holy, continuing Church or congregation of the elect, of which congregation I recognize myself as a member."

During the liturgical controversy in our Church nearly fifty years ago, a sharp controversy arose between the high-churchmen and the low-churchmen, as to the exact meaning of the word "Church" in our catechism. Rev. Prof H. Rust, for the low-churchmen claimed it

meant "congregation;" Rev. Prof. E. V. Gerhart denied this and claimed that it meant more than the congregation, for he emphasized the priesthood of the ministry. Rust declared that the German word used in answer 74 for church, is "congregation" (gemeinde); and also that answer 54 defines the church as a "congregation" (gemeinde). The literary sources of our catechism prove that the low-churchmen were right in their contention. For the Lasco catechisms, which were the main source of that answer, all use "congregation" or "assembly."

When we come to the sacraments we come to a very interesting history. Our catechism defines the sacraments as "holy, visible signs and seals." Where does that definition come from? The Catholic doctrine had been that they were saving ordinances, the Protestant, that they were sealing ordinances. How did the Reformed formulate their new doctrine that they were sealing, rather than saving? Here a very interesting history appears in connection with the catechisms. Leo Juda, in his first catechism, speaks of the sacraments as oaths, thus referring to the communicant rather than defining the sacrament itself. In his second, he speaks of them as signs, or as signs of duty (pflichtzeichen) or oaths or covenant-signs. This idea of them as signs comes over from the Catholic definition of them "as visible signs of invisible grace." We have thus seen that they were defined by the first Protestants as signs. This was especially the Zwinglian idea, which was severely attacked by Luther. When did the idea of them as seals appear? The Lutherans, according to Luther's Smaller catechism, defined the Lord's Supper thus: "The Lord's Supper is the true body and blood of Christ." They did not let anything figurative, like the sign and the seal, come in to

lower, as it seemed to them, the idea of the reality of the presence of Christ's body. This idea of seal does not become prominent until the Lasco catechisms. It first appears in Lasco's catechism and is followed by the Micronius and the Emden. In fact, all these put the phrase "signs and seals" together, when even Calvin had not done it in his catechism. Our Answer 66 is very much like the 54th of the Emden catechism. It, however, omits an important element in the Emden, the social and ethical significance of the sacrament. But the Heidelberg emphasizes an idea, not so prominent in the Emden—namely, the memorial idea of the sacraments, both as to baptism as well as the Lord's Supper. Indeed, the Heidelberg adds a whole new answer, the 67th, which refers the whole of our salvation to the one sacrifice of Christ. This answer, like the 32d, of which we have spoken, seems to be entirely new—that is, is not in either of Ursinus' previous catechisms. It is evident that the authors of the catechism wanted to emphasize the memorial character of the sacraments, or they would not have put it in the catechism. Indeed, its importance is shown by its being placed at the very beginning of the sacraments. This memorial idea is, however, later balanced by Calvin's ideas (baptism as a sign of the covenant (74), and the spiritual presence of Christ at the Lord's Supper (76).)

We might go on thus and trace other answers in our catechism back to the earlier catechisms, but it is not necessary. It is very evident, from what has already been given, that the authors of our catechisms made use of earlier catechisms to a very considerable extent.

But before leaving this, we will refer to four places in our catechism which are somewhat peculiar in meaning.

The first is the section from answers 12 to 18, which has sometimes been called the scholastic part of our cate-

chism, and some have, therefore, objected to it. It certainly proceeds with the severest dialectic to show that, as we could not save ourselves and no creature could save us, it was necessary for a divine-human Christ to do so. This section is not in either of the previous catechisms of Ursinus, though some of the individual answers refer to some of their answers scattered here and there. We have to leap over these and go away back to Leo Juda's first catechism, and there is the whole plan wrought out in all these steps many years before.

The second is in the 37th answer, "Christ sustained the wrath of God against the sins of all mankind." This has been a battleground. The infralapsarians claim it taught that Christ died only for the elect; the sublapsarians that he died for the sins of the whole world. Do the sources give any light? It, doubtless, was an echo of Ursinus' Larger catechism (86), which says "as if he alone had committed all the sins of all men." Professor Lang says the latter view does not contradict Calvin's doctrine, as stated in the Geneva Consensus. We have not been able to find the expression in any of the catechisms, but suspect it comes either from Lasco or Bullinger, both of whom held to the universal atonement. Ursinus' explanation of this answer is infralapsarian, but those of us who are sublapsarian and hold to the universal atonement are glad this last phrase got into the catechism.

The third is, where does answer 44, which gives the figurative explanation of Christ's descent into hell, referring it to the sufferings of Christ, come from. This our catechism got from Calvin, who so explains it. But Leo Juda, in his earlier catechisms, refers it to a place—namely, his going among the dead, as did Bucer and Zell. The figurative explanation of our catechism is true as far as it goes, but it is not the historical one.

Then, lastly, let us look at the 80th answer against the Romish mass. This answer can lay claim to originality, for it was placed in the catechism, as we know, after it was first published. The earlier catechisms stated the positive side of the Lord's Supper, rather than the polemical. And yet our Heidelberg is not alone in denouncing the mass. The catechism of Bullinger speaks against the mass, because it is a sacrifice. It devotes two answers to it. There is also an answer in Calvin's catechism against the mass as an offering for sin.* So that the Heidelberg has company in its denunciation of the mass, as it had good reason to put it in just then, because of the severe denunciations of Protestants by the Council of Trent.

C. CONCLUSION

From this study of our catechism it is evident that our catechism was not, by any means, an original composition. Rather, it was a summary of the catechetical literature of the previous thirty years. It was the rich, ripe fruit of the catechetical effort of the Church for a quarter of a century. And it is this that gives it its peculiar power. It was a finished product of the fervent devotional spirit of an age of such fresh religious spirit as the reformation, before it degenerated into formalism and dry dogma. This accounts for the devotional experimental character of the Heidelberg. It was developed out of a period when the warmth of the Holy Spirit's power was still filling the hearts of the people.

But while all this is all true, it does not lower the merit of the authors of the catechism, Ursinus and Ole-

* Melancthon, in his "Considerations of Ordinances," which Ursinus had used at Breslau, speaks of the mass as an idolatry, as he does also in his dogmatics.

vianus. Rather it should enhance our appreciation of their labors. This study of the sources of our catechism is a wonderful revelation of their wide knowledge of previous catechisms. And it also reveals their wonderful ability in utilizing all this material to form a catechism finer than any that had gone before. All this knowledge, together with the deftness with which they linked all together, and then their masterful comprehension of the whole subject, reveal them as masters of the catechetical art. This is the more wonderful when we remember that they were still young, only 26 and 28 years of age. But great eras produce great genius and the reformation was full of illustrations of this. Especially must the praise go to Ursinus, who seems to have been the main author of the catechism. He seems to have been a past-master of catechetics, as no one before or after him. But both authors together produce in this catechism something more beautiful than either produced alone. It may well be called a coat of many colors, each color representing a previous catechism. No, it is more than that. The threads of these different catechisms are so woven into each other and through one another as to be lost in the matchless whole. "It is," says Rev. Prof. G. W. Richards, D.D., "not simply a mosaic of excerpts from various sources, but a new creation with original strength and beauty, both a work of art and a book of doctrine."

What a wonderful catechism is ours. Whether we look at the men who wrote it, or at the previous providential preparation in their lives for writing it, or at the wonderful way in which they worked it up, or at the remarkable history of the catechism since it came forth from their hands, it is all very wonderful. We can only say of it, as of the Bible, of which it is but the echo, that

it is a wonderful book, because written, not by the Holy Spirit, as is the Bible, but by the guidance of that same Holy Spirit on its composers.

CHAPTER II

THE CATECHISM OF URSINUS' BOYHOOD

AN unknown source of the Heidelberg catechism was the catechism of Ursinus' boyhood. Before he had ever seen the catechisms of Calvin, Juda or Lasco, which he undoubtedly used in the Heidelberg, the first catechism to which he was introduced was the one he studied in the school at Breslau, his birthplace, and in which he was taught by his pastor in the St. Elizabeth's Church there. This catechism has been found. And a lover of the Heidelberg catechism will examine it with interest, so as to see what of it Ursinus later put into our Heidelberg catechism.

The city of Breslau, where Ursinus was born, had two leading reformers, John Hess and Ambrose Moibanus. It is in the latter that we are interested, for he it was who catechized Ursinus. Moibanus was a native of Breslau and was born there April 4, 1494. After studying at the schools of his native city, he went, at the age of sixteen, to the university of Cracau, which had at that time attained to prominence, having produced one of the great world-thinkers, Copernicus, the astronomer. When Moibanus went there, the new learning of the reformation, humanism, had already entered the university, and Moibanus there first came into contact with it. In 1515 he went to the university of Vienna, then one of the largest universities of Europe, having five thousand students. There one of the professors, named Salzer, who was a humanist, made a deep impression

on him. Moibanus there became a humanist, but of a somewhat rationalistic type, if he may be judged by his earliest writings. But there he learned the Greek language, which was the evangel of the new reformation, superseding the sacred language of the Romish Church, the Latin, and introducing the reader directly to the New Testament with its teachings so different from Catholicism. While at Vienna he made a trip to southern Germany, where he met Reuchlin, who, with Érasmus, was the father of humanism and who was the teacher of Melancthon. After Moibanus had returned to Vienna and taken his degree, he entered the ranks of the teaching profession. And through the influence of his patron, Bishop Turzo, of Breslau, he was, in 1518, made rector of the school of the cathedral there.

It was about this time that strange things began to take place at Wittenberg, in eastern Germany. Luther had nailed his theses (October 31, 1517) on the door of the castle church against the sale of papal indulgences. And as a result, Germany was beginning to seethe with protests against the abuses of Romanism. Moibanus was, as we have seen, at first a humanist of a rather intellectual type. But as a humanist he was friendly with Melancthon, who represented the humanistic side of the early reformation in Germany. He visited Melancthon at Wittenberg, in 1520, and thus came into direct contact with the reformation. At the death of his friend and patron, Bishop Turzo, who had guided his steps to humanism and who had favored the cause of the reformation, he resigned his position at the cathedral and became rector of another school in Breslau, that of the St. Mary Magdalene Church, for each church had its own parochial school at that time, such a thing as a public school being then unknown. Moi-

banus there taught Greek, being the first to teach that language in his native land of Silesia.

But it seems he was not satisfied with being merely a teacher. The humanist in him was blossoming out into the reformer. His later works show him to have been a serious-minded young man, and he wanted something more than mere teaching and humanism. So he decided to exchange teaching for preaching. And in 1523 he went to Wittenberg to study theology. There, though he was friendly with Luther, yet Melancthon was his special friend and guide.

Meanwhile, as he was studying the Protestant doctrines at Wittenberg, Protestantism broke out in his native city of Breslau. John Hess was elected pastor of the Mary Magdalene Church, May 20, 1523. And two years later (1525) Moibanus was elected pastor of the St. Elizabeth's Church, for many in it remembered the excellent work he had done in Breslau as a teacher and hoped much from him as a pastor. His election as pastor made two of the churches of Breslau Protestant, Hess being already pastor at the St. Mary Magdalene Church. Many were the controversies that these two reformers had with the priests of the cathedral, which, after the death of Bishop Turzo, became the stronghold of the Catholics. But Protestantism finally triumphed in Breslau.

Now it was his pastorate of the St. Elizabeth's Church that makes him interesting to us, for it brought him into contact with Ursinus, one of the authors of our Heidelberg catechism, who was born in that parish. But before taking up his relations to Ursinus, let us briefly look at his life and complete it. After he became pastor of St. Elizabeth's Church, he introduced Protestant customs into the Church. He changed the language of the

services from Latin into the German, and put away many Catholic ceremonies. But he was a man of mild spirit and introduced the reformation with great common sense, avoiding conflict, if possible. He was a Lutheran of the earlier type, when it was hard to distinguish Lutheranism from the Reformed; this was before the controversies had started, which so sadly divided them later. Trials came upon him to deepen his piety. The Turks came and captured Breslau in 1537. The plague appeared in 1543, and took away one-fifteenth of the inhabitants. In 1537, Moibanus, though usually a man of peace, came out strongly against the sects, for Schwenkfeldians and Anabaptists existed around him.

After the death of Hess, he was for many years the head of the Protestant Church of that city. He died at the age of sixty, on January 16, 1554, after having been twenty-nine years pastor at St. Elizabeth's. He was a man of great piety and peace, passing away just as the terrible strife broke out between the high- and low-Lutherans. Indeed, it was his irenic disposition and great common sense that had been a great factor in keeping out, for many years, all strife in Breslau. But it broke out as soon as he died, and Ursinus was the sufferer.

We have dwelt on his life at some length because of his great influence on Ursinus. No one can measure the influence of a pastor on a young and developing child in his congregation. He is certain to be a potent force in that one's life, either for good or else, alas, for evil. It was the influence of Zwingli's uncle, the priest of Wesen, that made the boy Zwingli the humanist, that made him later the great reformer. It was the influence of his patron, Bishop Turzo, that had made Moibanus a humanist and an Evangelical. Such an influ-

ence Moibanus passed on to Ursinus, for it was his influence that led Ursinus to go to Melancthon, and also prepared him to become Reformed. He also gave to Ursinus his love for peace. For Ursinus naturally disliked controversy, yet, strange to say, had to pass most of his life in it. Moibanus gave to Ursinus, who was naturally inclined to intellectualism, a practical bent of mind which corrected it. Ursinus was naturally inclined to conscientiousness and serious-mindedness, and it was the earnest ministrations of his godly pastor that deepened these and guided his piety into its best channels. And when we pass from Moibanus' personal influence on Ursinus to his influence on him through his catechism, we shall see how deeply he worked himself into the life of his pupil.

It was in this parish of St. Elizabeth that a boy, whom Moibanus baptized Zachariah Baer, was born on July 18, 1534. This name, Baer, was later latinized, after the manner of that age, into Ursinus. Ursinus, when a boy of from twelve to fifteen years of age, went to religious instruction under Moibanus, so as to be prepared for confirmation; for in Germany the course of instruction in the catechism lasts longer than with us, and is quite thorough. It was in this school of St. Elizabeth, at Breslau, that Ursinus first came into contact with the educational ideas of the humanists, which Moibanus had introduced there. No wonder he became the great dialectician of later years, for, from his earliest years, he had been trained to its clearness and logicalness of thought under Moibanus. He continued under the direct influence of Moibanus until his sixteenth year, when he went away to the university of Wittenberg.

And Moibanus still continued to influence him after he had gone to Wittenberg, for Moibanus was in the

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THE HEIDELBERG CATECHISM.

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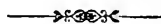
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என்னும்

வேதோபதேச முத்தாவளி.



M A D R A S :

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY H. W. LAURIE,
AT THE CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE SOCIETY'S PRESS, VEPPERY.
1869.

The title-page of the Heidelberg catechism in the Tamil language. See pages 13-14.

habit of helping students through school and to college; and it was doubtless he who got some of the citizens of Breslau to give Ursinus money to go away to college. It was Moibanus who gave him a letter to Melancthon, which thus predisposed him to become a Melancthonian. In all this we see how Moibanus was all unconsciously preparing Ursinus for his great work on our catechism.

The writer's attention was first called to Moibanus and his catechism by reading the brief biography of Moibanus, by Konrad, an assistant minister of St. Elizabeth's Church, in Breslau, which was published in 1891. On page 49 of that biography, Konrad says of Moibanus' catechism:

"It is a statement of Christian piety according to the principles of the reformers. It gathers together the most important brief statements of doctrine so as to be learned by heart and then more fully explained. In this respect *this catechism can be considered a forerunner of the Heidelberg.*"

"This is all that Konrad said, but it was enough to lead the writer to institute a search. And when, shortly after, a visit to Breslau led to the finding of a copy of this book, he at once began an examination to see what there was in Moibanus' catechism that was in the Heidelberg, and with startling results.

Moibanus published his first catechism in February, 1533, only four years after Luther published his catechism. It was a Latin catechism. In 1535 he published it again, but in German, and in 1537, again, in Latin. His catechism greatly stirred up the Catholic priests at the cathedral in Breslau, who found it difficult to answer. They published two replies at the expense of the chapter of the cathedral—one by Hildebrand, the other by Cochlaeus, in 1537. The latter bitterly complains about Moibanus, that he, a layman, should pre-

sume to perform ministerial acts. The catechism of 1535 had also quite a commentary on each paragraph of the catechism, and it was stated in the introduction that this edition was intended for those who did not go to school, just as the Latin one had been intended for the school pupils. But the catechism in both Latin and German had the same contents and arrangements. It was not arranged in the form of question and answer, but consisted of brief paragraphs. The fact is, that it took the Church in Reformation times quite a while to learn that the Socratic method (by question and answer), was the best. Thus Calvin's first catechism was not arranged in questions and answers, but in chapters like a theological treatise. His second edition has questions and answers. And when the Reformation Church began to use the questions and answers, it sometimes tried to use them in the wrong way. Thus the first catechism of Leo Juda, of Zurich, made the catechumen ask the questions and the minister give the answers. This was changed in his next catechism to our present method, where the minister asks the questions and the pupil gives the answers. In view of all this, one is not surprised that Moibanus' catechism, like many catechisms of that period in the Protestant Church of Germany, was not in the form of questions and answers, but in paragraphs. The catechism of 1535 had, however, an appendix arranged in question and answer. It was in the form of a dialogue between father and son. This dialogue was changed in the edition of 1537 and 1538 into a dialogue between teacher and pupil. The former was evidently intended for home instruction, the latter for the schools. Ursinus doubtless studied the Latin edition which was used in the schools. This catechism acquired circulation

beyond Breslau, for it was somewhat used in Brandenburg.

But in all these catechisms, whether in Latin or German, the order of the topics is the same and the main paragraphs are the same. The book is divided into ten heads: 1, piety; 2, the law; 3, the gospel; 4, Christ; 5, the sacraments; 6, baptism; 7, the Lord's Supper; 8, love and good works; 9, calling; and 10, prayer.

Moibanus' catechism was practical and experimental. It did not begin with a statement of doctrine or with a historical statement, as some catechisms begin with the fall of man in Eden. It began with a practical subject, and yet one of the greatest importance to a child—the subject of piety. Piety it divided into two parts—man's relation to man and also to God. Piety toward man is to live an honorable and blameless life before men; piety toward God is to live a life of faith in Him. The subjects that come next, "the law," "Gospel" and "Christ," are treated in a practical way. Of the sacraments, which come next, we will speak later. After the sacraments, the catechism devotes three sections to the practice of religion, thus returning to its idea at the beginning,—namely, piety. Two of these sections are entitled "love, or good works," and "calling," which treats of duties to parents, masters and magistrates. The catechism closes with a section on prayer, and shows what the catechumen should pray, why and to whom. These closing paragraphs of the catechism are so beautiful and devotional that we may pause to give them. He defines prayer as a "calling for divine help and strength through Jesus Christ, our bishop, priest and intercessor before God, the Father, in each affliction and anxiety." The last paragraph reads thus:

"Prayer is, therefore, our only anchor to which we

can have refuge when crosses come upon us. And the only prayer that rises out of genuine faith cries to heaven and sighs from the heart: 'Father, Father, dear Father.'"

With this expression of endearment, the catechism closes in as practical a way as it began on the subject of piety. Piety and prayer at its beginning and end, how beautiful!

Such, in brief, is the catechism which Ursinus had to learn when a boy. And now the interesting question comes before us, "Is there anything in this catechism of Moibanus that Ursinus put into the Heidelberg catechism?" Much research has been made into the sources of the Heidelberg catechism, as we have seen, by Professors Gooszen and Lang. They have clearly shown that Ursinus and Olevianus used other catechisms in preparing the Heidelberg, mainly the catechisms of Strasburg, Zurich, Geneva and Lasco. But none of these writers on the sources of the catechism have gone back as far in Ursinus' life as to take up the catechism of his boyhood. Let us then compare the two catechisms and see where the Heidelberg is indebted to Moibanus' catechism.

This catechism of Moibanus' is not only interesting as a source-book of the Heidelberg, but also because it gives us an insight into the religion of Ursinus as a boy. A boy's faith is always an interesting study. We shall see in this study the contents of Ursinus' boyish faith by noticing the things in Moibanus' catechism that he put into the Heidelberg. They were the abiding things of his early faith. For the boy is father of the man, and a boy's religion is prophetic of his religion as a man. The first view-point that a boy gets of religion is apt to stay with him and color all his later religious experiences.

What, then, were the religious impressions of the boy Ursinus? You can see it by noting the truths of Moibanus' catechism that he puts into the Heidelberg. The religious truths of his boyhood catechism, that made the deepest and most lasting impression on him, he put into the Heidelberg, written about 15 years after he studied Moibanus' catechism. He evidently felt that the truths that impressed him most as a boy would be the ones that would impress other boys and girls, and so he puts them into the Heidelberg. For there are three or four fundamental religious truths that it is exceedingly important a child should get clearly and strongly. They are his ideas of God, of sin, of faith, and of the Christian life. It is all-important that he should get right ideas about them. For wrong ideas on them have often made shipwreck of many for this life and the next. Let us look especially at these doctrines especially for a few moments.

And, first, the doctrine of God. It is needless to say that this doctrine is fundamental to all other doctrines, whether for adults or for children. As our Gods are, so are we. Now what was the idea of God that Ursinus learned as a boy. It was that God was a Father. This idea of the Fatherhood of God is not a modern idea, as the new theology claims, for it is repeated over and over again in Moibanus' catechism. Now it is very important that a boy get just this idea of God. For sometimes God is depicted to the young as a severe judge or as a sort of policeman, or perhaps as an arbitrary sovereign. The supralapsarian Calvinists used to paint God as a sovereign of arbitrary will. Children when grown to years often react against such caricatures of God. But Ursinus was taught as a boy that God was a Father, "a heavenly Father," "a gracious Father." And it is in-

teresting to see that this is the idea of God that he puts into our Heidelberg catechism, so that the children, who learn the catechism, may gain that conception. Our catechism is not constructed after the hard lines of supralapsarian Calvinism, with its emphasis on the decrees, but after the loving spirit of sublapsarian Calvinism, with its emphasis not on the decrees, but on redemption.*

The Heidelberg emphasizes not the severity of God in election, but the grace and mercy of God. This doctrine of the Fatherhood of God is beautifully brought out in answer 26, where it says:

“He is, for the sake of Christ, his Son, my God and my Father, in whom I rely so entirely that I have no doubt that he will provide me with all things necessary for soul and body.”

The next two answers (27 and 28), are full of this thought of God, as in 28 it says:

“We place our firm trust in our faithful God and Father, that nothing shall separate us from His love.”

The Heidelberg catechism is a catechism of God's love. Ursinus learned this great truth when a boy. And every one who reads his letters will see that he is full of this idea, even at times when everything seemed dark to him. He was saved from pessimism only by his belief that God was a loving Father.

But such an idea of God may become sentimental. Because God loves us so much, we may be led to presume too much on his love; and so some have used this idea as an incentive to sin rather than a restraint against sin. A God of mere love makes God to be a weak God. As Prof. A. Strong says, “It gives us not the fatherhood of God, but the papahood of God,” by which God becomes an infinite papa rather than an all-wise Father.

* For the sublapsarians over against the infralapsarians believed in universal atonement.

CHIN-HOK Ê

BŪN-TAP.



Tá'-má-ji Sian-si' Hoan-ék ê.



E-MŨG.

1907.

The title-page of the Heidelberg catechism in the Chinese language in Latin letters. See page 14.

So the belief in the love of God must be connected with the idea of a just God also. These two attributes of love and justice give us a true idea of God. They are correlative to each other. Love tempers justice; justice gives strength to love. Such an idea of God also gives a proper idea of sin; for a God, who is not just by punishing sin, produces a vague idea of sin and, therefore, of its punishment. Many a boy goes off into a life of sin because he does not have the proper corrective in a proper idea of God as a God of love, but also of unerring justice.

Now, Ursinus received an idea of God, and of his justice in relation to sin, in his boyhood, from Moibanus' catechism. And the idea he received then seems to have left a lasting impression on his mind, for he repeats the very words of Moibanus' catechism in the Heidelberg. Scripture verses are rarely incorporated in the Heidelberg catechism. The verses of the Bible are often used as proof-texts; but rarely do you find one given in full in the text of the catechism. There must have been some unusual reason, or it would not have been placed there. This makes the Scripture text to which we refer the more noticeable. We have often wondered at the Scripture text in answer 10 of the Heidelberg: "Cursed in every that continueth not in all things that are written in the book of the law to do them." We have often wondered why Ursinus chose that particular text. For there is something harsh about that verse. The idea of cursing is an offensive, not a pleasant one to this age, which so often attempts to emasculate God's wrath by using empty phrases and gentler language. One feels that there are other Bible verses on the same subject that might have better been chosen, such as "the soul that sinneth it shall die." Why did Ursinus use

this particular text in the Heidelberg. If you will turn to the catechism of his boyhood you will see the reason why, for it is there. That verse evidently made a deep impression on him as a boy and must have lingered with him till he wrote the Heidelberg. For he was of a very conscientious disposition, indeed overconscientious, and this verse must have come home to him with terrible force and often kept him from sin. As it had been so powerful in himself, he evidently felt it was just the verse to put into the Heidelberg, as he believed it would be as powerful on the children who studied it as it had been on him.

Take another important subject of a boy's religion—faith. We have often wondered where the Heidelberg catechism got that complete and magnificent definition of faith in answer 21, the best definition in any catechism, "Faith is not only a certain knowledge * * * but also an assured confidence." The German, which is the original language of the catechism, has it better than the English, not merely "an assured confidence," but "a hearty confidence." Some years ago we thought we had found the source of this expression in the catechism of Calvin, in whose first edition there is a section on confidence in God. Strange, is it not, that Calvin, who is usually reckoned so cold, as cold as an icicle, should produce a section of such warmth of heart. However, the recent publication of Calvin's letters has shown that Calvin was not so cold, and that he had a warm heart as well as a great head. But we can get this definition of faith as "a hearty confidence" in our catechism more nearly than in Calvin's. Lo, the very words of this definition are in Moibanus' catechism. Ursinus learned that idea of faith from his pastor when he was a boy. In the tenth paragraph, under the first head of Moibanus' catechism—

namely, piety—we read the statement: “Faith is the very highest and heartiest confidence of the children of God.” That high idea of his boyish religion Ursinus never outlived. He put it into the Heidelberg. It always remained with him as his greatest consolation. To show you its unusual influence in our 21st answer, it is to be remembered that Ursinus was mainly a man of intellect. He was a logician, an Aristotelianist. The intellectual idea of faith would, therefore, have been the one that would be apt to have caught his eye and then frame his life. Had he defined faith naturally he would have inclined to stop with the first part of the definition of the Heidelberg, which says that faith is “a certain knowledge whereby I hold for truth all God has revealed in his word.” Why did he complete this by saying faith was “a hearty confidence?” Because Moibanus, in his catechism, had given him an experimental idea of faith. We probably never would have had so complete a definition of faith if Ursinus had not been under Moibanus.

A fourth very important doctrine to the child, is the view he is taught concerning the Christian life. What idea did Ursinus learn from Moibanus? The eighth section of Moibanus' catechism is entitled “Love or good works”—that is, the Christian life consists of good works or love. Love is the motive and good works the result. Ursinus never got beyond this idea of the Christian life as love to God. Indeed, his two greatest ideas seem to have been that God was his Father, and the Christian life was a life of love to God. You can see this by the way he expresses himself in the Heidelberg. Almost at the very beginning is the fifth answer: “What is the law of God?” And the answer is not given in the Ten Commandments, as is done by most catechisms of that day, which place the decalogue first. No, the Heidel-

berg uses the two commandments of the New Testament—the “royal law,” as they are called, “Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, etc., and thy neighbor as thyself.” This is better than the Ten Commandments, for they are negative; these are positive. The decalogue refers to the outward act, these to the inward motive. But there is also a special reason why Ursinus puts these two commandments in the Heidelberg. It is because Moibanus’ catechism does not have the Ten Commandments at all in his text.* The idea of God’s law is given thus by Moibanus: “Thou shalt love God for all things and thy neighbor as thyself.” Ursinus seems to have learned, as a boy, to love this statement as the best summary of the law, and he emphasized it in our catechism by putting it at the beginning.

And this idea of the Christian life, as a life of love, runs through the Heidelberg. Why, even the answer in the Heidelberg, on good works, seems like an echo of Moibanus’ statements about good works, for both urge the setting aside of all reliance on the flesh, and Moibanus urges entire reliance on faith in order to make the works good.

Thus we see that the main ideas of his boyish religion Ursinus put into the Heidelberg, in order that they might be useful to other children as they had been to him. And that is one among many reasons why the Heidelberg is a catechism of such power. It is not merely an intellectual theological treatise, but the record of a personal experience. There are also lesser references of the Heidelberg to Moibanus. Thus the idea of comfort, which is

*One edition had the text of the Decalogue printed at the end of the catechism with the creed and Lord’s Prayer, but no question or commentary on it, and another had a brief dialogue on it. But it is not in the main body of the catechism.

so prominent at the beginning of the Heidelberg, is once incidentally found in Moibanus. Moibanus also closes with a prayer: so does the Heidelberg, whose answers on the Lord's Prayer are in the form of prayers. But time fails to dwell upon these. We might also speak of the differences and contrasts between Moibanus and the Heidelberg. Suffice it to say that the Heidelberg is a far advance on Moibanus' in many ways, yet it must be remembered that Moibanus wrote at the beginning of the catechetical period of the sixteenth century and Ursinus near its close. Ursinus had more than a quarter of a century of catechetical literature behind him from which to draw, while Moibanus did not have much before him that he could utilize.

But it is especially on the sacraments that we meet with a surprise. Here there is almost nothing of high-Lutheranism—one is almost tempted to say nothing of Lutheranism at all. It defines the sacraments as seals and promises given in order to take away all doubts. But "signs and seals" is the Reformed statement.

On baptism it is slightly more Lutheran than on the Lord's Supper. Here are his paragraphs on baptism:

1. There are two things in baptism. One is that when we are baptized in water we thus recognize our uncleanness, and that we are sinners from Adam down. The other is that we receive, by faith in our hearts, a true confession that we are purified by the death of Christ and born again.*

2. In this way baptism enables us our whole life to overcome this wicked world, which is the kingdom of the devil, and for this reason Paul always calls baptism the mortification of the flesh.

3. By baptism one goes, just like the Israelites of

* The likeness between this answer and answer 69 of the Heidelberg is clearly seen, for both distinguish between the two parts of baptism.

old, through the Red Sea to the holy and promised land, which is the Kingdom of Christ.

Now in all this there is no emphasis laid on baptismal regeneration, which is the peculiar doctrine of high-Lutheranism. Indeed it is over against high-Lutheranism by bringing in faith as a necessity. And on the other hand, it does make a good deal of a meaning of baptism that is often forgotten by Lutherans, and that was emphasized by the Reformed—namely, that baptism, as well as the Lord's Supper, has a close reference to the death of Christ. Moibanus brings this out more especially in his comments on these paragraphs. And we suspect that it was this emphasis on the relation of baptism to the death of Christ, that may have led Ursinus to so emphasize the death of Christ in the answers on baptism (69-73) in the Heidelberg. However, in his commentary on the catechism, Moibanus three times refers to baptism as the washing away of sin; but this was restricted to believers. And there is the same emphasis as in the catechism on the intimate relation of baptism to the cross and blood of Christ. In his comments he spends more time in arguing against the Anabaptists than he does on the nature of baptism itself, for he denounces them because he says they held that children cannot sin until they are fourteen years of age.

But it is especially on the Lord's Supper that the greatest surprise awaits us. Here there is nothing specifically Lutheran. This catechism stands out in contrast with other Silesian catechisms, which devote much space to the sacraments, and, with the exception of Schwenkfeld's, are distinctly Lutheran. The Lutherans always emphasized the presence of the real body of Christ in the Lord's Supper. The Zwinglians emphasized the memorial aspect, that it reminds us of the death of Christ



The title-page of the Heidelberg catechism in the Japanese language. See page 14.

for us. What does Moibanus say? Let us note his language:

"1. The use of this holy sacrament consists in this, that one becomes a partaker of the body and blood of Christ, which only belongs to those who are baptized in Christ.

"2. Christ says, when he had taken the bread in his hand, 'Take, eat, this is my body, etc.' And when he had taken the cup, he said: 'Drink ye all of it, for this cup is the New Testament of my blood. For as oft as ye drink of it ye do show the Lord's death.'

"3. In these words Christ reminds us that we should take to heart how much he has loved us. Also that he has given his body to the most shameful death, and shed his blood as a testimony of our redemption.

"4. And to this he added the words with a very trustful heart, as he says: 'This do in my remembrance.'

"5. In this one can easily see, when and for what reason, one should use this most worthy sacrament—namely, when you feel that your heart has grown cold in the remembrance of Christ's death and his benefits for us poor sinners and has grown entirely careless."

Now, in all this there is nothing said about the presence of the real body of Christ in the supper upon which the Lutherans harped so much. It is true the expression that the communicant "become a partaker of the body and blood of Christ" is used, but that form of expression the Reformed were also accustomed to use. In Moibanus' commentary on the Lord's Supper, he says, "It is true that Christ gives his true body and not the shadow of it," in which he probably refers to the Zwinglian doctrine which made it purely symbolical. But even if these expressions be taken as Lutheran, yet they are made secondary. The Lord's Supper's most prominent reference is to the death of Christ.

He also, in his dialogue between the father and son, calls "the sacraments, signs of the present Christ, who

performs everything in the sacrament by his grace, and makes the Lord's Supper a sign of the new covenant." And yet the phrase "signs of the present Christ" is different from the phrases used by the stiff Lutherans in piling on adjectives "real," "substantial," etc., so as to show that Christ was really present. That phrase could have been used by Calvin, and was, indeed, used by the Reformed, though they interpreted it as referring only to a spiritual presence. The second idea of the sacrament as a covenant is quite in line with Calvin, who, in the sacraments, emphasizes the covenant idea.

All this becomes somewhat more significant because Moibanus had been charged with being a Zwinglian. There had been Zwinglianism at Breslau, for in 1530 the third minister had been a Zwinglian. And in 1538 Moibanus had been charged before his bishop with being a Zwinglian. This he denied in a letter to the bishop. But there was probably this truth in it all, not that he was a Zwinglian, but that he was a low-Lutheran on the sacraments, if not a Calvinist. It is also significant that in all his bitter attack on the sects, as given in his catechism, he does not, like most Lutherans, include the Zwinglians, but only the Anabaptists and the Schwenkfelders. While Moibanus would probably not have been satisfied with the Zwinglian statement of the Lord's Supper, he could have been with Calvin's, which makes the Lord's Supper more than a memorial—makes Christ present, but spiritually. That Moibanus is likely to agree with Calvin is shown by a very interesting letter, which we give in the later chapter on "Ursinus' Conversion to the Reformed Faith." We might also call attention to a significant omission in this catechism. It has not a word to say about confession, as do many of the Lutheran catechisms, and as does Luther's own catechism.

In addition to these results of Moibanus' catechism on Ursinus we may, in closing, note two more:

1. The variety of the arrangement in Moibanus' catechism was a school for Ursinus, and led him to prepare, in the Heidelberg, a catechism suited to all classes of children. The great variety in Moibanus' catechism, sometimes with questions and answers, sometimes without: sometimes for adults, sometimes for children: sometimes for parents and children, sometimes for teachers and children, must have early familiarized him with the proper method of reaching all classes. The catechism of Moibanus, doubtless also, led him to become interested in catechization. As a result of it, it seems he became an expert in the study of different catechisms. He became a great master of catechization. And that was the reason why he was able to prepare our Heidelberg catechism, which was, as we have seen, the ripe fruit of a more than a quarter century of catechetical effort on the part of the Church. Moibanus' catechism prepared Ursinus to become the great catechist, which enabled him to write the Heidelberg.

2. It was Moibanus' catechism that made Ursinus, at the beginning of his Christian life, an experimental Christian, and thus enabled him to write so experimental a catechism as the Heidelberg. The great subject of Moibanus' catechism was piety, personal experience, as an inspiration to right living. How fortunate it was for Ursinus that the first conception of religion, presented to him in his boyhood, was the experimental. For Ursinus, as we have seen, was not naturally inclined to be experimental. He was naturally intellectual, very intellectual. This shows itself later, as he excelled in dialectics. He was also inclined to the ethical, as duty ruled with him. He was inclined to be conscientious or rather over-con-

scientious. Both of these are apt to undervalue the experimental. And yet he, who later became an intellectual giant, this coldly moral young man, produced a catechism in the Heidelberg, whose chief characteristic is personal experience. Is it not strange? How was it? We believe it was, in a large part, due to the fact that Moibanus started him in this direction through his catechism. Ursinus owes his great inspiration for the emotional and experimental to Moibanus as his teacher. And we who love the Heidelberg have Moibanus to thank for making Ursinus experimental, that he might give us a catechism that begins with comfort for this life and the next, and in our catechism looms up before us.

In view of all these facts Moibanus and his catechism grow in value in their relation to our precious catechism, and they may be called the forerunners of it, and Moibanus deserves to rank with Bucer, Juda, Calvin and Lasco, as the great importance of his influence in Ursinus looms up before us.

May we, in closing, call attention to two practical lessons:

1. How careful a minister, in catechizing his children, should be to give them right ideals of life. We do not believe that he would give them false ideals, at least intentionally. But sometimes he fails to give them any ideals of life when he has every opportunity to do so in the catechetical class. And this sin of omission may lead some of them at last to destruction. But when he gives them great ideals and deeply impresses them as Moibanus did Ursinus, in his ideal of faith as a hearty confidence, of love to God and man as the ideals of life, how wonderful and far-reaching are its results; yes, how eternal the fruitage. Oh, how careful ministers should be in catechization. We have known some ministers who

made their catechetical lectures merely cold, heartless, theological lectures, which never affected the heart or life of the catechumen. And on the other hand, we have known ministers whose catechization never went far before their catechumens were convicted of sin, and soon rejoicing in the joy of the new birth. How dreadful the former method, how blessed the latter.

2. How beautiful is a boy's faith, "Except ye become as a little child, etc." How simple, yet strong, is a boy's faith, clearer in vision often than a man's, as he has it before the doubts and trials of later years have come on him. For it is natural for a child to believe. He instinctively understands faith. How that clear, yet strong, faith ennobles his character and makes him a joy to himself, a blessing to the world. May God help us to produce such results in our catechization in our ministry.

CHAPTER III

PETER RAMUS AND HIS SIGNIFICANCE FOR THE CATECHISM

Two great reformers were produced by France in the sixteenth century. With the one the world is very familiar—John Calvin. Concerning the other the world at large knows comparatively little. But Peter Ramus, who was the other, was one of the most distinguished philosophers of that century. The one was the reformer in religion and theology; the other the reformer in the sphere of philosophy and thought. Strange to say, these two great men were born in the same district of northern France—Picardy—and lived, in early life, within a few miles of each other, Peter Ramus being six years the younger.

The grandfather of Ramus, though of noble family, had been compelled by reverses to become a mere charcoal burner. His father was a laborer and died when Peter was little more than a child. Peter was born in 1515 at Cust. As a boy he was intensely eager for knowledge and soon exhausted the little learning of the schoolmaster of the town. Before he was twelve years of age he had twice pushed on to Paris, so as to satisfy his burning desire for learning. And twice poverty had compelled him to return home again from Paris. Of his early sufferings from poverty he was never ashamed; and when at last he became a teacher he persistently tried to establish gratuitous instruction in Paris for such poor boys as he had been. Finally at the age of twelve he obtained employment as a servant to a rich student in the

College of Navarre at Paris, and thus was able to begin his academical studies. His poor widowed mother also sold her land in order that he might gain an education, a sacrifice later compensated by his tender solicitude for her all his life. But though he could now study it was laborious work, for he could study only at night, as his master demanded his services by day. It is said that he arranged an automatic alarm to waken himself after a few hours of sleep by the attachment of a stone to a lighted cord, which fell and woke him up. Thus he followed the example of the old philosopher, Cleanthes, in getting knowledge by the aid of oil and lamp. Fortunately, he was a healthy boy, or he could not have stood this ordeal, as it was he had trouble at times with his eyes. After passing the secondary course he spent three and a half years in the study of dialectics, as the higher course was then called.

When he was through with his course he was supremely disgusted with its uselessness. He then startled his school and later startled the world by his denunciation of the philosophy of Aristotle, whose philosophy and logic had ruled the world for centuries. Indeed this Greek philosopher came nearly being called "St. Aristotle," for Cousin says that several times he narrowly escaped canonization at the hands of the Catholic Church, as Buddha had been canonized as St. Josaphat. As Calvin aimed at the reformation of the Church, so Ramus aimed at the reformation of the schools. Calvin produced a new era in theology, Ramus aimed to produce a new era in philosophy. It was, indeed, a bold thing for so young a man (only twenty-one) to do, when at his examination for the degree of master, in 1536, he formulated as the subject of his disputation the proposition, "All that Aristotle says is false." He there maintained first that Aris-

totle's writings were spurious, and, second, that they contained only errors. We can imagine the consternation of the authorities of the university of Paris and the unparalleled audacity of the young student, as he thus threw down the intellectual gauntlet to Paris, and indeed all Europe. But his disputants were helpless, for as Aristotle's works were declared by him to be false, they could not appeal to them for proof. They attacked his theses for a whole day, but were refuted with such power by Ramus that they were compelled to give him his degree. Tassoni, the Italian poet, says he defended himself with such subtlety that Paris was stupefied and bewildered. Luther's nailing the theses to the church door at Wittenberg was a parallel to his boldness. Ramus was wrong in declaring that the writings attributed to Aristotle was not Aristotle's. And yet he was right. What he attacked was not the real Aristotle of classic antiquity, but the fictitious Aristotle that had become current in the Church, the Christian Aristotle, the Romish Aristotle, that the Catholic Church had conjured up and who differed from the pagan original. He attacked the pseudo-Aristotle, which had become an incubus to human thought and an obstruction to human progress. Ramus, therefore, declared it to be the right of men to think for themselves and not to have all their thinking done for them by a man like Aristotle, or men like the schoolmen of the middle ages, who had lived centuries before, and who based everything on Aristotle. His act was nothing less than a "Declaration of Independence" in the sphere of philosophy.

The degree of Master, which was then given him, gave him the right to teach, and he began lecturing at the little college of Ave Maria, in Paris. There he proclaimed a new educational ideal over against the Aristotelians. His

new method of education (for he introduced the humanistic studies, and for the first time Greek and Latin authors were read at the same time) caused the students to come in crowds to hear him. He was also one of the greatest orators of his day, and that also gave him great fame.

Time fails to speak except briefly of his career as a teacher in Paris, for it does not particularly concern us in our study of the Heidelberg Catechism. Suffice it to say that he started a tremendous controversy, the Aristotelians (and they were many) massed their forces against him. As they were not able to answer him in debate they tried to suppress him by authority. They got the civil authorities to ask that his books be suppressed. He was summoned before the provost of Paris as a "corrupter of the youth," and his case was carried up even to the French parliament. For though Ramus was still a Catholic, the Catholic Church instinctively realized that he was attacking its foundation in Aristotelianism (for the schoolmen held that "without Aristotle's categories there was no religion in Christianity.") His enemies declared he was a philosophical heretic, just as Calvin was a theological heretic. A commission was appointed, the majority of whom were Aristotelians. They decided against him, and at once their sentence against him was publicly placarded all over the streets of Paris. Yes, he was publicly ridiculed on the stage amid the applause of the populace. The Aristotelians made it as great a celebration as if they were celebrating a great national victory. But Ramus was one of those rare characters, who seemed to thrive on opposition and ridicule. The sentence against him forbade him to teach philosophy, so he began teaching classics and mathematics, and in spite of the opposition many students thronged to hear

him, on account of his ability and eloquence. He was the first to introduce into the university of Paris the teaching of mathematics worthy of that science, and he acquired the name of being "the first mathematician of France." All this reveals his great versatility of mind, for he was, as Pasquier calls him, "a universal mind."

When, however, the next king, Henry II, came to the throne, in 1547, everything changed. The patron of Ramus, Charles of Lorraine, had been the tutor of the king, and his first act was to get the king to abrogate the decree against Ramus. So Ramus' books were again published, and he began lecturing on philosophy. And he now went further. He not only attacked the authority of Aristotle, but also that of Cicero and Quintillian, who had been the beau-ideals of rhetoric and a classic education. For Ramus was also a reformer in education. He claimed the right of the new age to have new ideas, and objected to slavish admiration of antiquity all the time. He roused a tremendous strife, in which there finally appeared a champion against him who became his lifelong enemy and who (as we shall see) at last procured his death. This enemy was Carpentier, a Catholic professor of theology, at Paris. For just as John Huss had been put to death because he was a realist in philosophy, so Ramus was killed because he was an anti-Aristotelian. Carpentier debarred the students of Ramus' college from receiving the degrees of the university. So an appeal was made to parliament, and here, again, Ramus gained his rights. The king, who was favorable to him, in order to prevent his enemies from again persecuting him, established a chair of philosophy and appointed him as lecturer to it in 1551. He was now, at the early age of 36, royal lecturer, and he drew great crowds. His fame also spread to other lands. The more he was at-

tacked the more his reputation grew. He published, in 1554, his "Institutes of Logic," the most important work on philosophy before Descartes.

But now his success changed to adversity. This was due, no doubt, to the death of the king. But another cause began to appear. He began to show learnings toward the Reformed religion. Ten years before, one of his students had written to Sturm, of Strasburg, that Ramus was secretly a Protestant. Nevertheless, for a decade longer he protested his fidelity to the Church of Rome. He claimed that he had attacked Aristotle only in the name of the gospel, because his ethics was pagan and heretical. The cause of his conversion to Protestantism at this time was the famous Colloquy of Poissy, near Paris, held in September, 1561, where the Reformer Beza most eloquently pled the cause of the Huguenots before the king. But it was not so much Beza's address that affected Ramus, as it was the admissions to its truth made in his reply to Beza by his friend the Cardinal of Lorraine, for the cardinal admitted the abuses of the Church, the vices of the clergy and the superiority of the Apostolic Church to the Romish Church of his day. Waddington, the great biographer of Ramus, says that the two things that made Ramus change were (1) the protection that the Catholic Church gave to Aristotelianism, and (2) the ignorance of the Romish clergy, for a contemporary declares that the Huguenots possessed at that time a monopoly of the knowledge and the talent of France. Ah! he was like all logicians, but following out the logic of his own premises. His attacks on Aristotelianism could have only one logical result—namely, lead him out of the Romish Church, whose philosophy was based on it.

Still, though a Protestant at heart, he did not as yet

openly or even secretly join the Reformed, but his pupils more and more discarded Catholic worship. And one day in 1562, when the edict gave the Huguenots freedom of worship, the students of his college (many of whom were sons of Huguenots) burst into the chapel and tore down the images and statues. Ramus had nothing to do with this, but he received the popular blame for it, which his philosophical enemies helped to increase. In 1562 war broke out between the Huguenots and the Catholics and Ramus had to flee from Paris, but came back the next year. However, he was not safe, for on two occasions his life was attempted by hired assassins. But so impressed were they by his courage and dignity and the persuasiveness of his words that they retreated, leaving him unharmed. But his stay was for only a few years, for his enemies, especially Carpentarius, were bitterly attacking him all the while. When another war broke out, in 1567, he escaped massacre by fleeing to the Huguenot camp at St. Denis. There he used his great eloquence successfully to induce the German troops not to go home, but to remain, even at less pay.

But in 1568, because of the dangers, he left France. And it is this trip that especially interests us in connection with the Heidelberg catechism. Though he was at this time virtually expatriated from France, yet his tour virtually became a triumphal journey, especially among Protestant scholars. By this time his reputation had become so great that he was called the "French Plato," because he held to Platonism over against Aristotelianism. He first went to Strasburg, then to Basle. Here he received his warmest reception, and had the most scholars, and here he stayed the longest—nearly a year. He was entertained by the lady who had, many years before, entertained Calvin. He also visited Zurich and

then came to Heidelberg in the fall of 1569. It is in this visit that we are specially interested, as it reveals an interesting internal situation at Heidelberg at that time, and also throws a sidelight on the Heidelberg Catechism.

Ramus, while at Heidelberg, was the guest of Tremellius, the converted Jew, who was professor of Hebrew in the university. He was so impressed by Tremellius that he decided to devote the rest of his life to the study of theology. He now at last made a public profession of Protestantism in the French Reformed Church at Heidelberg, and partook of the Lord's Supper after the Reformed fashion. He was so pleased with Heidelberg that he would have been willing to accept a professorship there, and Elector Frederick III was inclined to give one to him. But difficulties came in the way as a great controversy arose, which reveals a very interesting situation in regard to the authors of our catechism. The university of Heidelberg had been strongly Aristotelian, and the arrival of this distinguished French philosopher caused considerable consternation among the Aristotelians. There was also a small party in it of more liberal views. He was cordially welcomed by Olevianus, Boquin, J. Alting, Dathenus, Junius and Zuleger, and received a warm reception by Elector Frederick III as the great Reformed writer in literature.

Before Ramus came, the professor of ethics, Strigelius, had died. So on October 8 a petition was presented to the senate of the university by sixty students,—mainly French and foreigners—asking that the vacant chair of ethics be given to Ramus. The senate, anxious to prevent this, threw out the petition on a mere technicality. But meanwhile Elector Frederick III had become so favorably impressed by Ramus that he decided to appoint him to the vacant chair. Indeed, when Ramus, having stayed

there some time, considered whether he would not go away, Frederick urged him to remain so as to fill a chair as a professor extraordinary until the wars in France had sufficiently subsided to permit him to return. Ramus accepted the offer, and, on October 29, Frederick informed the rector of the university of this appointment.

On November 9, the university senate replied by remonstrating against the appointment. Ramus addressed a letter November 10, saying that he had been appointed by the Elector as lecturer, and that he was waiting for them to make arrangements for him to deliver his lectures. The senate decided to ignore his letter, and went at once into the election of a professor to fill the vacant chair of ethics, and nominated Professor Xylander. This they did to keep Ramus out. The senate also stated to the Elector the reason for its opposition to Ramus, that it was because he was such a bitter foe to Aristotelianism, which they said had been the official method of instruction in the university. The university claimed that the Elector had acted contrary to its statutes by not waiting until they had first made a nomination. So they now appealed to the chancellor of the Elector's court for a decision on its legality. But he declared that Frederick had the right to make the appointment, and gave them to understand that if they would not admit Ramus he would have recourse to some other means to bring it about. The Elector had been greatly embarrassed by the whole affair. He had promised Ramus to let him lecture, and yet he did not want to seem to violate the statutes of the university. The decision of the chancellor relieved him. He now (December 11) informed the rector of the university that Ramus was authorized without delay to begin a course of lectures on Cicero's "Defense of Marcellus." The rector then, together with the

CATECHISMUS.

MANGALENEH :
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TATĒNTIRO (AGAMA SAHANI E)

PIA

KAKIWALONEH R. SASIMBANGEH
r

TINARA SU SOAN HEIDELBERG SU TAUNG 1563.

Nitumpan C. W. J. STELLER,
nitara su katĕllusuĕneh
su pananarâng u firma
E. J. BRILL,
su soan Leiden, su taung 1906.

The title-page of the Heidelberg catechism in the Sangiri language. See page 14.

heads of the four departments of the university, presented themselves personally to the Elector to plead with him against Ramus. But after listening to them, Frederick, with evident ill-humor, dismissed them by simply saying that he had read their remonstrances. It is to be noticed, however, that this course of lectures on Cicero was not philosophical, but rhetorical and classical.

So Ramus began lecturing December 14, and there was a great tumult at his first lecture. For the students, as well as the professors, had to be reckoned with in this controversy between Aristotelians and Ramists. The students were divided into two parties. The German students were, as a rule, against Ramus, while the foreign students, especially the French, were either in his favor or at least wanted to hear him. Among the latter was one named Campogarolle, who defended the authority of the Elector, and had declared that in spite of the university Ramus should lecture. Before the arrival of Ramus at the lecture room the Aristotelian students took away the steps to the platform from which he was to lecture, hoping that he would not be able to get up to it and lecture. But when he arrived one of the French students supplied the place of the steps with his back, and Ramus using it as a step, mounted up to the desk. When he tried to commence the Aristotelians interrupted him with whistles, shouts and great stamping of feet. But they had reckoned without their host. Ramus had gone through such storms before in Paris. And, as at Paris, so here, he had the quick wit to turn them to his advantage. According to a listener his peroration was so eloquent as to carry his audience with applause, in spite of his opponents. After that he continued his lectures with great success.

When this course of lectures closed on January 2,

1570, the Elector, at the request of his son, Christopher, one of the students, asked him to deliver a course on Aristotle's dialectics to the students. This caused a tremendous excitement in the university, as his opponents knew he would attack their master, Aristotle. For his first course of lectures had been on the classics, this, however, would be on philosophy. The rector of the university appeared before the Elector and begged him to consider the preservation of order in the university. He also asked him not to take counsel of inexperienced young men (probably referring to his son), but of the universities of Wittenberg and Leipsic. This led the Elector to delay a little so as to consult others who had great influence. Ursinus finally succeeded in stopping the whole matter, as he told the Elector that Ramism was neither a true dialectics nor a true rhetoric, because many parts of them were left out. He declared, in his terse, sententious way, that by it the youth would learn to fly without feathers, to read without syllables or letters. As a result Elector Frederick III decided to suspend the course of lectures on Aristotle, though he presented Ramus with his portrait as a token of his esteem. Thus, the Aristotelians were victorious.*

The significance of all these events at Heidelberg will appear in a moment. We hasten to conclude this biography of Ramus (already too long, but which it has been impossible to shorten) by giving the tragic end of Ramus. Having left Heidelberg he went to Geneva and then back to Paris. He tried to get back to his old professorship there. But his old friend, the Cardinal of Lorraine, had now turned his back on him, because he had become a Protestant. Then he tried to get to Geneva, but Beza,

* Ursinus, in a letter to Camerarius, July 17, 1575, speaks of "the shameful arrogant sophistry and babbling of Ramus."

who was an Aristotelian, opposed his coming. Every where Aristotelianism tried to keep him out. Finally another friend got him back as professor in the Royal College in 1571. But it was not for long. His inveterate enemy, Carpenterius, followed him relentlessly. Then came the awful massacre of St. Bartholomew, in August, 1572.

He might have escaped it had he listened to his friend, Bishop Montluc, who, though a Catholic, was Evangelically inclined. Montluc wanted him to go to Poland with him, and offered him large pay if he would go there so as to promote the election of Henry of France as King of Poland. But when Ramus found that Montluc's only object was to utilize his superior persuasive eloquence to dazzle the Poles, he declined, saying, as he did so, "An orator ought, above everything else, to be an honest man"—that is, eloquence should never be made a mercenary thing. Besides, to elevate a bigoted Catholic to the throne of Poland was a task for which he had no sympathy. Montluc started August 17, and Ramus, if he had gone with him, would have escaped the massacre, which occurred August 24. And it was not until the third day of the massacre that his turn came. And then it was rather a piece of petty, private revenge on the part of Carpenterius, than the result of the general massacre. For Ramus had friends; yes, he had in his possession a safe conduct of the king.

But, at last, hired assassins forced their way into his study on the fifth floor of his college. As they entered he was in the act of prayer. As he rose from his knees his venerable dignity as an old man, for a moment, overawed the assassins. As he could hope for no mercy, he spent the few moments, while they pillaged his room, in prayer, thus, "O, my God, against Thee, Thee only have I

sinned and done this evil in Thy sight. Thy judgments are justice and truth. Have mercy on me and pardon these wretched men, O God, for they know not what they do." The leader of the band then, with frightful imprecations, shot him in the head, and long after bullet marks could be seen in the wall. Then another plunged his sword into his body. Then the inhuman brutes seized the half-lifeless body and dragged it to and fro on the floor. Years afterward visitors to the college of Presles, when shown the room where the greatest of its presidents had been so barbarously treated, were wont to express surprise at the blood-stained floors in terms similar to Lady Macbeth: "Who would have thought the old man had so much blood in him." His body was then flung from the window of his room and fell into the courtyard of the college five stories below. Furious students, urged on by merciless professors, tied cords to his legs and dragged the body through the streets to the river Seine, where a surgeon cut off the head and the trunk was thrown into the river, but it was again drawn ashore and literally hacked to pieces. His friend, Lambrius, when he heard these atrocious details of his death, was prostrated with grief and terror, so that he immediately took to his bed and died in a few days. It was one of the most horrible deaths of that horrible massacre, and was all due to Carpentarius.

Such was the tragic fate of the great philosopher who attempted to reform the philosophy of the sixteenth century. Calvin, the reformer, died in his bed a natural death. But Ramus, the reformer, died awfully as a martyr for his Reformed faith. Of the 2,000 martyred Huguenots at Paris in the massacre of St. Bartholomew, Coligny and Ramus were the greatest. Thus perished the mightiest intellect and noblest spirit of France in that

century. Years before, when comparing his lot with Socrates, he said: "Only the hemlock is wanting." Alas! a more cruel fate than Socrates befel him.

And now what has all this to do with the Heidelberg catechism. It has nothing to do with the composition, for Ramus did not get to Heidelberg until six years after the publication of the catechism. And yet, from this subject, we get an important light thrown backward on the catechism. It reveals to us this interesting fact, that the two main authors of our catechism were on opposite sides in this Ramus' controversy. Ursinus, with most of the university faculty, was Aristotelian. On the other hand, Olevianus, with Tremellius and others were Ramists. And what does this signify. It shows this that Ursinus and Olevianus were of two different types of mind. In Ursinus the analytic was prominent, in Olevianus the synthetic. And the Heidelberg catechism was the mature result of the combination of two differing types of mind. Ursinus clearly shows the analytic in his works, for in them he sometimes carries it almost toward the extremes of the schoolmen. But Olevianus revealed that in him the analytic was limited by the practical ends in view. Cuno says: "Olevianus emphasized the practical, and, therefore, became a Ramist. Ursinus, on the other hand, was a student far from active life and of a rather melancholy temperament. Therefore, he became an Aristotelian." This difference almost led, on one occasion, to an open breach about answer 35 of our catechism. But God's grace prevented it. As Rev. Mr. Krafft, of Elberfeld, one of the best German Reformed historians of the last century, says: "They are a prominent illustration of the way in which God takes persons of different characters and gifts and makes them useful to the Church." We could go further than that, and say that they reveal

the greater value of the Heidelberg, because in it the individual peculiarities of their different type of genius were blended.

But before we can take this up we must pause a moment to study the controversy between Ramus and the Aristotelians. There have always been two types of thought, which were only the reflection of two different types of mind. The one emphasized the inward, the other the outward; the one emphasized the idea, the other the form of the idea. These two types were called, in classic times, the Platonic and the Aristotelian. The Aristotelian finally gained the victory, and on it the Roman Catholic Church is built. The scholasticism of the Middle Ages is mainly Aristotelian dialectic applied to Christian truth. One of the church fathers said the church would not have had so many dogmas if Aristotle had written less. In the reformation Luther protested against Aristotle. Melancthon said: "In Aristotelianism one loses himself," and yet he used the Aristotelian methods, though modified somewhat.

Now against all this Ramus led the opposition in his day. He claimed that not merely was a reformation in religion necessary, but also a reformation in that which was underlying religion—namely, in the very method of man's thinking. And here Ramus was right. There was need of a new philosophy. For later Protestantism, by applying the Aristotelian methods to its theology, ran out into a scholasticism of its own in supralapsarianism in the Reformed Church, and dead orthodoxy in the Lutheran at end of sixteenth and beginning of seventeenth century. All this Ramus aimed to prevent. As Punjer says: "Ramus aimed at vitalizing the purely formal dialectics of his time by connecting them with rhetoric. He also proposed giving up the hair-splittings

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The title-page of the Heidelberg catechism in the Amharic language. See pages 14-15 and 31-35.

produced by Aristotelianism by omitting them and making logic more practical. For this he received the nickname of utilitarian. He claimed that the proper emphasis was not on the form of the idea as much as the idea itself, and that the proper method was to go from idea to idea and not the merely word-for-word method of Aristotle."

Ramus, in all this, meant well. He undertook a great task when he determined to give Christianity a new philosophy, which was, indeed, greatly needed. But it was too great a task even for him. Such a task required a giant mind, a master mind, which his lighter Celtic cast of mind and his brilliant oratory seem to have prevented him from attaining. So that there was an element of truth in the charge of his enemies that his logic had degenerated into rhetoric,* or that he taught nothing new, but had to use the methods of Aristotle in curtailing Aristotle. The truth is that it has taken centuries to get a Protestant philosophy, and it is a question whether it has yet been found in a full comprehensive form. Let us pause a moment to note the philosophies that have come up. Soon after Ramus came Descartes, with his philosophy of doubt; then Spinoza, with his philosophy of pantheism. Bacon came with his philosophy of induction, a genuine product of Protestantism, for Catholicism would never have allowed such freedom of reasoning. Ramus did not seem to have revealed that deep sagacity that enabled Bacon and Descartes to strike at the very roots of the Aristotelian and Romish system. Kant then came with his emphasis on idealism; Locke, with his sensualism. Hegel resolved all logic into thesis, antithesis, synthesis. In our day evolution has tried to

* "The result of his ratiocination was to give a trustworthy appearance to conclusions, which they did not possess because they were founded on purely arbitrary premises."

make thought and all its methods a development. Philosophies have come and gone. Men have lived and died seeking the true philosophy. Do you wonder, therefore, that Ramus failed in producing a completely defined system of philosophy and logic in his brief day. He was not the man to do it. And the time had not yet come for it to be done. But one thing he did and it was a great thing. For before human reason could advance, it was necessary that it be released from its fetters. And Ramus shook Aristotelianism, which was the main pillar of the Catholic Church. Yes, he shook it to its very foundation, even though, Samson-like, he brought it down on his own head to his death. And his death, like Samson's, was the crowning glory of his life.

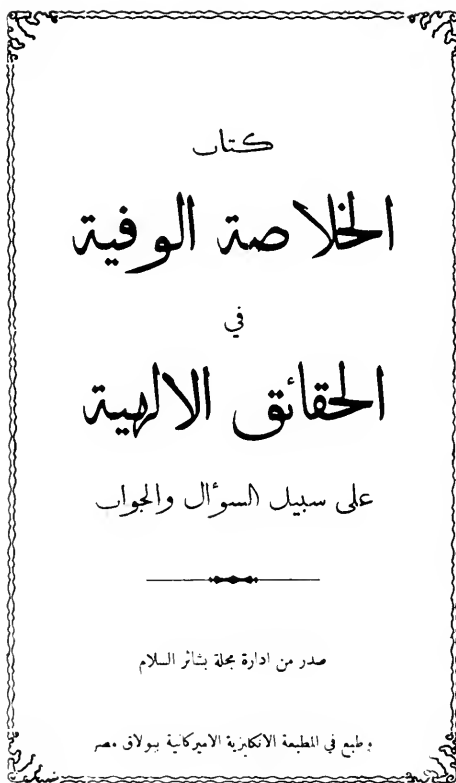
And now, at last, we are ready to look at the influence of all this on our Heidelberg Catechism. It has already been shown, in a previous chapter, that our catechism is largely the matured result of other catechisms gone before. We now see, from this topic, that it is also the matured result of two different types of mind. In Ursinus the analytic method is prominent. Without a question he was the great logician of the Heidelberg faculty in his day, and he seems to have been looked upon as such. One sees traces of his Aristotelian methods more in his Commentary on the catechism than in the catechism itself. His Commentary on the catechism, excellent as it is, is sometimes cast in a scholastic mould. He also, as is the general charge against Aristotelians, went too far into the mere logic of the thing, often further than was necessary. It is not for us to criticize him,—that was the philosophy of his day. In his earlier life, when he composed the catechism, he shows less of this ratiocinative method. But we have his Aristotelianism to thank, for it gave the clear logic to the catechism, both

in the logical connection of the questions and the clear statement of its answers; only he does not carry it in its results to scholastic extremes. None of his writings, before the publication of our catechism, reveal the rigid argumentation into which he was forced by the bitter controversies forced on him by the Lutherans. Then he showed his teeth in logic. We have him, therefore, to thank for the clearness and logical order of the catechism. Because of his analytic mind, nothing extraneous or illogical was allowed to enter into it.

And now let us turn to the other side. There was need of some curb to Aristotelianism. Why is it that the Heidelberg catechism is in character so different from the Shorter Westminster catechism? That more represents the scholastic type of doctrine, though, of course, not nearly so much as Beza and his supralapsarianism. The reason for the superiority of the Heidelberg was because the Aristotelian methods were held in check by a utilitarianism like that of Ramus—checked by a Ramist type of mind. This was found in Olevianus, who, though not yet a Ramist when the catechism was composed, was of that synthetic type of mind, that as soon as Ramus appeared he accepted his views. We have a copy of the Logic of Olevianus, as he later taught it at the university of Herborn, and it agrees with the principles of Ramus. By this synthetic type of mind the Heidelberg is prevented from rambling off into unnecessary by-paths of doctrine. And, again, many of the questions of the Heidelberg are utilitarian, like the Ramists. "What profit does this doctrine mean to thee?" is often asked. We believe that a good part of this check on Aristotelianism was due to Olevianus, although not all; for as we have before said, Ursinus was more practical in his younger days before controversy roused the logical dia-

lectics, which he used with such power against the high-Lutherans. We see in the catechism that the form is kept secondary to the idea. An answer is never put in for the sake of the form, but for the sake of the idea or truth that is in it. One realizes this when you compare it with Ursinus' earlier catechisms. All these things were emphasized by the synthetic type of mind in Olevianus, which later found expression in the Ramist philosophy.

And so, finally, Ursinus and Olevianus acted as a foil to each other. They supplemented each other. They were complimentary minds. How fortunate it was, that in the providence of God, two such different men should be brought together to become the men to compose the catechism. The one balanced the other, and out of both we have a poise—a perfection in the catechism, that, as has been well said, “the writings of neither give,” or that has not been reached by any other catechism. No wonder, then, that the Heidelberg catechism has been popular, and it ought to be retained because of its popularity.



The title-page of the Heidelberg catechism in the Arabic language. See page 14.

PART III

THE AUTHORS OF THE CATECHISM

A
ELECTOR FREDERICK III

CHAPTER I

THE CONVERSION OF ELECTOR FREDERICK III TO THE
REFORMED FAITH

How and when did Elector Frederick III of the Palatinate become Reformed. The answer to these questions has been very difficult for two reasons:

1. The different historians of that period are not, by any means, in agreement.
2. Frederick, himself, makes it somewhat doubtful by his varying expressions.

We propose to take up this subject and carefully follow it, step by step. The chronological order of events has been too much neglected by historians, so that the story has become largely a jumble of facts, confusing to the reader and often unjust to the history. We propose to date all the events as they take place, and thus we can follow what must prove an important and interesting study, as we watch him, step by step, leave the Lutheran faith and become Reformed.

This subject divides itself into two main parts:

1. The reign of Elector Otto Henry of the Palatinate, Frederick's predecessor.
2. The early years of Elector Frederick's reign.

I. THE REIGN OF ELECTOR OTTO HENRY

We must first correct a false impression that many readers of this history have gained, because its historians have not kept the chronology of it clear. It will be somewhat startling to some to learn that this great battle between the Lutherans and Reformed in the Palatinate had been largely fought out before ever Frederick III comes upon the scene and Olevianus and Ursinus become prominent. The reign of Frederick's predecessor, Otto Henry, was full of pregnant events which prepared the way for his transition.

Elector Otto Henry was a Lutheran, but a Lutheran of a liberal type,—he was, above all, a humanistic Lutheran,—that is, he was a humanist more than a Lutheran. He was a devoted Protestant, but he cared more for humanism, with its education and its art, than he did for narrow denominationalism and mere confessionism. Under the broad and liberal rule of such a man, there appeared four influences that prepared the way for the entrance of the Reformed doctrines into the Palatinate.

The first was educational. Otto Henry's great aim was the enlightenment of his people by humanism and religion. As a humanist his great zeal was for the introduction of art and education. As a sign of his love for art, he added to the castle at Heidelberg what was called the "Otto Henry Building," beautiful to-day, even in its ruined condition. But it was education that he especially stressed. The university of Heidelberg, which, by its recent change from Catholicism to Protestantism, had been in a lamentably low condition, he rejuvenated. It had had few and mediocre professors and also few students, especially in theology. To bring it up, he called professors of fame and ability who would attract stu-

dents. He said he would bring it up if it took his last cent, and he did what his predecessors had failed to do, bring it out of the scholasticism of the Middle Ages. And he did this without taking into consideration whether the professors were Lutherans. Thus he tried to get Peter Martyr and Wolfgang Musculus, both Reformed, notwithstanding that Brenz, the Lutheran reformer, of Wurtemberg, warned him against mice (Musculus) and rats. But both declined. However, a number of Reformed slipped in. Two Reformed professors especially appeared prominently at this time. The first was Peter Boquin, the other, Thomas Erastus.

Peter Boquin was a Frenchman by birth. He had been a prior of the Carmelite order in the Catholic Church, but had become Protestant, and had therefore been compelled to flee from France to Germany. He became the successor of Calvin as pastor at Strasburg. From there he came to Heidelberg, March, 1557, and lectured as theological professor for a year on trial, but was so satisfactory that the next year he was made regular professor.* He it was, who, long before Olevianus and Ursinus came upon the scene, bore the brunt of the controversy for the Reformed. He has not, it seems to us, by any means received the credit he should have received. Even though he was after their arrival somewhat supplanted by the two youths, Ursinus and Olevianus (for so they must have seemed beside this hoary old professor of theology), that should not cause us to fail in giving him the credit for being the great champion of the Reformed in those early days. He it was who championed them in debate, he it was who published book after book

* Elector Otto Henry had called Blaarer, the Reformed reformer of southern Germany, before Boquin was selected, but he declined.

defending them against the Lutherans. We have been collecting his works and have been surprised at his literary activity for the Reformed, when it was somewhat dangerous to be outspoken in their favor.

Thomas Erastus was a Swiss and came to Heidelberg as professor of medicine. When the professorship of medicine became vacant, Otto Henry asked his private physician, who, among German physicians, had the greatest reputation. The latter replied that Erastus, who was at that time private physician to some German prince, was the man. And Otto Henry at once called him. As soon as he came, May 2, 1558, he became the moving spirit of the whole university, and was soon, as we shall see, made its rector. Erastus, though he excelled in medicine, was also versed in theology. Avoiding the devious windings in thought, to which many theologians are inclined, he went straight to the point, and both in debate and in his published works, he went to the root of the matter with such great clearness that it was hard for his high-Lutheran opponents to answer him.

Of these two, Boquin was the first to become prominent for the Reformed. Besides these two Reformed professors, Otto Henry placed other Reformed professors in the different departments of the university. To these might be added a member of the court, its secretary, Cirler, who, as early as 1556, was named "the great Zwinglian." So that when Frederick took the rule, there were quite a number of them there.

The second preparatory influence under Otto Henry was political. Broad-minded prince that he was, he admitted into his realm persons of other faiths than Lutheran. Of special significance was his permission to the Reformed refugees from Frankford to settle in the

KERESZTYÉN
CATECHISMUS,

AZAZ:

A' KERESZTYÉNI HITNEK

ÁGAZATIRA

KÉRDÉSEK ÉS FELELETER ÁLTAL

VALÓ

RÖVID TANÍTÁS,

MELY

A' Kérdések és Feleletek summas értelmekkel, és az azokban foglaltatott dolgokat felfejtető kérdezésekkel, 's némely szükséges magyarázatokkal, a' Szent Írásbéli Bizonyságoknak egészen való leírásával; végre a' Catechizálásra való hasznos

Útmutatással

EZ ÚJ FORMÁBAN

HIRDŐSÁTTATOTT.

NYOMATOTT DEBRECZENBEN,

1 8 4 4.

The title-page of the Heidelberg catechism in the Hungarian language. See pages 17-18.

town of Frankenthal. He permitted this, notwithstanding that Melancthon in 1555 expressed the fear that the introduction of refugees of a different faith from Lutheranism would probably lead to friction, a prophecy which came true in Otto Henry's life just before he died, as the high-Lutherans began bitterly attacking the Reformed.

A third preparatory influence was the liturgical. The Lutherans of Germany have always been mainly of two kinds. North Germany was high, south Germany was low. This was because parts of south Germany had been converted from Catholicism by the Reformed. Otto Henry was a south German and he revealed his low-Lutheran tendency by ordering certain reforms in the cultus, which made the worship more like the Reformed in its simplicity. In his Church Order of 1556, he leaves out the rite of exorcism, or blowing away of the devil, common among the northern Lutherans, even though he had had it in his previous Church Order of Pfalz-Neuburg. He ordered the altars out of the churches, all except the main altar, which he left, so that there would be an altar for the celebration of the Lord's Supper. A reform that created the most sensation, was his order that pictures should be removed from the churches. This met with so much opposition, that it was only partially carried out. Indeed, Otto Henry found it necessary on one occasion, in order to prevent disorder, to appear personally when the pictures were taken out of the Holy Ghost Church at Heidelberg, and declare to the people that they would not be cast out of the other churches. In all this he was not going beyond Lutheranism, for his neighbor, the Duke of Wurtemberg, was against altars and idolatrous pictures in the churches, and his Lutheranism was

never impugned. But all these things only prepared the way for Frederick. Because of it, when the latter began his reforms to make the churches Reformed, it did not provoke so much opposition as it would have done.

A fourth preparatory influence was personal. There is no great theological controversy that does not have personalities connected with it in some way or other. And sometimes controversies degenerate into mere personalities. But in this controversy great principles were at stake. However, personalities entered very largely into it.

The two leaders in the personal controversy were Hesshuss and Klebitz. Tileman Hesshuss was a high-Lutheran zealot, who came to Heidelberg in 1557, as professor of theology and superintendent or head of the Church of the Palatinate. Of a domineering, ambitious disposition he was admirably suited to provoke friction. Finding so many Reformed in the Palatinate, he felt himself called upon to rid the Palatinate of them and make it strictly Lutheran. In a word, he sought to be the Lutheran Reformer of the Palatinate! On the other hand, William Klebitz, a Reformed, was just the one to nettle a man like Hesshuss, for he was self-assertive, if attacked, and the over-zealousness of youth led him sometimes to overstep the bounds of propriety. He was an assistant preacher at the Holy Ghost Church at Heidelberg. As we now take up these quarrels between this ultra-Lutheran and this zealous Reformed, it is to be noticed that many of the quarrels either took place or had their beginning in Otto Henry's time, before ever Frederick appeared at Heidelberg.

The first outbreak occurred in 1558, in regard to a beautiful marble monument that Otto Henry had erected

in the choir of the Holy Ghost Church at Heidelberg, as a memorial to himself, for he was childless. This monument was after the fashion of humanism, which combined classical with scriptural figures. It had on it angels and seven virgins rather naked. Otto Henry had first consulted Hesshuss, who approved his monument. He told the Elector he was but following the example of other kings and princes. Hesshuss also favored it because it was against the Reformed ideas of simplicity in the church buildings. But when the Elector asked the other ministers, Flinner opposed it, because it was placed in the choir of the Holy Ghost Church just where the communicants would receive the Lord's supper. And besides, it was inconsistent with Otto Henry's recent action in having the pictures put out of the church. Otto Henry found that several other of the ministers, among them, Klebitz, took offence at the monument. So he had the naked figures removed. Hesshuss took great offence at all this, and as Flinner soon after left for Strasburg, he took out his revenge on Klebitz. This was the beginning of the quarrel that was to make the Palatinate ultimately Reformed.

The second controversy was about the cultus. Klebitz, angered at Hesshuss' attacks, retorted by bringing charges against the high-Lutheran innovations of Hesshuss. Hesshuss was so intense in his devotion to, yes, almost worship of, Luther, that when the Elector wanted a new hymnbook prepared, like the Bonn hymnbook, which contained hymns by other reformers, as Melancthon and Bucer, Hesshuss wanted only Luther's hymns in it. He opposed Psalms because they were used by the Reformed. Hesshuss also introduced Latin singing by the school children, instead of German. He also introduced some new high church ceremonies

at the Lord's Supper. Thus he showed superstitious reverence for the elements: he had a napkin held under the wafer so that none of it should fall on the floor. That part of the bread and wine left over from communion he treated as especially sacred. And when it happened that he had not consecrated enough of the elements, he went all over the form of consecration again. He also, at the communion, turned his back on the congregation while in prayer, thus acting as if he were a priest. Again, the low-Lutheran catechism of Brenz, which had been commonly used in the Palatinate, Hesshuss wanted to have set aside and Luther's catechism used in its stead.

The third incident was the case of Hexamer. He had been pastor of the church at Edenkoben, and in the church visitation of 1556 had been charged with Zwinglianism and Schwenkfelderism. The case hung fire until it was called before the consistory, November 8, 1558, and he was examined. The report on the case drawn up by Hesshuss. Diller, the low-Lutheran court preacher of the Elector, and Klebitz refused to sign it, because it contained some things extraneous to the case, and especially because of its denunciation of Zwingli and Calvin. This refusal greatly angered such an autocrat as Hesshuss, and he charged Klebitz with Zwinglianism and Osiandrianism. As a result, the Elector ordered both Hesshuss and Klebitz to bring to him a confession of their faith, which each did at the end of 1558.

Finally came the last incident which began just two weeks before the death of Elector Otto Henry (which occurred February 12, 1559), and was not settled till after his death. A scholar from Groningen, Holland, named Sylvius, wanted to get a degree of doctor from the university of Heidelberg. Hesshuss, at that time

EL
CATECISMO
DE
HEIDELBERG

PUBLICADO POR JUAN AVENTROT

EN 1628

AHORA FIELMENTE REIMPRESO.



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The title-page of the Heidelberg catechism in the Spanish language. See pages 27-31.

dekan or head of the theological faculty, tried to prevent Sylvius from getting an opportunity. He was especially offended with Sylvius' theses for the doctorate. He wanted Sylvius to include in them denunciations of the Zwinglians. But Sylvius declared such things were out of place in a scientific treatise. So Hesshuss charged Sylvius with heresy, with being a Zwinglian. But Sylvius found a defender in Boquin, and also in Erastus, who was at that time rector of the university.

Hesshuss appealed to the Elector against granting the degree. But the university asked that it be sent back to the university senate. So Hesshuss attacked the university in the severest and most abusive terms. Before the councilors of the Elector he raged against "the physicians and lawyers of the faculty, who, he said, studied the Bible very little, went to Church and the sacraments seldom, and who had not even seen the Augsburg Confession." He also attacked Klebitz, who happened to be Sylvius' special friend. All this thoroughly roused the university, and they gave Sylvius the degree in March, 1559, about a month after Otto Henry had died. This was the more remarkable, for at that time universities were strictly denominational. No Lutheran university gave a degree to a Reformed or on the basis of Reformed theses, and vice versa. That Heidelberg, a Lutheran university, should do so to a Reformed, and allow Reformed theses to be approved, was an unheard of thing. Hesshuss was right as to the custom in the past. This giving of the degree to a Reformed was then looked upon as committing the university in that direction.

The university no longer invited Hesshuss to the sessions of the university senate. For Hesshuss had declared that the degree of doctor, which they had given

Sylvius, was not worth three dollars, as they had given it to a blasphemer. Only the departure of Heshuss for Wesel, his early home, on matters of family business, made an end for the time to these alarming polemics.

II. THE EARLY YEARS OF ELECTOR FREDERICK III

A. THE YEAR 1559.

Such was the state of affairs when Elector Frederick III came to the throne (February 28, 1559), about two weeks after the death of Otto Henry.* It was very evident that he had a severe problem on his hands, for his court, university and churches were divided into three parties. Heshuss led the high-Lutherans and was supported by a number of ministers, and by two prominent members of the court, Chancellor Minkwitz and Judge von Benningen. The Melancthonians were led by the peaceful Diller, the court-preacher, and Count George of Erbach, both of whom desired to mediate things so that there should be peace. The Reformed were led by Boquin as professor of theology, and Erastus, the head of the university, and also supported by a number of other professors in other departments of the university. In the court they found strong support in the other two Counts of Erbach, in Cirler, the secretary of the court, and especially in Zuleger, a Bohemian, who was soon made the head of the consistory. The high-handed domineering and abuse of

* One of the Lutheran princes declared that he had protested to Otto Henry, not long before his death, against his appointment of so many Reformed, and that Otto Henry had declared to him that he would dismiss those that were in the university and court. But his death intervened too quickly for anything to be done.

Hesshuss had been driving the last two parties, the Melancthonians and the Reformed, together against him and against the narrowness of the high-Lutherans.

The all important question was, with which one of these three parties would Elector Frederick III ally himself, for the law of Germany was "Cujus regio, ejus religio," that meant "as was the religion of the prince, so was the religion of the people." Frederick was a Lutheran, having been converted from Catholicism to it by his wife. And there were at that time several strong influences very close to him to make him a high-Lutheran. His wife was an intense high-Lutheran, and, as she shows in her letters, warned him against the subtle influence of Zwinglianism at Heidelberg. His son-in-law, Duke John Frederick of Saxony, was the leader of the high-Lutherans of Germany. The latter wrote to Frederick when he ascended the throne at Heidelberg that he hoped he would root out the Zwinglianism and Calvinism,* which his predecessor had allowed to enter the Palatinate. Frederick replied, declaring himself as against the sects (the Zwinglians, which were usually included by the Lutherans in that word), but he did not think it right to condemn them unheard, as even the worst criminals were accorded a hearing. In this we get a glimpse of Frederick's great fairness of mind and also his freedom from narrowness.

And yet, while he was a Lutheran, he was a low-Lutheran or Melancthonian. For at the Frankford recess of 1558, he had signed the formula drawn up, which was low-Lutheran. And he had signed the Altered Augsburg Confession, which was the symbol of the Melancthonians. The first Augsburg Confession of 1530 was high-Lutheran. The Altered Augsburg Confession of

* Which he called "devil's dung."

1540 was low-Lutheran. The first declared in its article on the Lord's Supper that the body of Christ was *distributed* at the Lord's Supper, the latter that it was only *exhibited* at the Lord's Supper.* Frederick had thus accepted these low-Lutheran creeds. But there was nothing un-Lutheran in that, for so had at that time all the Lutheran princes of Germany, only one or two objecting to them as not high enough.

And in addition to this, Frederick had been an irenic Lutheran. This is shown by an incident that occurred just after he became Elector. Gallus had, January 7, 1559, sent him from Ratisbon, an intensely Lutheran book full of attacks on the Reformed. Frederick, when he found out its character, did not read it, and bade him cease from all such strife. What Frederick most desired was peace, and this is to be especially noted as the key to all his later acts. He wanted that even more than he did Lutheranism. Therefore, with any Lutheranism that spent itself in mere polemics, he was entirely **out** of sympathy. In doing so, he was only following **his** predecessor, Otto Henry, who, at the colloquy **at** Worms, 1557, had taken the position that Zwinglianism and the sects ought not to be condemned unheard. And there was an especial reason why Frederick wanted unity and peace just at that time. The Catholics had all become united again at the Council of Trent. And Frederick felt that the most important thing for Protestantism

* In the first, the article on the Lord's Supper read thus: "Concerning the Lord's Supper, they teach that the body and blood of Christ *are truly present* and *are distributed* to those who eat the Lord's Supper, and *they disapprove of those who teach otherwise.*" In the latter, it read: "Concerning the Lord's Supper, they teach that with the bread and wine are truly *exhibited* the body and blood of Christ to those who eat of the Lord's Supper.

to do was to get together and present an unbroken front to Catholicism. So that the keynote of his life was unity and peace, even before Lutheranism. And his irenic disposition had been broadening out, for his sympathy had already gone out to other faiths as the Reformed, especially in France. There is no truth, says Kluckhohn, his biographer, that he had had a French pension. But he evidently had already been impressed by the education of the French, for he had before this sent his oldest son to France, at the university of Bourges, where Olevianus had tried to save him from death by drowning, but in vain. And his third son, John Casimir, he had sent to the French court, where he remained until Frederick ascended the throne at Heidelberg. As these boys were Protestant, they would there come into contact with the Reformed. As a result, Frederick had his sympathies early enlisted in the sufferings of the Huguenots. But still Frederick was a Lutheran at his accession, and this he shows by one of his earliest acts. A month after it, he called Lutheran ministers to fill vacant parishes. And a little later he called a Lutheran, Einhorn, as professor of theology in the university.

But Frederick soon left Heidelberg. Having attended to the most necessary affairs, he went in June to Ratisbon to be publicly invested with the Electorate. But before doing so, he laid the theses, which Heshuss and Klebitz had handed in at the end of 1558, before his theologians for examination. He then imposed silence on both. At Ratisbon the strongest kind of influence was brought to bear on him to become high-Lutheran. Indeed a rumor went abroad on account of a careless remark of his about his son-in-law, John Frederick, that he was inclining there to high-Lutheranism. This greatly alarmed the low-Lutherans or Melancthon-

ians. But the rumor proved groundless, for there, as everywhere else, he emphasized the necessity of union on the part of the Protestants over against the Catholics. His hope was, that the time would soon come when the theological strifes among Protestants would cease. But this was not to be fulfilled, for he found its opposite true when he returned to Heidelberg at the end of August.

For, during his absence, the controversy between Hesshuss and Klebitz, had, in spite of his prohibition, broken out with greater bitterness than ever. While Hesshuss was away at Wesel, Klebitz had seized the opportunity to offer theses to the university, so as to get a bachelor's degree in theology. For, says the historian Seisen, Klebitz, taking cognizance of Hesshuss' first defeat in the Sylvius' case; in order to make himself safer, sought thus to be made a member of the university. His theses, which were presented April 4, were a defense of the Reformed doctrine of the Lord's Supper, and by April 15 he had received the degree from the university. When Hesshuss returned, he attacked Klebitz and his followers from the pulpit. Then he called Klebitz before him to give answer for what he had done. Klebitz asked him to show him his errors and teach him better. Klebitz then enlarged his theses and gave them to him, so that he might show him his errors. But Hesshuss, though often asked by Klebitz for a reply, avoided it. He sought to injure him by spreading the matter abroad. For he sent the theses to Moerlin and Stoessel, the high-Lutheran theologians of the Duke of Saxony, that they might condemn them. He wanted the university to publicly recall the degree, and they did not do so. As the university, by giving the degree, had given Klebitz the right to deliver lectures, Hesshuss, lest Klebitz would

fill the Palatinate with his heresies, was the more alarmed. And when the university would not withdraw the permission, he denounced it as "a hellish, devilish, cruel, cursed and terrible thing." He also railed against Klebitz from the pulpit, as a Zwinglian and an Arian.*

Klebitz, with his youthful impetuosity, was not the one to refuse to reply. And so this controversy broke out into a tremendous blaze during Frederick's absence. For not merely were Hesshuss and Klebitz attacking each other from the pulpit, but the other ministers began taking sides and preaching polemics, and the strife threatened to spread out among the people, most of whom were against Klebitz.

The Elector had left as his governor in his absence the mild Count George of Erbach, a Melancthonian, who greatly wanted peace. As he feared that the strife might lead to riots among the people, he called all the ministers, including Hesshuss and Klebitz, before him, August 4, 1559. He declared that Hesshuss ought not to send Klebitz' theses to other lands, and, with tears in his eyes, ordered them both to keep quiet in the pulpit until the Elector's return. But even in the presence of the Count there was an outburst of this strife. Hesshuss claimed the right not only to shut out an assistant, Klebitz, from the celebration of the Lord's Supper, because he said he was not true to its doctrine. But he also threatened the Count with the ban and also threatened to censure the court preacher, Diller, who had roused his aversion by his defence of the Frankford Recess. And when the Count asked if he believed, like the book of

* Indeed, one writer says he so thundered against him, using so often the name of the devil, that one could almost imagine they could hear in his sermon the rushing of thousands of devils.

the Cardinal of Augsburg, that the body of our Lord was received at the Lord's Supper "with the mouth and stomach," he replied, "with the mouth and the heart, you are both Zwinglians." Indeed, some historians, as Hausser, say that he put the ban on the Count of Erbach. For it is to be remembered that the use of the ban was not new to Hesshuss. He, in his domineering way as a Protestant pope, had already made use of the ban in other cities. Thus he had already excommunicated two burgomasters in the city of Rostock two years before, and for it he had to leave the city. He now proposed to do the same thing here. His accusation of the Count as not a true Lutheran, produced such a sensation that the Count felt it necessary to prepare a confession of his faith, so as to show the people that he was truly Lutheran. This he published after having had it approved by Melancthon and other theologians. It agreed with the Altered Augsburg Confession.

Such was the state of things when the Elector came back from Ratisbon at the end of August. The Elector then called Hesshuss and Klebitz before him. He asked them to cease the controversy until he could submit the case to his own theologians and those of other lands. He asked each of them to give him a confession of their belief. Klebitz submitted his confession, which was openly Reformed on the Lord's Supper, that the body and blood of Christ were received spiritually, not corporeally, only by faith and not received by unbelievers. Hesshuss, on September 1, submitted a confession which was high-Lutheran, holding that Christ was bodily present in the elements and that His body was received with the mouth, and not merely by believers, but by unbelievers. Both agreed to keep quiet, but Hesshuss was not the one to do so. On Sunday, August 29, he attacked Klebitz in a

sermon and went so far as to forbid him from performing ministerial duties. On September 3, a week-day, Klebitz replied in a sermon, defending himself against Hesshuss' attacks. Hesshuss replied on September 6, when preaching in the Holy Ghost Church at Heidelberg. He then put Klebitz under the ban. The ban was very severe,—“No church official was to have anything to do with him, no one was to receive the sacraments from him or to attend his preaching. No sick were to send for him to comfort them, no one was to eat with him.” Hesshuss did this so that Klebitz would be sent away by the authorities. It is said that while he was under the ban, one of his children died and he had difficulty in getting it buried. Two days later, two other ministers, Velsius and Nesor, took part in this controversy from the pulpit. The one put Hesshuss under the ban, the other called him “a boar who ravaged the Lord's vineyard.”

It was very evident that matters had come to a crisis. So Frederick called both Hesshuss and Klebitz, together with the other ministers, before him on September 9. He threatened them with dismissal if the controversy was continued. He lifted the ban from Klebitz and tried to make peace by ordering them at the Lord's Supper to use the words of the Augsburg Confession. For one of the great questions in controversy at that time was the exact formula to be used at the Lord's Supper. The Lutheran Church has always made the words of the Bible used at the Lord's Supper the centre of the whole rite. It was therefore very important to them that exactly the right words should be used. But there was great difference of opinion among them. Some wanted the phrase *in* the bread, others, *under* the bread, others, *in with and under* and others in addition to this, *all around* the bread, until some of them

neared the Catholic statement that the priest holds the body of Christ in his hand. So the proper formula to be used was important, and Frederick tried to solve it by ordering the use of the phrase in the Augsburg Confession, which ought to have satisfied all of the Lutherans.

And just here we may pause to note what is very important in this study of Frederick's conversion, that the first method adopted by Frederick, in order to produce unity, was the use of a formula on the Lord's Supper. Frederick tried four methods of harmonizing his church of the Palatinate,—first, a formula (1559); second, a conference; third, the dismissal of the polemicists (1560), and fourth, a catechism (1563). It is well to remember these different steps as this history proceeds.

But Hesshuss was not the man to be bound by a formula, especially such a one as was in the Altered Augsburg Confession, which, he declared, was so broad that it could include the Reformed. So, when he, some time later, administered the Lord's Supper, he used another form, a Latin one, that better suited his high-Lutheran views. When the Elector called him before him for doing so, he plumply declared he would not use the formula appointed by the Elector.

The Elector having supposed that he had brought about peace, on the next day, September 10, his court-preacher, Diller, in preaching at the Sunday service in the Holy Ghost Church, described what had taken place and announced from the pulpit that peace was now made, that the formula of the Augsburg Confession would be used at the Lord's Supper, and that the causes of the strife had been set aside until a synod could meet. And after that, the Elector and the whole court went to the Lord's Supper. It was celebrated after this formula, Diller giving the bread and Klebitz the wine. It was, as

one writer calls it, a peace-festival. But it did not last. That very Sunday afternoon the war began again. For one of the ministers, Blasius, preached against Klebitz as a false prophet, and three days later Hesshuss preached in the same strain. He openly charged the Elector with having fallen away from the Augsburg Confession. He now, for the first time, called attention to the difference between the two Augsburg Confessions. He spoke against the Altered Augsburg Confession as so indefinite in its statement of the Lord's Supper, that it was nothing but "a Polish boot and a broad mantle, under which anything could hide, yes, Christ and the devil could conveniently hide together under it." The Elector's order for peace he called, "a godless agreement." In doing this, he did not stand alone, but two of the ministers stood with him. Thus, on September 15, Nesor refuted Diller's sermon of the previous Sunday and attacked Klebitz as a heretic who ought to be dismissed. Klebitz's patience ran out at all this abuse. And it is said that as Nesor went out of the church, Klebitz seized him and, it is said, shook him and called him a liar. And Nesor goes so far as to charge him with having thrown a large stone at him. The report of Frederick says he only caused a public excitement in the market. For it must be remembered that while Hesshuss was the aggressor in this controversy, and the more blameworthy, yet Klebitz was not entirely free from blame even though we as Reformed can not help sympathizing with his theological views. Indeed, Klebitz seems to have been there so judged by the more conservative Reformed. Thus, Erastus in writing to Hardenberg, describes Klebitz unfavorably, but speaks well of his preaching ability. Hesshuss erred in exaggerating his authority and in making himself a Protestant pope. Klebitz erred in the

over-impetuosity of youth.

Matters had now come to a pass when they were unendurable. So the Elector called both Hesshuss and Klebitz before him on Saturday, September 16, and dismissed them both, in the hope that the controversy would now cease, as its leaders were sent away. However, a difference in his treatment of these two men is to be noticed. Notwithstanding Hesshuss' public denunciation of him, he gave him a half year's salary ahead, but he did not give him a testimonial of approval, which Hesshuss wanted. Klebitz, however, received a good testimonial from the university and also money for his journey, and the Elector's assurance that he would care for his family while he was away. Frederick's kinder treatment of Klebitz, however, must not, however, be laid down to his growing inclination to the Reformed, but rather to his great fairness of mind, because he felt Hesshuss was the aggressor in this quarrel. This is another instance of Frederick's great fairness of temper.

Klebitz hastened his departure, for the people of Heidelberg seem to have been, as a rule, against him. At least that is what Melancthon stated to Hardenberg, the Melancthonian of Bremen, on January 1, 1560, when he wrote to him that if he had to leave Bremen, he had better not go to Heidelberg, for though he would be kindly received by the university, yet the people were not of his way of thinking. It is wonderful to see how Frederick ultimately brought this city, now strongly Lutheran, around to his Heidelberg catechism in 1563. In Klebitz' place, a Reformed minister was appointed, at which some members of the court protested, and at once received their dismissal.

Hesshuss also left, but his intensely polemical nature brought him into trouble wherever he went. He is

called "the man of seven exiles," for seven times he was ordered out of the cities where he preached because of his quarrelsomeness. Heidelberg was the third place that he was compelled to leave.

After he had dismissed both Hesshuss and Klebitz, Frederick did a most important thing, one of the most important in this series of events. Two days later (September 18), he sent his private secretary, Cirler, who was married to a niece of Melancthon, to Wittenberg, to get the opinion of Melancthon on the best method of settling the difficulties in the Palatinate Church. And Melancthon's answer came to him November 1.

This opinion of Melancthon was exceedingly important for two reasons:

1. It was the last public expression of his views before he died, for Melancthon died the next year, April 19, 1560.

2. Melancthon, usually so irenic, here speaks out on some of the vital questions of the day, as he had not done. He seems to have been driven to it by the "rage of theologians" and by their attacks on him. For once he talked back.

In his Opinion, he replies by suggesting a formula on which all should unite, namely: the use of the words of the Bible (1 Cor. 10: 16) at the Lord's Supper, that the bread was the communion of the body of Christ and the wine the communion of His blood. This was a very beautiful idea, for the Bible ought to be the great harmonizer. The high-Lutherans, however, refused to accept this advice of Melancthon.

But Melancthon went on to explain what is meant by the communion of the body of Christ,—that it did not mean transubstantiation as the Catholics held; or, as the Lutherans at Bremen, who were just then attacking

his supporter and friend, Hardenberg, and who said, that the bread was the *essential* body of Christ; and also not as Hesshuss, that the bread was the *true* body of Christ. He said communion meant that by which the union with the body of Christ takes place. And he added a significant clause, that it occurred not without thought, as occurred when mice gnawed at bread.

Now all this is very significant. First, it is significant that he sets aside the formula used in the Augsburg Confession for the Bible formula. In doing this, he is going beyond what Frederick had already done. Why he did this must be conjectural. Perhaps he felt that the phrase in the Augsburg Confession would not be acceptable to all Lutherans, indeed had not been to Hesshuss. And he may have felt that there was more likelihood of union on a phrase taken from the Bible.

Second, And yet Melancthon, in using the phrase, "the communion of the body of Christ," went beyond strict Lutheranism, "which would have said not the communion of the body of Christ," but that it *is* the body of Christ. His formula put something between the communicant and the body of Christ in the Lord's Supper, namely, the communion. It is interesting, however, to see how the high-Lutherans set Paul's words about the Lord's Supper over against Christ's words. Christ said, "This *is* my body." Paul said, not that it *is* the body, but it *is the communion* of the body. The high-Lutherans looked with some suspicion on Paul's phrase, as if his word, "communion," put something in the sacrament between Christ and the communicant. The high-Lutherans explained Paul's words by Christ's, the low-Lutherans explained Christ's words by Paul's.

Third, Melancthon, in his Opinion, went farther than he usually did. Usually, so irenic, he becomes in it polem-

ical and attacks the new doctrine of ubiquity of the high-Lutherans. He also suggested the calling of a synod to settle the matter.

The significance of Melancthon's Opinion was, that it approved all that Frederick had done. It was favorable to Frederick's low-Lutheranism. And it was recognized at Frederick's court by the high-Lutherans as a blow against them.* On the other hand, nothing, says Remling, the historian, was more pleasing to the Reformed in Frederick's court than this "Opinion." Though it did not come over entirely to their views, yet it enabled them to join with the Melancthonians there against the high-Lutherans and thus gain the upper hand with the Elector.

But while Melancthon's Opinion was low-Lutheran, Frederick was still a Lutheran. For, in October of that year, he ordered his son Christopher to be instructed in Luther's catechism. This was the more remarkable, for the catechism hitherto used by the low-Lutherans in the Palatinate was not Luther's, but Brenz'. And yet now Frederick ordered the very catechism for which the high-Lutherans fought, to be used for his boy. That does not look as if he was Reformed. Another sign was, that he wrote to his high-Lutheran son-in-law, John Frederick, October 24, 1559, denying that he was a Zwinglian. Duke John Frederick then had an opinion drawn up by two of his theologians, Stoessel and Moerlin, just as Melancthon had drawn his up. He sent it to Frederick, for which Frederick thanked him December 11, 1559.

And yet this was not all that came out of Melanc-

*Benningen, the high-Lutheran judge in Frederick's court, wrote, November 5, 1559, to Strasburg, saying of it: "It was the work of the devil." Struve, the historian, says Frederick became Reformed at this time; but he is mistaken.

thon's Opinion. Frederick, while accepting it, yet went to work to seek light for himself. There came to him a great season of searching and proving by prayer and the study of God's Word. Though he calls himself only a "poor plain layman," yet he said, "that he hoped by the aid of the Holy Spirit, that "if he would diligently pray, God would reveal the truth to him as well as to the most learned doctor or theologians." He spent whole days and half the night over his Bible and theological works and in prayer. He was so assiduous in this that the marshal of his court declared that he robbed himself of sleep, health and the pleasures of life in order to find out the truth. It is to this period that there belongs a pearl of our Reformed religious literature, a prayer by him, based on the Lord's Prayer, a "Prince's Lord's Prayer," a beautiful summary of petitions. This prayer is based on the motto of Frederick, "Lord, according to Thy will."

And here we must pause in the history to note an important fact. Frederick, in all this study of the Bible and prayer, took his first step toward becoming Reformed. He became not yet a conscious, but rather an unconscious Reformed. He was still a Lutheran and not conscious that he was becoming Reformed. But when he went to the Bible for his rule, he adopted the Reformed principle. "The Bible, the whole Bible, and nothing but the Bible." For, while the Lutherans and the Reformed both accept the Bible, yet the Lutherans, as compared with the Reformed, do so, negatively, the Reformed, positively. The Lutherans take what is not forbidden by the Bible, the Reformed only what is authorized by the Bible. And Frederick adopted this Reformed principle here. This distinction was the more noticeable, for neither of the Augsburg Confessions,

either of 1530 or 1540, clearly make the Bible the rule of faith. The Lutherans here defended this lack of reference to the Bible by saying that Melancthon, in presenting that Confession to the Catholic emperor, was too politic to inject the Bible as over against the Church. But Zwingli's Confession, sent to the same diet, did so. The Reformed creeds always speak out on the Bible as the rule of faith. Now, Frederick, in seeking light from the Bible above any confessions, and even above the Augsburg Confession, passed over unconsciously to the Reformed position. And his later acts are but the logical fulfilment of this great principle, that he laid hold of here, in the midst of great sighing and tears, like his Master in the Garden.

Another important event at the close of 1559 needs to be noted here. Hardly had Melancthon's Opinion been given, than Frederick appointed a new church court, a consistory to rule his church. It was composed of six members and made up from the court, the church and the university. Frederick had had enough of one-man rule in his church under Hesshuss, he now placed it in the care of six. But what was most remarkable was, that he put a strong Reformed at its head in Zuleger.

B. THE YEAR 1560

The opening of this year revealed the continuance of the bitter controversies, in spite of the fact that the leaders in it had been dismissed, and that Melancthon had given his Opinion, which, it was expected, would harmonize all difficulties. The quarrels now broke out in the court. There Chancellor Minkwitz, who was a high-Lutheran, was attacked by Probus, who was Reformed. Probus was a political rival of Minkwitz, who

had, under Otto Henry, displaced him as chancellor. He charged Minkwitz with making Luther an idol and also with saying that the Elector was a Calvinist. For this, Minkwitz replied by calling him a liar. The Elector tried to temper their anger against each other, but they remained sworn foes.

Hesshuss also published his work on "the Presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper." Its preface was dated October 20, 1559, when he was still smarting under his dismissal from Heidelberg. In it he defends the high-Lutheran view of the presence of Christ's body in the Lord's Supper, and adds an appendix on some errors of Calvin. The circulation of the book was forbidden at Heidelberg. It had its effect in strengthening the high-Lutherans. Olevianus now begins to appear, having been appointed professor of theology in the university at the beginning of this year. According to the status of the university, he must have taken oath on the Augsburg Confession. But, although he was a Calvinist, this gave him little trouble, as it was the Altered Augsburg. Evidently his ability at Treves had given him a reputation. Sudhoff suggests that Olevianus, in teaching, used Calvin's "Institutes," which found so much popularity, especially from Farel, that it was published, and with it he tried to indoctrinate his pupils. But he is probably in error here. This publication by Olevianus of the "Institutes" of Calvin did not take place till after he had been using them, not at Heidelberg, but twenty years later, at Herborn, where he became professor at the end of his life. Calvin's "Institutes," published by Olevianus, was not published till 1586. Boquin, early in this year, had a call to the French Reformed Church at Strasburg. And it is here that Olevianus first appears on the scene by writing a letter (April 12) to Calvin. For he was greatly alarmed

at the possible loss of Boquin, who had been the main instrument in the introduction of the Reformed faith into Heidelberg. He asks in this letter that Calvin would use his influence on Boquin not to accept the call to Strasburg. He also asks (and this is somewhat significant so early), that Calvin would send him the Church government of the Reformed Church at Geneva, so that he might show it to the consistory of the Palatinate. Already it seems this zealous young man had a vision of that land becoming Reformed.

All these events seem to have roused the fear of the high-Lutherans that the Palatinate was more and more drifting over to the Reformed. We have already seen how Duke John Frederick of Saxony, Frederick's son-in-law, and Frederick's wife had been alarmed. So great was their anxiety, that on March 15, 1560, Frederick's wife, in a letter to John Frederick, asks him to have public prayers offered in his churches, that her husband may be kept in the Lutheran faith. She was intensely Lutheran and continued so for some time, so that later there was even a slight danger of an open breach between her husband and herself. But later she did what a true wife should do and obeyed her husband, and accepted his faith, though she did it of her own free will and she afterwards became a zealous Reformed.

In view of these facts and especially that the consistory or head of the Palatinate Church was controlled by the Reformed, and that Frederick was more and more surrounded by the Reformed in court and university, it was high time that a special effort should be made to steady Frederick in his adherence to the Lutheran faith.

An incident offered the opportunity to Duke John Frederick of Saxony to do so. Frederick seems to have

had so many excellent daughters, that not only had Duke John Frederick married one, but his brother, John William, also had arranged to marry another. Duke John Frederick saw in this wedding an opportunity to use his influence on Frederick. He therefore brought along to Heidelberg two of his theologians, Stoessel and Moerlin. These two Dukes remained in and around Heidelberg for six weeks and John Frederick took frequent opportunity to warn Frederick and his court against the evils of Zwinglianism. His court preacher, Stoessel, was permitted by Frederick to preach. And he abused this privilege by publicly denouncing Frederick and his council as Zwinglians, because he said they did not believe that the body and blood of Christ were distributed at the Lord's Supper. And he would have had the audacity to get this sermon printed, and thus exert a high-Lutheran influence in wider circles if the Elector had not forbidden it.

Frederick evidently was now in a very uncomfortable position. His high-Lutheran visitors were heating up his own people against him. His wife, in the court, was heating up the ladies against him. He complains in his letters that he had more trouble than he could well bear, and could not have borne it if the Lord had not helped him.

So it was finally arranged that there should be a public disputation on June 3, in the auditorium of the university. This took place in the presence of the court and the university, and lasted five days. On the one side were Stoessel and Moerlin, who defended high-Lutheranism. Hesshuss had, some time before, sent Klebitz' theses to them and they were therefore prepared to attack the Reformed. On the other side was Boquin, as head of the theological faculty. Olevianus, though professor of

theology, did not take part, which is a wonder, considering his aggressive disposition. Boquin proposed seven theses, on which the debate took place on the first two days. They were Reformed in doctrine and almost the same that Klebitz had proposed for his degree, and against which Hesshuss had so protested. In them, Boquin defended the view that bread and wine were symbols, but not only symbols, for Christ was present spiritually in the Lord's Supper to believers. He was so careful to guard himself against the idea that the bread and wine were only symbols (which was the great charge of the Lutherans against the Reformed), that Stoessel in the progress of the discussion had to grant that the meaning of his opponent was, that Christ's body was truly given at the Lord's Supper, together with the bread, but to believers.

On the other side, the high-Lutheran theologians proposed twenty-four theses, which stated the high-Lutheran doctrine, in all its sharpness, over against the Reformed on three points:

First. Christ's body was really and essentially present in the Lord's Supper. This was over against the Zwinglians, who held the elements were mere signs, and also over against the Calvinists, who held that the power and activity of Christ's body were in the Lord's Supper, yet denied that its substance was really there.

Second. The body and blood of Christ were received through the mouth.

Third. They were received by unbelievers and hypocrites.

These were debated during the last three days of the conference.

During the discussion, there was an interesting by-play. Erastus, who was rector of the university, and

who (as we have already seen), was a theologian as well as a physician, attempted to take part in the discussion. It seems that he sat at the table with Boquin, and at times would give him important points against his opponents. His keen remarks were not to Stoessel's taste. When, on one occasion, Erastus attempted to take part in the debate, Stoessel perpetrated a joke at his expense, namely, that the affairs of the Reformed must be in a pretty bad way when they needed to call in a doctor. An attempt was then made to get Stoessel into a debate with Erastus one afternoon, and it had gone so far as to have the approval of the Elector and the Dukes of Saxony. But Stoessel declined on the plea that Erastus was not a theologian, but a physician. Stoessel said to him, "You are a doctor and have no call to mix in these things." At which, Erastus replied, "But I am also a Christian and want to confess my faith before everyone." In saying this, Erastus was revealing the true Reformed temperament,—that each Christian, though a layman, ought to be ready to confess his faith. Had the debate come off between Erastus and Stoessel, Erastus would have been a sharp polemist, if we may judge from his book published later.

The conference instead of producing union, only revealed the difference between the two parties. The theses of both sides were published. The two Dukes had the proceedings published at Erfurt, with a sharp censure of Boquin added. Boquin published his theses with a brief explanation of their meaning (Calvin, says Seisen, was not satisfied with the outcome of this conference). Later, in 1566, after this controversy was over, Boquin again published these theses, prefacing them with Brenz' statements about the Lord's Supper, as published in his commentary on the Gospel of John,

published in 1528. Brenz in that early day virtually took the Reformed position.

The influence of this disputation, it is important to notice. In the case of Stoessel, it was the beginning of his ultimate separation from the high-Lutherans, and his acceptance of the Melancthonian views, for which he died in prison.

But most important is it to notice the influence of this disputation on the Elector Frederick. And just here is where the greatest confusion appears between the different historians. Alting, Seisen, Remling, Sudhoff and Seisen say that this conference made Frederick Reformed. Seisen says, that "as Luther's disputation in 1518 in the Augustinian cloister at Heidelberg led to the origin of the reformation in the Palatinate, so this disputation led to the origin of the Reformed Church there." But in this we cannot agree with them. Kluckhohn, who is the biographer of Frederick, and who also published his Letters, proves that at this time Frederick did not recognize the untenableness of Melancthon's views.*

Probably the influence on Frederick is best stated by Alting, who says, "that the Saxon theologians seemed to excel in boldness and fluency of speech, but Frederick's theologians in intelligence and thorough defense of the simple truth." In other words, while the Saxon Lutherans had the more eloquence, the Reformed had more arguments. The influence on Frederick seems to have been, that it revealed to him more than ever that the high-Lutherans were weak in argument and also that the Reformed had a strong case. Frederick was not as fully satisfied with the arguments of the Lutherans, as of his own theologians, as for instance, the remark of Boquin which seemed to the Elector of the greatest

* See Kluckhohn's "Life of Frederick," page 73.

significance, that "one could hold to the true presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper without declaring that the body was in, with and under the bread, or holding to oral manducation. When Boquin asked of what use was the oral manducation, he received only the answer, "so that the veracity of Christ might not be made less. This was like Luther at Marburg, who, when he was silenced by Zwingli's argument, could only point to the words: "This is My body," which he had already written on the table before him.

But Frederick remained, as before, a Lutheran, or perhaps it is better stated, an irenic Lutheran, for peace and unity were as yet his great ideals. And it was his steadfast adherence to them that soon produced startling results. For it seems that the disputation had poured oil on the fire by greatly encouraging the high-Lutherans in the Palatinate. And this was serious, for most of the pastors of Heidelberg were high-Lutheran. Frederick had a conference with Cuneus, pastor of St. Peter's Church, who was one of them and also of the consistory, together with Nesor, Greiner and Conrad, but without result. They still kept up their polemics.

Finally Frederick seems to have become tired of the strife and he dismissed those who kept up these polemics. On August 12, he took matters in his hand and ordered that all the ministers who would not keep silence about polemics should be dismissed. As a result, the four ministers of Heidelberg, whom we have mentioned, were dismissed, also two at Oppenheim, one at Alzei and a superintendent at Kaiserlautern. He did not send them away because they were high-Lutherans,* but because

* The historians seem to differ as to the cause. Some say he required them to subscribe to the Frankford Recess, others to the Opinion of Melancthon. We here follow Kluckhohn.

they would not stop their polemics. It seems that the great body of the preachers, especially in the country districts of the Palatinate, were low-Lutheran or irenic, and therefore were not dismissed. Frederick also dismissed Stab, his wife's court-preacher, because it was found that among the satirical poems published at that time by the high-Lutherans, he had written one published by his son, which said that Frederick was led around by the nose by Count George of Erbach.

As a result of this order of Frederick against the ministers, his chancellor, Minkwitz, and Judge von Benningen, the two high-Lutheran representatives in his court, at beginning of next year resigned. This dismissal and resignation of these high-Lutherans ultimately proved a good thing for the introduction of the Reformed faith later, for it removed its greatest opponents. So that when the Reformed religion was later introduced, it was done with very little difficulty, for its greatest opponents were gone. Frederick in all this was only pursuing his main idea of peace and unity in the Church, which was dearer to him than any of the parties in it.

In September, Boquin published Melancthon's Opinion of 1559, as if to show that all was done according to Melancthon's ideas.

C. THE YEAR 1561

The year 1561 was the year of the greatest importance, for it was the year when Elector Frederick III became Reformed. And yet even this statement must be taken with some qualification as we shall see. The main cause of it was the conference of the German princes at Naumberg, in January of that year. But even before

that, several events are significant. The year opened inauspiciously for the high Lutherans. Not merely did Minkwitz and Benningen resign, but the only remaining Lutheran professor of theology at the university Einhorn, who was a high-Lutheran, was dismissed and Tremellius a converted Jew and Reformed, was called in his place. Thus the whole faculty was now Reformed, Boquin, Olevianus and Tremellius. At the beginning of 1561, Boquin published two important works. One was a "Reply to Hesshuss' Presence of the Christ in the Lord's Supper." It was a large book, in Latin, of 250 pages. Count George of Erbach, at the end of the previous year, opposed the Elector's giving his permission for its publication, lest it would only lead to the continuation of the polemics. But it was published, nevertheless, at Basle. Hesshuss replied to it the next year in a volume "Verae et sanae Confessiones," that answered the different Reformed reformers, Calvin, Beza, Boquin and Klebitz. Klebitz, after his departure from Heidelberg, published in this year at Freiburg, a book entitled, "The Victory of the Truth and the Ruin of the Saxon Papacy." He replied in scathing words to Hesshuss' attempts to be a Lutheran pope, and his efforts to introduce Saxon high-Lutheranism into the Palatinate. Hesshuss, in his reply, does not mention his name, but calls him "Kleinwitzius" or "Little-wit," as if to say that he was of little consequence in the intellectual world. Still another significant book seems to have appeared, if we may believe the high-Lutherans; Boquin, at the beginning of this year, published Calvin's catechism, translated into the Greek language.

The Conference at Naumberg met January 20, 1561. It was another attempt to unite the German Protestant princes against the Catholics, who had become united at the Council of Trent. This was a difficult task, for the

Lutherans were divided into two parties. The high-Lutherans controlled Thuringia, ducal Saxony, Mecklenberg and Pomerania, and Duke John Frederick of Saxony, was their leader. But the majority of princes, as Electoral Saxony, Hesse, Wurtemberg, Zweibrücken and the Palatinate were Melancthonian. How to heal this breach was the great problem. Into the minute details of the Naumburg Conference we have not time to enter. An attempt was made at this conference, because almost all the princes, who had signed the Augsburg Confession in 1530, had died, to have it signed over again by the princes then living. But when at this conference they tried to find a copy of the original Augsburg Confession of 1530, as presented by Melancthon to the German Emperor, no copy of it could be found. (Rev. Prof. James W. Richard, D.D., one of the best historians of the Lutheran Church in this country, in his "Confessional History of the Lutheran Church," says there is no such thing as an Unaltered Augsburg Confession in existence, as the original had been lost. He shows that there were a great many editions, and that Melancthon made a great many changes in them, so that even the old view of most church historians that there were two main editions, namely, of 1530 and of 1540, does not hold.) A later edition of 1530 was found; but it was found that it acknowledged transubstantiation in the Lord's Supper. This discovery, as we shall see, produced a profound impression on Frederick. In a later edition, of 1531, this objectionable statement had been removed. So the Protestant princes agreed to sign this edition of 1531. But Frederick stood out for the Altered edition of 1540, because it had been in common use for so long a time. Finally a compromise was reached, and the princes, even Frederick, signed the edition of 1531.

But in the preface that they placed before it, there was this statement, that "we will not suffer ourselves to be deflected from the Confession as explained and again delivered in 1540." So their act was not intended to weaken the subscription to the 1540 edition, because it had become so widely used. And so Frederick could still hold to the Altered Augsburg. The formula at Naumburg accentuated the real presence of Christ in the Supper, but said nothing about oral manducation or the reception of Christ's body by unbelievers, and in this was unsatisfactory to the high-Lutherans. The truth was, that this pact was a compromise, in which neither seemed to gain the victory. But such compromises give dangerous opportunities for future conflicts and that is what happened. The Melancthonians seemed to have gained the victory at Naumburg, as they had done before at Frankford, in 1558. But no, they did not. For Duke John Frederick of Saxony was not satisfied. He had wanted inserted in the formula a clause denouncing the sects, referring of course, to the Zwinglians and Reformed. As that was not done, he created a sensation by suddenly leaving the conference at Naumburg as his protest against its action. And strange to say, although almost alone at Naumburg (Mecklenburg was the only duchy that supported him), yet his views ultimately gained the victory. For the Lutheran princes, who had been Melancthonian, one by one went over to his side, until Elector Frederick was largely left alone in his adherence to low-Lutheranism and the Altered Augsburg Confession. That was the reason why Elector Frederick ultimately went over to the Reformed. He was forced to go, by being forced out by them. But all this did not as yet appear.

However, this Naumburg conference left a perma-

ment result on Frederick. It revealed to him that the early Lutheran faith was, as he styled it, "popish" on the Lord's Supper. This shook the authority of Luther over him. He still respected him as a great man, but he could no longer look up to him as infallible. And what is even more significant, this discovery about the first edition of the Augsburg Confession also shook the absolute authority of Melancthon over him. If the author of the Augsburg Confession erred in its first edition, why not in later editions. Before this, Frederick had unhesitatingly accepted the Melancthonian or low-Lutheran doctrines. Now, however, doubts were raised in his mind that perhaps they might not be altogether true. It was a terrible awakening for Frederick. But it only drove him more and more to his Bible. The more he studied the Bible, the more he felt that Luther could, and did err. It seemed to him that Luther, even after he became a reformer, was still held by some Catholic ideas, and he came to the conclusion that stiff Lutheranism still had some Catholicism sticking in it. But though he broke away from Luther, it did not lead him nearer Calvin, for he says at the Augsburg Diet (1566), that he had read neither Calvin's or Zwingli's works (and this in spite of the fact that Calvin had once dedicated to him his Commentary on Jeremiah. He could not, however, say as much about Bullinger, whom he seemed to have called to his help by that time).

Frederick in thus turning to the Bible and making it the infallible rule, was only carrying out his unconscious tendency toward the Reformed. We have seen how, in 1559, he became unconsciously Reformed; now, in 1561, he became consciously Reformed. But still he is not openly Reformed. For in those days it often happened that men became Protestant long before they made a

public profession of it, and so it was that Frederick became Reformed. He became consciously Reformed before he became openly Reformed. It was at this time, says Kluckhohn, his biographer and best historian, that Frederick became Reformed. He took his first step toward a profession of the Reformed faith. And yet, while he became consciously Reformed, we have to explain certain of his statements that occurred later, where he declared his continued adherence to the Altered Augsburg Confession. One of these is a Hessian document, another, that we found last summer (1913), was against an attack of the Catholics (1565), in which he declares his continued adherence to the Augsburg Confession. And this fact appears, especially in his defense at the diet of Augsburg, in 1566, where he states his continued adherence to that creed. How can we harmonize all this with the statement that he became Reformed in 1561, and later published the Heidelberg catechism in 1563. Is Frederick guilty of inconsistency, pretending to be Lutheran, when he was Reformed. Was he guilty of hypocrisy, when, after becoming Reformed, he claimed the protection of the Augsburg Confession so as to hold his place as a prince. We do not believe it. He was too pious a man for that. All his dealings show him to be a man of honor and fair dealing. There are only two ways (as it appears to us), in which this matter can be reconciled.

First. Frederick believed that the Altered Augsburg Confession was broad enough to cover him as Reformed and so he claimed its protection.

Second. Frederick gradually became Reformed. First, he became unconsciously Reformed in 1559. Now he becomes consciously Reformed in 1561. Later, in 1562, as we shall see, he became openly Reformed. But

he did not officially become Reformed until after the German Diet of 1566 had led to the granting of permission for the use of the Heidelberg catechism.

We believe both are true, and that all the while he sincerely held to the Altered Augsburg Confession. But it may be remarked, that while that Confession was considered Lutheran then, there is hardly a single Lutheran Church to-day that holds to it, as they hold to the Unaltered Augsburg. We have dwelt on this subject, for it is a difficult one and one that has perplexed us many years. Frederick now made the Bible his rule of faith, but still adhering to the Altered Augsburg Confession as the best summary of its truth. One thing, however, was very evident, he had broken entirely with the high-Lutherans. On March 10, 1561, after his son-in-law had sent him a copy of one of Luther's works, published in 1544, in the hope of influencing him against the Zwinglians, Frederick replied that he found nothing useful in it, only denunciations of the Reformed, and that was not right.

And, while thus openly breaking with the high-Lutherans, Frederick now introduced more of the Reformed customs. It was at this time, says Kluckhohn (and not a year before, as other historians put it), that Frederick began extensive changes in the cultus of the Church. For he found that the people, though Protestant, did not cease to venerate the wafer as being the body of Christ and even worshipped it as God, and when not permitted to eat it, demand the mere sight of it. He also found that a number of ministers encouraged such false views, some even declaring that they had the real body of Christ in their hand and reached it out to the people at the communion. Frederick had, by this time, become thoroughly Zwinglian in his utter abhorrence

of such things. So he began great changes in the churches. The statue of Count Philip, Otto Henry's brother, in the Church of the Holy Ghost, at Heidelberg, he caused to be covered with a black cloth. The pictures on the walls of the churches he caused to be white-washed over. He closed up the organs, and it was not until a century had passed, 1655, that the organ was again used in Heidelberg. Latin singing was set aside for the singing of Luther's psalms and other hymns. Fonts were cast out, for as he wrote (1564) to the Duke of Gotha, none of the apostles were baptized in stone coffins like them. He had the altars cast out of the churches and a table placed instead of the altar. Instead of the gold chalice used for the wine at the Lord's Supper, a pewter or wooden cup was used. And instead of wafers, the breaking of bread was introduced. It is probable, says Kluckhohn, that his order about the breaking of bread was given without the consent of the council. But that would have mattered little, for the Reformed had gotten control of his affairs, both in court, consistory and university. And it is not to be expected that they would not utilize every opportunity for their benefit. Lay baptism was set aside. The communion of the sick was lessened, so that it might not be considered an *opus operatum*.

For many of these reforms he could quote his predecessor, Otto Henry, as his example; for he, as we saw, puts the pictures out of the churches and also altars, except one in each church. But Frederick went far beyond Otto Henry and in the direction of the Reformed. And yet he did not do this because he was Reformed, but because they were unbiblical, for now he was above all things else following the Bible. Several events occurred in 1561 to show the growing tendency at Heidel-

berg toward the Reformed. One was the call that Frederick gave to Peter Martyr, the great Reformed theologian of the early reformation next to Calvin. As he would not come, Ursinus came at his recommendation. He arrived at Heidelberg September 9 of this year. And Ursinus was thoroughly Reformed when he came. He displaced Olevianus as head of the preparatory theological seminary, at Heidelberg, called the "College of Wisdom," and later as professor in the university. Olevianus then became the head of the Palatinate church. Boquin also, in August, 1561, published an important work: an "Exegesis of the word 'koinoonia' or Communion," his second for that year. It was an explanation of the divine and human communion at the Lord's Supper. It is, in reality, a brief dogmatics, of about 200 pages, taking up the various doctrines in their order. With the idea of communion, he takes up God, Christ, the Holy Spirit, the ministry, the sacraments, man, the soul, faith, etc., all as different parts of the communion.

Ursinus, on August 15, 1561, received the doctor's degree, for the statutes of the university required it of every professor of theology. As professor, he would have to take oath on the Augsburg Confession, but on the Altered Augsburg. Late in 1561, Ursinus published a reply to Hesshuss, his maiden effort, and the beginning of his masterpieces on the defense of the Reformed doctrine. Frederick also showed his growing friendship for the Reformed of France in appointing delegates to the great conference of Poissy, in September, 1561, where Beza so eloquently defended the Reformed before the court. He appointed Boquin and Diller, but they returned before they got to Poissy.

The changed condition of everything at Heidelberg is shown, in August 25, of that year, by the judgment

that the Heidelberg university gave in regard to the case of Zanchius, at Strasburg, Zanchius was Reformed, and was being forced out of Strasburg by the high-Lutherans, and he appealed to Heidelberg. This university pronounced in favor of his doctrine of perseverance of the saints, which is a distinctly Reformed doctrine. (Zanchius later became professor of Reformed theology at Heidelberg.) That a Lutheran university like Heidelberg should thus publicly give a deliverance in favor of the Reformed was an unheard of thing in those days. It caused great anxiety among the high-Lutherans about Heidelberg, and was the signal that the Palatinate was becoming Reformed.

D. THE YEAR 1562

If 1561 was the year of preparation for the transition to the Reformed, the next year marked that transition. Two events occurred in that year of special significance. One was the publication of a booklet, which Ebrard says was the signal that Frederick became Reformed, or he would not have allowed it to be published; indeed, it was published at the order of the Elector. It was a book by Erastus, who hitherto had not published anything for the Reformed.* Boquin had been their literary champion, but now Erastus enters the field. His book was entitled "Fundamental Account as to the Way in which the Words of Christ, 'This is my Body,' are to be understood." It is a bright, clear book and pronounced on the Reformed doctrine of the Lord's Supper. He calls the sacraments signs and seals. Avoiding the somewhat de-

* What the Elector had refused to do for Boquin's Reply to Hesshuss a year before, and so it was published elsewhere, he now did for this book of Erastus. He ordered its publication.

vious windings by which theologians sometimes entered into their subjects, he went straight to the point and produced a book of remarkable keenness, and one very hard for the Lutherans to answer. It is also quite thorough for a layman. He first takes up the meaning of the words "This is my body," first as given by Paul, then secondly by Christ, and third and lastly by the early Church Fathers, quoting from Chrysostom, Augustine and Cyprian. His illustrations of the Lord's Supper, as a sign and seal, are clear and cogent. He is severe on the high-Lutherans as strife-makers, and denounces their idea that the unworthy receive Christ's body at the Lord's Supper. What is especially noticeable is the cocksure way he has of stating his affirmations, repeatedly referring to them as unanswerable. But this very element makes the book the more interesting reading. This seems to have been the Reformed certainty of faith, which was a product of their doctrine of assurance. Such a cogent defense of Reformed doctrine the Lutherans could not afford to let go unanswered, and Marbach, the prominent Lutheran of Strasburg, replied to it. Erastus then published (1565) a Reply to Marbach's attack. In it he takes up Marbach's book, section by section, and answers it in detail. The preface reveals Erastus as a foeman of Marbach steel, even though he was only a layman and a doctor. He is exceedingly sharp and keen. For at the close of the preface he pokes fun at Marbach, when, after speaking of the poorness of the arguments given by a man of such fame and ability as Marbach, he Erastus (a doctor) will now use his skill and give Dr. Marbach a purge, that is, provided he can find enough hellebore to do so. And he proceeds to do it in his Reply. We have dwelt on this book of Erastus in 1562 because it was an epoch-making book.

The other event is that Frederick appointed a commission to prepare what was later published as the Heidelberg catechism.* We have seen how he first had tried to bring about peace in his country in 1559 by the publication of a formula of the Lord's Supper, then later in 1560 by a conference and by the dismissal of polemicists. Now he tried a fourth method, the publication of a catechism. One reason why he chose this last method was because of the rivalry in the Palatinate between Brenz' catechism, which had formerly been used, and Luther's catechism. To avoid trouble about this he decided to use neither, and he got out the Heidelberg catechism. His publication of a new catechism was not a thing unusual in those days. Cohrs and Reu, in their republications of the catechisms of Germany in the sixteenth century, give thousand of pages of catechisms. It was a catechism-producing age. And Frederick, doubtless, did not, therefore, expect to raise the hostility that afterwards appeared against his catechism, for he was only adding another to the many published before. But he was most of all anxious that this new catechism should be Biblical, for he was now, above all things, a student of the Bible. It was on the Bible that it was to be based, as he himself declares in his defense of it at the German diet of Augsburg, 1566. An interesting fact is given by Remling that it was at the suggestion of Olevianus that he ordered this catechism to be prepared. Wundt says that Olevianus suggested the idea of a catechism and Ursinus worked it out. So the Elector appointed a commission made up of representatives of the court, the uni-

* Alting says that over against the variety of catechisms in the Palatinate the Elector wanted to introduce into all the Churches one consistent form of doctrine, which should more clearly set forth beside other doctrines, especially the person of Christ and the sacraments.

versity and the Church. These seem to have given its composition to Ursinus and Olevianus as the main authors. By comparing it with Ursinus' two previous catechisms, the larger and shorter, it is very evident that Ursinus is the main author. Frederick himself declares that what was placed there was done so after consultation with him. The only place he corrected it was in answer 78. He left a memorial written in his own hand, in which he expresses approbation of the 78th answer, which was a quotation from the Church Father, Theodoret, and was placed in the catechism so as to show that the sacrament was not merely an allegory or pretense, but that there was a real presence, which, though not a bodily one, was a spiritual one through the Holy Spirit. Probably what Frederick was careful about was that it should be in harmony with the Altered Augsburg Confession, and not contain anything that was against it. So our catechism attacks the peculiar doctrines of the high-Lutherans as ubiquity, oral manducation and the eating of Christ's body by the unworthy, but it is careful not to say a word against the Augsburg Confession, although it is evidently out of harmony with the Unaltered Augsburg on the Lutheran cultus.*

E—THE YEAR 1563

The draft of the catechism was finished by the end of 1562, so that in January of the next year a synod of the Palatinate was held to adopt it. Two accounts of this synod have recently turned up, one at Weimar, the other at Bremen. But they are really the same account,

* During this year, Boquin published another work, a "Defense of Melancthon," against Hesshuss and Villegagnon. It was published at Geneva.

and they are by a high-Lutheran. The synod met for eight days (January 11-17), at Heidelberg, and the catechism was adopted and subscribed to. At this synod answer 78, of our catechism, was placed in it instead of answer 68, of Ursinus' Shorter catechism. We gave the latter so a comparison can be made.

But do the bread and wine become the real body and blood of Christ?

No, for Christ has only one real body, which was born of the Virgin Mary, crucified for us, dead, buried, risen again, ascended to heaven, and is now there at the right hand of God, but not upon earth until he comes again to judge the quick and the dead.*

Then, on Sunday, January 17, the synod united together in the celebration of the Lord's Supper. On the 18th the Elector called the synod before him and he addressed them as follows: "We have been informed that you have given the catechism your unanimous approval. This pleases me very much. It is our wish that you will faithfully adhere to it." On January 19 he wrote his preface, published in the catechism.

About the same time that the catechism appeared a little brooklet also appeared, which was sometimes published with it, and whose publication is very significant. It was entitled "Bread-breaking." Who the author was is unknown, but its outline follows the outline of Erastus in his book on the Lord's Supper. It was probably published, because of all the novelties that Frederick had introduced, none probably met with as much opposition as the putting away of the wafer at the Lord's Supper. So to aid the introduction of bread-breaking, this booklet was published. For the Reformed not merely used bread

* During this synod a booklet of Bullinger's was scattered around.

instead of wafers, but also claimed that the bread must also be broken in order to fully obey Christ's command.

The influence in favor of bread-breaking must have come from the Churches that already used it. It is significant that none of them were Lutheran, for the Lutherans still clung to the wafer. The Churches that used bread were the French Reformed Churches and the Church of Zurich. So Frederick left the company of the Lutherans entirely when he introduced bread-breaking, and went over to the Reformed. This is all the more remarkable, for bread-breaking was as yet not by any means universally introduced among the Reformed. Bern and Basle had not yet introduced it. So this was the most prominent sign that the Palatinate Church had gone over to the Reformed. The publication of a new catechism could have been easily explained away and so could many of the other changes in cultus. But this could not, for it was only and thoroughly Reformed. For the Reformed were peculiar in holding that, while our Lord left many things open, as how the Lord's Supper should be observed, whether sitting or standing, or when, in the morning or evening, yet he had specifically commanded the breaking of bread. This led in the reformation to a long controversy with the Lutherans about bread-breaking. The proofs given in the booklet are that Christ's disciples broke the bread, as also did Paul, and that it was the custom of the early Church up to the time of the introduction of the mass. The breaking of the bread is the special reminder of how Christ's body was broken for us. But there was still another reason back of all this that Frederick seems to have had in mind. In his intense opposition to papist relics in the Protestant Church, especially artolotry or the worship of God in the wafer, this breaking of the bread broke up their

bread-god, and dispelled the magical idea connected with the Catholic rite. Hesshuss, in his "Warning against the Heidelberg catechism," attacks this booklet, as did Flacius, in his attack on the catechism.

These two books, the Heidelberg catechism and the Breaking of Bread, completed the introduction of the Reformed faith into the Palatinate, although another book, by Boquin, ought to be noted,—namely, "The Canons by which the Covenant in the Words. 'This is my body,' is defended." At its end is a part about the breaking of bread.

But while Frederick was thus virtually Reformed, he was not yet officially so. He still claimed to be an adherent of the Altered Augsburg Confession. Whether, with his Reformed tendencies, he could claim the protection of that symbol was now the problem in Germany. It was clear that Zwinglianism could not do so. But since Zwingli's time a new system of doctrine had come up, called Calvinism, which took a midway position on the Lord's Supper, between the Zwinglian and the Lutheran. Zwinglianism made the bread and wine only symbols, and the Lutheran made Christ's body and blood present in the elements of bread and wine. Calvin taught that the bread and wine were more than symbols, that, like the Lutheran, there was a presence of Christ in the elements; but that it was a spiritual presence, not a bodily, as the Lutherans hold. Christ's body was in heaven, but the Holy Ghost mediated the influence of that body to the believer at the Supper. Now, the question was up, could this new doctrine be held in Germany under the Augsburg Confession? The Catholics and high-Lutherans said no, even though the Altered Augsburg, by its revised verbiage, allowed room for it. The controversy finally went up as high as the German diet of 1566, where

Frederick made his famous defense, after which the Heidelberg catechism was permitted in Germany. It was simply tolerated, not legally adopted. The Reformed faith was not legally recognized in Germany until at the close of the Thirty Years' War. But after 1566, when, at the diet of Augsburg, the Reformed were given toleration, Frederick was free to declare himself Reformed, and he officially became Reformed. He never, as far as we know, set aside the Altered Augsburg. Indeed, after his death, when the "Harmony of the Reformed Creeds," in 1588, was drawn up by the Reformed of Germany, the Augsburg was included in it. But as Ursinus intimates in one of his last letters, it was gradually laid on the shelf for the better creed, the Heidelberg catechism. For the Heidelberg catechism is, in several points, superior to the Augsburg Confession.

1. The Augsburg Confession consists of twenty-one articles or chapters on theology, and after that rejects in seven articles the abuses of the Catholic church. It was a theological treatise. The Heidelberg catechism was better adapted for practical use.

2. The Heidelberg catechism contains some important doctrines left out of the Augsburg, as for instance, the Bible as the rule of faith (answers 19 and 21). It also omits some papistical elements of the Augsburg, as confession and the calling of the Lord's Supper the mass.

3. The Heidelberg catechism, in its emphasis on the atoning death of Christ, which is its centre, completes the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith of the Augsburg. Though justification by faith is considered the great peculiarity of Lutheranism, yet the Lutherans never completed that doctrine as Calvin did ethically and also doctrinally by the doctrines of election and perseverance of saints. The fact is the Reformed doctrine of justification

is nearer to the early Lutheran than the Lutheran, after they had gotten into the controversies. And nowhere is justification more fully and beautifully and completely given than in the Heidelberg, answer 60. The truth is the Heidelberg catechism has in it the flavor of the early Lutheranism, and that is what makes it live in the hearts of so many Germans.

CHAPTER II

IS THERE A MELANCTHONIAN-CALVINISTIC THEOLOGY

THE Opinion, given by Melancthon, in 1559, to Elector Frederick III, suggests the question at the head of this chapter. The view that there was a Melancthonian-Calvinistic theology was prominent in our Church about fifty years ago, and was emphasized by Rev. Drs. Schaff, Nevin, and others. Dr. Schaff* speaks of the Heidelberg catechism as giving strong expression to the Calvinistic-Melancthonian theory of the spiritual real presence in the Lord's Supper. Rev. Prof. G. W. Richards, D.D., in his recent "Studies on the Heidelberg Catechism," follows Dr. Schaff, and says that Melancthon came into substantial agreement with Calvin on the sacraments. Although he hedges somewhat as compared with Dr. Schaff, by saying that Melancthon was not prepared to profess himself a Calvinist. Rev. Dr. Harbaugh goes farther than either in his "Fathers of the Reformed Church," Vol. I, where he places Melancthon among the founders of the Reformed Church, a thing which the Germans have never granted. For the Reformed of Germany, in their series of the "Fathers and Founders of the Reformed Church," excluded Melancthon from the list, and the Lutherans also are careful to include him in their Lutheran series of volumes on the "Fathers of the Lutheran Church." But this view that Calvin and Melancthon met on the subject of the Lord's Supper was the view of the Mercersburg School of Theology,

* The "Swiss Reformation." 1892, page 669.

whose aim sometimes seems to have been to prove that our Church was a half Lutheran Church.*

Some of the theologians of Germany were appealed to as favoring this view, notably Heppe and Galle. But a far larger number of leading authorities oppose this view, as Lipsius, Landerer, Nitsch, Herrlinger, Jacoby and Seeborg. The Herzog or Hauck Real-Encyclopædia of Theology, which has been the great theological standard, uniformly opposes this view. The whole subject is a large one, and we can only give the merest outline of it here. It is also made somewhat more difficult because of Melancthon's changing views on the Lord's Supper, as shown between the original Augsburg Confession and the Altered Augsburg Confession. For, between these two confessions, it is undoubted that Melancthon changed his views on the Lord's Supper. But did he change them enough so as to agree with Calvin on that doctrine? Galle, whose work, "Melancthon's Theology," was published in 1840, gives perhaps the clearest outline in favor of a Melancthonian-Calvinistic theology. He attempts to prove it:

1. In his formulas, Melancthon speaks of the presence of Christ, but not of the real presence of the body of Christ.

2. He declares himself with the greatest decidedness against the doctrine of ubiquity.

3. In his letters, he attacks the high-Lutheran doctrine as artolotry.

It is, however, to be noticed that there is a difference in kind between these arguments. The first is positive, the last two are negative, and tell what he does not believe. They are, therefore, inferential. They do not

* See my "History of the Reformed Church in the United States in the Nineteenth Century," pages 512-517.

necessarily prove that Melancthon held to only a spiritual presence. The first is the line of argument on which the question must mainly be decided. For that takes up the crux to the whole question,—namely, what was the relation of the body of Christ to his presence in the elements?

For the doctrine of the Lord's Supper divides itself into two parts; first, its relation to Christ, and second, its relation to the participant. It is with the former that we are here concerned. And even this is two-sided, as viewed from the human or the divine side. The question was not what was the relation of the bread and wine to the supernatural in the sacrament. That was the human side of it. It is with the other, the divine side of the sacrament, that we have to do,—with its relation not to the elements, but to the body of Christ. The question was, how the body and blood of Christ are related to the real presence and activity of the sacrament. The Catholics and Lutherans put the body of Christ in the Lord's Supper, though they differed in its relation to the elements; the Catholics making the elements change into the body, the Lutherans not. Both put the body in the Lord's Supper; but the Reformed, as Calvin, put it in heaven. That was the difference. Calvin's view was that we are to lift our minds by faith up to heaven, where Christ is, and then the spiritual influence of that body would, like the rays of the sun, stream forth on us on earth. Where did Melancthon stand? Did he hold that Christ's body was on earth in the sacrament. Of this there is no question in his earlier years, when he agreed with Luther. What did he hold in his later years? Did he differ from Luther far enough to be Reformed, for between Lutheran and Reformed views there are many shades of meaning.

In his Opinion to Frederick he does not state anything except negatively on this point. His main contention was not a statement of the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, but the proposition of a formula that would unite the Church of the Palatinate. This we must keep in mind. He gave what seems to have been a union formula. This was not necessarily Lutheran, for he had already proposed a revised statement in his Altered Augsburg Confession, which was large enough to give room for the Reformed. So that his statement in this Opinion is not conclusive about his view on the Lord's Supper, except that he was against the high-Lutherans. The Opinion shows he opposed ubiquity, as of Hesshuss and the Lutherans of Bremen. But that was only a negative argument. Opposition to ubiquity did not necessarily mean the absence of Christ's body from the sacrament. Ubiquity was extensive, the other was intensive. Viewed from the Reformed standpoint, the denial of ubiquity would seem to exclude the presence of Christ's body in the Lord's Supper. But to one coming from the Lutheran standpoint (for their perspective was different, as we shall in a moment show), there was nothing contradictory about it. The Lutheran was so obsessed with the idea of the local presence of Christ's body at the sacraments, that to him ubiquity was not necessary. Let us then turn from the Opinion to the crux of the whole matter, the statements of Melancthon about the presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper. Here it is to be noticed that there was one expression that Melancthon almost constantly used,—“Christus adest” (Christ is present).

What did he mean,—that Christ was bodily present or only spiritually present. Was that presence only a figure or a reality. We may take time to give only one

instance.* The Frankford Recess, given only a few years before his death, says Christ is truly and essentially present and is given ("darreicht," given out) to Christians. What did he mean by truly and essentially present. The word, "truly," may mean "really" over against an imaginary presence; although the Lutherans put a higher meaning into the phrase. But the word "essentially" is significant. We must remember that in the reformation they still used the Latin terminology. Since Kant made the distinction between the thing in itself and its accidents, such words as "essence" and "substance" have been idealized. But in reformation times those words were uniformly used in the Latin or Romish significance, as referring to essence, to substance in a material sense. Christ was present as to his essence. What was his essence? It was his divine-human person. This would bring in the body of Christ as present in the Sacrament. Herrlinger says: "Melancthon holds to a contact which goes out beyond mere spiritual activity, the contact of the soul with the glorified, yet living Redeemer, who is near to us bodily in the Lord's Supper." Lipsius says: "Melancthon held to the objective presence of the whole divine-human person of Christ." Jacoby says: "Melancthon held to the unconditional real presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper and rejected a subjective moral presence of Christ, which the Swiss inclined to."

But let us not merely examine his words so as to get his position. It is necessary to go down below mere words, and get at the philosophical position from which he viewed matters. And here it is to be carefully noticed that the Lutheran standpoint was essentially different from the Reformed. The Lutheran philosophical

* See Herrlinger's "Theologie Melancthon," pages 156-162, for others.

starting-point was, the likeness of the divine and human,—a tendency toward their unity. The Reformed was, the contrast between them,—a tendency toward their anti-thesis. Now it must not be forgotten that Melancthon, having been a Lutheran, approached the whole subject from the Lutheran standpoint, which had been his from the beginning. Calvin came to his position from the Reformed side. Now two men may express themselves in the same words; and yet coming from different standpoints, really hold different views, because they are only following out their previous positions. It is possible, for instance, in using the same word, that one person may lean to the material and the other to the spiritual meaning of it, or the one to the real and the other to the figurative meaning. And so it was possible here, for the one to emphasize divinity and the other humanity. This predisposition must be allowed for. Now, remembering that Melancthon came to his later views on the Lord's Supper from a Lutheran standpoint, is there any statement anywhere that he ever gave that up? There is none. On the other hand, is there any statement that Melancthon ever passed over to the Calvinistic view, which tended to separate the divine and human in Christ, and which placed the humanity in heaven, while his divinity was on earth? On this point there is a general agreement,—Melancthon made no such statement. On the contrary, Melancthon was careful to state that in the Lord's Supper there was not merely a spiritual influence, but something more,—namely, a bodily. There is not a single line, says Professor Richard in his "Life of Melancthon," to show that he endorses Calvin's view of a glorified body and communion in heaven, to which the believer's soul is lifted by faith." He held that the communion takes place on earth in con-

nection with the eating and drinking. Herrlinger says in "Hauck's Encyclopædia," Melancthon's view was, that Christ is not only present, according to the spirit as in the Gospel, but he also communicates himself according to his substantial foundation of life. Seeborg says, "he distinctly maintains the bodily presence of Christ." These two views are so contradictory that they can not be united so as to form one theology. For the Calvinistic excludes the presence of Christ's body from earth, the Melancthonian includes it. Now the body of Christ was either here on earth, or it was not. To this Melancthon said yes, Calvin said no. Now how can these be united into one. They are contradictory and thus show the contradictoriness of the Melancthonian-Calvinistic Theology. This contradiction is so great that the attempt to unite them runs into an absurdity.

But there is still another aspect of this question. When we look at Melancthon's doctrine of the Lord's Supper, not merely in its basal principle or philosophy, but in its relation to other doctrines, what is the result? Here the prominent Lutheran doctrine of justification comes into prominence. Here the relation of the Melancthonian and Calvinistic doctrine of the Lord's Supper to justification is entirely different. According to Melancthon, the Lord's Supper is an element in our salvation. According to Calvin, the salvation is already completed and the main object of the Lord's Supper is the feeding or nourishing of the soul. According to Melancthon, the Lord's Supper is that part of the forgiveness which completes justification. According to Calvin, the Lord's Supper is the pledge of the justification which has already taken place. According to Melancthon, faith as justifying completes itself in the Lord's supper; according to Calvin, the Lord's Supper is based on the

union already accomplished. According to Melancthon, the Lord's Supper was the completion of the mystical union with Christ,—the completion of faith by a real substantial life-union with Christ. According to Calvin, that life-union had been already accomplished. Melancthon tends to make the Lord's Supper the completing of a saving ordinance. Calvin made it a sealing ordinance of a salvation already accomplished. There was, therefore, a signal difference on this point, which leads to large implications. For the two views are really different, and they cannot be united into one theology. The one makes it a saving ordinance, the other, a sealing ordinance. But an ordinance cannot be both saving and sealing at the same time. The one precludes the other. The sealing distinguished it from the saving. If the ordinance is saving, there is no need of a seal, for it saves in itself without the seal. The sealing is not necessary. Again, the sealing excludes the saving. The sealing looks upon the person as already saved, before the ordinance is administered. The mistake of the Catholic Church was, that she tried to unite the two in one ordinance and only brought confusion in the idea of the Lord's Supper. On the other hand, the Reformed were always clear in emphasizing the distinction. Calvin's view in regard to them was clear,—the Lord's Supper was sealing. While Melancthon, on the other hand, made it the completion of the saving ordinance. These two views are not contradictory as the last one noted above. But they are opposites,—contrasts, and cannot be united into one so as to make a Melancthonian-Calvinistic theology.

From this survey it can easily be seen what were the differences of Melancthon's and Calvin's doctrine of the sacrament. It is evident that they did not agree

on these two essential points.

Let us now turn from Melancthon himself to the Melancthonians or Philipists, as they were then called. They reflected Melancthon's doctrine of the Lord's Supper. They became prominent, especially at two places in the sixteenth century, in Hesse and in Saxony.

The Hessian theologians (1563) took decided ground against the Heidelberg catechism. They opposed it, especially on two points.*

1. That it holds that the real body of Christ is in heaven and it therefore cannot be communicated and received on earth.

2. That it holds that "the right hand of God" is a place and not a quality.

Their objection was reaffirmed in 1566.*

This objection emphasizes the first point we have mentioned.

More interesting perhaps is the action of the Melancthonians at Wittenberg, about 1571. They had published, what was called by their enemies, a Crypto-Calvinistic catechism, which used the Melancthonian phrase, that "Christ is truly and substantially present." They also published the Dresden Consensus, which says that "He communicates His true body and blood present there,—truly, livingly, substantially and certainly present." This would seem to teach, if anything can do so, the real active presence of Christ's body in the sacrament. After its publication, a significant episode occurred. The Elector of Saxony, who always wanted to be a true Lutheran, sent a copy of the Dresden Consensus to the Reformed Count John Casimir of the Palatinate at Heidelberg.

* See Heppe's "History of German Protestantism," Vol. II; "Studien und Kritiken," 1867, page 31.

* See Leuchter's "Antiqua Hessorum Fides," 1607.

What did the latter do but send him a letter, requesting him to ask his theologians in what it differed from the Heidelberg catechism. The Elector of Saxony gave his query to three bodies, the consistory of Meissen and the university faculties of Leipsic and Wittenberg, which were Melancthonian. All of them declared that they were against the doctrine of the Heidelberg catechism on the Lord's Supper. The Meissen deliverance declared their doctrine to be that of the Augsburg Confession and of Luther, that "Christ was present, truly, livingly, really and certainly," as Luther's catechism declared, that the Lord's Supper *is* His true body and blood. The Wittenberg faculty objected to the Heidelberg catechism, that it was not clear on the Lord's Supper as was their Dresden Consensus, or their teacher, Melancthon had been. The Leipsic theologians objected to the Heidelberg catechism that its statements were general, not specific, as in the Lutheran creeds. They held with Luther's catechism that the Lord's Supper is "to eat and drink the body of Christ, which is given ("darreicht," reached out to us) with the elements. But the Elector of Saxony does not seem to have been satisfied, because the pressure of the high-Lutherans around him was very great. So Stoessel, who (as we have seen) had been a high-Lutheran at Heidelberg, in 1560, but was at this time a Melancthonian in Saxony, drew up a statement, in which he shows that the Dresden Consensus differs from the Heidelberg catechism; the main point being, that the Lutherans taught that "the real and true body of Christ was really distributed and enjoyed." All this shows that the Melancthonians held that Christ's body was present in the Lord's Supper.

In all this, the objections of the Hessian as well as the Saxon theologians are based on our first point,—

the real and essential difference of Melancthon and Calvin in their philosophical implications. Our opponents may try to parry this argument by the statement that these Saxons and Hessians later went over to the Reformed faith. But that is not exactly correct. For only one of the three Saxon bodies became Reformed, the faculty of the university of Wittenberg. And they did not do so till forced out. But it is to be remembered that the university of Leipsic and the consistory of Meissen remained Lutheran. And as to Hesse, when Hesse became Reformed, forty years later, the leaders in 1563, who drew up the Opinion, had all died by that time, and died as good Lutherans.

Now, in view of these facts, it is hard to see how Dr. Schaff could say that the Heidelberg catechism was Calvinistic-Melancthonian. Both the Hessian and Saxon theologians, who were Melancthonians, objected to its doctrine of the Lord's Supper. Melancthon's statements can never be harmonized with the 47th and 76th answers of the Heidelberg catechism, which place Christ's body in heaven. The truth is, that this Melancthonian-Calvinistic theology is a figment, built up on contradictions and opposites, so as to be absurd. It is without a foundation of proof when it is closely analyzed. It needs to be given up with other figments that have long played a part in history, such as the divine right of kings; or in theology, as that the atonement was a satisfaction to the devil. Melancthon and Calvin never came close enough on the Lord's Supper that their doctrine can be united. All the arguments of the Melancthonian-Calvinistic adherents have been based on the merest inferences. And as the Mercersberg theology is now being given up, this doctrine, which was one of its foundations, needs also to be decently buried.

CHAPTER III

THE DEFENCE OF THE HEIDELBERG CATECHISM BY ELECTOR FREDERICK III

THE defence of the Heidelberg catechism, by Elector Frederick III, was the climax of his life. Nothing that he had done before, nothing that he ever did afterward, approached it in significance and grandeur. There he stood, one of the greatest princes of the German empire, before the great German diet and captured it, though hostile, by his eloquence and spirituality. He there gained permission for the use of his catechism. And his catechism has had a wider influence and produced greater results than anything else that he did. For he is not remembered, as was his predecessor (Otto Henry) or his two successors (Frederick IV and Frederick V) by the splendid buildings he built in the castle at Heidelberg. There is nothing at Heidelberg today that reminds one of him. His district of the Palatinate has been obliterated and absorbed in other duchies and counties. He would be forgotten, were it not for his catechism. But that great book is enough to give him earthly immortality. And the greatest and noblest act of his life, when he rose to his highest height, was at his defense of his catechism at Augsburg in 1566. Though this diet was less important than that at Worms, and Frederick was only a layman, yet the scene is worthy of being placed alongside of Luther's magnificent plea at the diet of Worms. For this was as critical a time for the Reformed Church as Worms for the whole Protestant

Church. And that crisis drew from Frederick his best powers. That great, great event has never been properly portrayed, especially in English.* So especially as some things about it have been left in a hazy light, we will here study this magnificent event in the history of our catechism.

The storm, that had been gathering ever since the publication of the Heidelberg catechism early in 1563, broke around Frederick's head three years later. An effort was made to stay the growing opposition by the holding of a conference at Maulbronn, in 1564. But it only resulted in widening the breach between the Palatinate and the Wurtemberg divines, as it revealed more clearly their decided difference about the doctrine of ubiquity. To the early opponents of the catechism, Duke Christopher of Wurtemberg and Duke Wolfgang of Zweibrücken, were now added a number of Catholic bishops who claimed that Frederick had taken away their endowments and despoiled their churches. So finally the Emperor, Maximilian, summoned a diet to meet at Augsburg in 1566. The notice of the diet was sent out January 4, 1566, and gave the three topics to be discussed at the diet.

1. How to bring the Christian religion to a better understanding.

2. How to check the destructive and corrupting sects.

3. How the Turks might be checked.

It was under the second of these that Frederick's case came, as Zwinglianism and Calvinism were looked

* Would that some painter had risen to paint this scene at the Diet of Augsburg, as the companion picture to Farel's Call to Calvin in Geneva (1536), the most dramatic scene in Reformed Church history, except, perhaps, Beza's Defense before the French Court, at Poissy, in 1561.

upon in Germany as sects. Frederick, as soon as he had received notice of the call for a diet, began to realize the danger that was threatening him and began negotiations with other Protestant princes to head off his opponents. He especially urged that they should all emphasize unity and not division; and that they should unite in order to strengthen the emperor in his inclination toward Protestantism.

The answers he received were various. The Landgrave of Hesse was favorable. But all his efforts with the Dukes of Wurtemberg and Zweibrücken were of no avail. Frederick went to the trouble to take a journey into Thuringia, and while there he met Elector Augustus of Saxony. The latter had before been unfriendly to Frederick's Calvinism, for he prided himself on his Lutheranism. But he now received Frederick in a very friendly manner. This meeting proved to be of the greatest importance at the diet, for without doubt it was Elector Augustus of Saxony who saved Frederick at that diet. Frederick only found out, through his negotiations, how great his danger was, for it was evident that the Dukes of Wurtemberg and Zweibrücken were moving heaven and earth to bring about an agreement among the Protestant princes, by which Frederick, because of his Calvinistic novelties, would be placed outside of the Augsburg Peace. He was in danger of being deposed from his electorate as Electors John Frederick of Saxony and Herman of Cologne had been before.

The danger was so great that his brother, Count Richard, warned him not to go to the diet at all, but to be represented by his statesmen as some of the other princes were. But such timidity was foreign to Frederick. He wrote to his brother a letter which breathes a true martyr spirit:

“I stand in the comforting hope in my dear and true Father in heaven, that his mighty power would use me as an instrument to publicly confess his name in the holy realm of the German empire in these later days, not only with the mouth, but in deed and truth, as once my beloved brother-in-law, Duke John Frederick of Saxony, the deceased Elector, has also done. And although I am not so presumptuous as to compare my intellect with his, yet I also know that the same God, who then kept him in the right and true knowledge of His Gospel, still lives and is so mighty as to keep me a poor and simple man; so that he can and will certainly keep me by His Holy Spirit; even though matters should proceed so far as to cost blood. And if it should please my dear Father in Heaven to give me such honor, I could never sufficiently praise Him for it, either here in time or yonder in eternity.”

One who could so write was already victorious. And so he went cheerfully to the diet.

The diet opened on March 25 with great splendor. Emperor Maximilian, to the surprise of the Protestants, at its beginning showed strong leanings to the Catholic party and against the Protestants. One of the most important aspects of this diet, for the future of the Heidelberg catechism, was the attitude of the Emperor Maximilian in regard to this case. On this point historians have not been in agreement. Hausser and Harbaugh make him out as mild in his rule toward Protestants and friendly toward Frederick. But Kluckhohn, Frederick's biographer, tells a different story, and he seems to be right,—that Maximilian was very bitter against Frederick's introduction of Calvinism into the German empire. It has been suggested that from what Maximilian had seen of the Reformed in France and the Netherlands, he gained the impression that they were rebels, and he did not want that rebellious spirit to be imported into Ger-

many. He had already enough trouble without it. Instinctively he seems to have felt, as King James I, of England, later expressed it, that royalty and presbytery go not well together,—that aristocracy, whether in Church or state, did not harmonize with the republican spirit of the Reformed. But whatever may have been his reason, certain it is that he was the leader against Frederick in this diet. This attitude of Maximilian makes Frederick's victory at the diet all the more remarkable, for already it seemed very doubtful, with the princes, Catholic and Protestant, against him. And now the emperor's attitude made it almost impossible.

Well, where did Frederick have any friends? There were only two among the German princes. But one, Landgrave Philip of Hesse, was not present, on account of his age, and so was represented by deputies. The other, Elector Augustus of Saxony, was present; but before Frederick arrived (for Frederick was not present at the opening of the diet) he, too, seems to have been swept along by Frederick's enemies, the Dukes of Wurttemberg and Zweibrücken, who used every effort to unite the Protestant princes against Frederick.

It was, therefore, high time for his arrival when Frederick at last came to Augsburg. Already these two Dukes had, on March 31, opened the meeting of the Evangelical States, as the Protestants were called, with their plan that in their official statement to be made to the emperor, Frederick was not to be permitted to subscribe to it, because they did not consider him a Lutheran. But it seems that the arrival of Frederick proved somewhat of a check to them. He went at once to the Elector of Saxony, and stated that he desired to subscribe to their declaration to the Emperor. When Augustus made this known to the Protestant states they declared that he must

roundly and fully declare his adherence to the Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper. And they produced a formula that they required him to sign. But at this, Elector Augustus gave expression to his dissatisfaction. For he was jealous of what seemed to him to be an attempt of Wurtemberg to control everything. Besides, he had brought with him his professor, Peucer, the son-in-law of Melancthon, who continually warned him against the theologians of Wurtemberg, that they were not sound Lutherans because they were introducing the new doctrine of ubiquity. He, therefore, gave expression to the thought that, if they were going to shut Frederick out of the peace because he introduced the new doctrines of Calvinism, Wurtemberg would also need to be looked after for introducing the new doctrine of ubiquity. He, therefore, declared that he was not willing to have Frederick shut out. There may have been another reason, a political one, why Elector Augustus took this position. It was that if Frederick was deposed as an Elector, he did not know where this would stop. His predecessor, John Frederick, had been so deposed. And perhaps the thought may have come to his mind that after they had done away with Frederick for his Calvinism, he might be the next one to be deposed for his Melancthonianism, which was not at all popular in many parts of Germany, especially if the hot-headed Duke of Wurtemberg got control. Besides the fact that this deposition of Frederick would be done by a Catholic emperor, was putting too much power into their hands, which they might use to depose all Protestant Electors. He seems to have had more foresight than any of the Protestant princes there. But whatever his reason, he held back from setting Frederick outside the Peace of Augsburg.

When all this was made known to Frederick, he ex-

pressed surprise that his orthodoxy should be questioned. He made a reply on April 25 that he had never yet rejected the Augsburg Confession, but that what he rejected was the new doctrine of ubiquity of the high-Lutherans, which was also rejected by Saxony, the Mark, Hesse, Denmark and other Churches. He urged the Protestants not to allow any division to come between them as unity against the Catholics was so greatly needed. As to his catechism, it was not opposed to the Augsburg Confession, but like it was based on the Bible and the ecumenical creeds and councils. As all were agreed that the body and blood of Christ were present in the Lord's Supper, the strife had become largely a matter of words. If he were shut out it would be an injustice. And he reminded them that the hot theological leaders, who condemned one prince today, would condemn another tomorrow. He especially prayed Elector Augustus to prevent a division among the Protestants at that diet. Let them all become united in a deliverance to the Emperor, he said, and their theological differences could be settled later.

This able plea for unity still further won Elector Augustus, who already sympathized with Frederick against ubiquity. He, therefore, declared that he was opposed to any ostracism of Frederick or the insertion of any clause condemning Zwinglianism. Thus the Protestant princes were not able to come into unity in ostracizing Frederick. Nevertheless, the two Dukes labored to bring it about, and as late as May 11 they introduced a paper showing that Frederick's doctrines were not in accord with the Augsburg Confession, and, therefore, ought not to be permitted in Germany.

But before they attained their end the Emperor himself took a hand in the matter. The Protestants had failed to unite in isolating Frederick. What they could

not do, the Catholics rose up to do in another way. The bishop of Worms and the chapters of Neuhaus and Sinsheim, whose property Frederick had sequestered, now brought complaints against him. What capped this matter was that a weak Lutheran prince, Margrave Philibert of Baden, should lend himself to be their tool. It seems that he, with Frederick, ruled the principality of Sponheim in western Germany. Both had introduced Protestantism into that district, but Frederick had gone farther than Philibert, and had cast out all relics of papacy, as altars, etc., and had tried to introduce the Palatinate liturgy, which was Reformed. Against the introduction of such novelties, Philibert entered complaint against Frederick. These complaints were given to Frederick, and he was required to give an answer within two days. But as they did not come into his hands until the close of the first of the two days, he had very little time for preparation.

Then Maximilian, after a conference with the Protestant States, issued a decree against Frederick. The decree was that Frederick must give up the endowments he had taken from the chapters of Neuhaus and Sinzheim, and set aside his novelties in Sponheim. The decree also ordered that all the Calvinistic novelties, which he had introduced into his churches and schools, were to be cast out. If he did not do this he would be deposed, and the Elector's hat would be transferred to his son, Lewis. The dukes had triumphed. The ban of the empire was about to be placed on Frederick. We thus see how nearly did it come to pass that the Heidelberg catechism should be utterly suppressed in Germany. Had it been done we never would have had our catechism. All this reveals the tremendous crisis on Frederick, with the probability of his losing his case. Nothing saved him

and his catechism,—but himself. And the fourteenth of May, 1566, in which he made this memorable defense, will ever go down in the history of our Church as one of its greatest days.

On the fourteenth of May the Elector called the diet together in order to have the decree against Frederick ratified. But one voice was lifted up against the procedure. The Elector of Saxony declared that the whole matter was done in too much haste. He did not publicly oppose it, though he thought it wrong. Immediately after this Frederick received the command from the marshal of the realm to appear before the Emperor. He came, expecting to make a defense against the charges brought by the Catholics and Philibert. But instead he was summoned to defend himself before a decree that had a much wider ringer than that,—namely, his threatened deposition. The whole method was a violation of all German custom. What most agitated Frederick was the fact that the decree was not first published before the Protestant States before it was acted on by the German diet. Such an act as this threatened the rights and liberties of the Protestants. Another impropriety was that he had to make his defense, not only before the Protestant princes, but before the Catholic princes also. He considered that their presence prejudiced the case as they were all against him. Such were the odds against him. But quickly recovering himself, he recognized the great issue at stake. And he asked for a brief time to think the matter over, only remarking as he went out, that one of the two points in the decree touched his conscience, over which God alone was the sovereign.

Hardly a quarter of an hour had elapsed before Frederick again entered the diet-chamber, attended by three of his leading councilors. He was, according to a com-

mon tradition, also attended by his son, John Casimir, who carried a Bible after his father. Frederick, first of all, complained that he had been condemned unheard; that the judgment had been given before his defense had been made. He had confidence in his imperial majesty, that what was accorded to the lowest criminal would be accorded to him. He then continued :

“Although I have hitherto not been able to come to a perfectly clear understanding on the precise points to which charges have been presented against me and requisitions made; yet so much I promise myself, from the reasonableness of his Imperial Majesty, that he will not commence the process by the execution of the sentence, but that he will graciously hear and weigh the defence I shall make; which, if it were required, I would be ready to make undaunted in the centre of the market place in this town. So far as matters of a religious nature are involved, I confess freely that in those things which concern the conscience, I acknowledge as Master, only Him, who is Lord of Lords and King of Kings. For the question here is not in regard to a cap of flesh, but it pertains to the soul and its salvation, for which I am indebted alone to my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and which, as his gift, I will sacredly preserve. Therefore I cannot grant your Imperial Majesty the right of standing in the place of my God and Saviour.

“What men understand by Calvinism I do not know. This I can say with a pure conscience that I have never read Calvin's writings. But the agreement at Frankford and the Augsburg Confession that I signed at Naumberg, together with the other princes, of whom the majority are here present, in this faith I continue firmly, on no other ground than because I find it established in the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. Nor do I believe that any one can successfully show that I have done or received anything that stands opposed to that creed. But that my catechism, word for word, is drawn, not from human, but from divine sources, the references that stand in the margin will show. For this reason also

certain theologians have in vain wearied themselves in attacking it, since it has been shown them by the open Scriptures how baseless is their opposition. What I have elsewhere publicly declared to your Majesty in a full assembly of princes; namely, that if any one of whatever age, station or class he may be, even the humblest, can teach me something better from the Holy Scriptures, I will thank him from the bottom of my heart and be readily obedient to the divine truth. This I now repeat in the presence of this assembly of the whole empire. If there be any one here among my lords and friends who will undertake it, I am prepared to hear him and here are the Scriptures at hand. Should it please your Imperial Majesty to undertake this task, I would regard it as the greatest favor and acknowledge it with suitable gratitude. With this, my explanation, I hope your Imperial Majesty will be satisfied, even as also your Imperial Majesty's father, the Emperor Ferdinand of blessed memory, was not willing to do violence to my conscience, however pleasant it would have been to him, had I consented to attend the popish mass at the imperial coronation at Frankford.* Should contrary to my expectations, my defense and the Christian and reasonable conditions which I have proposed, not be regarded of an any account, I shall comfort myself in this that my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ has promised to me and to all who believe that whatsoever we lose on earth for His name's sake, we shall receive an hundred fold in the life to come."

Thus with a martyr-like willingness to loose all for Christ, he closed by passing out of the domain of law, German or other, into the realm of conscience, which no man can force. The Christian courage, the deep conscientiousness and the great spiritual force, revealed in his address, made a most profound impression on the diet, even on his enemies. It is too much to say that he

* On that occasion Frederick, in his Puritanic reaction against everything "papistic," refused to attend the Catholic service of the coronation.

had won his antagonists, but they were awed for the moment. His solitary friend was quick to seize the psychological moment. For Elector Augustus of Saxony clapped Frederick on the shoulder in the presence of the Emperor and the assembled princes, and said: "Fritz, you are more pious than all of us." He evidently spoke what all felt after hearing such an address. And Margrave Charles, of Baden, the brother-in-law of Frederick, who did not belong to the high-Lutheran party, at the end of the session, gave his judgment to some nobles standing around him, "Why do we attack this prince, when he is more pious than we are?" This was true, for there was not a prince in all that diet that had the spirituality of Frederick. The only whisper of dissent that broke the silence after the address was from the Cardinal of Augsburg, who reproached Frederick that he had called the mass a papal abomination. It is also an interesting fact to note, that when Frederick made his address, there were at that diet and may have been present in its session, two men who saw its wonderful impression with very different feelings. The one was Hesshuss, who was there as the court-preacher of duke of Zweibrücken, who saw the catechism he hated permitted to be used in Germany. The other was Dr. John Crato, the patron of Ursinus, who saw the catechism composed by his protégé, thus vindicated. He doubtless felt rewarded for all he had done for Ursinus as a student.

The one who was most disappointed seems to have been the Emperor Maximilian himself. He had hoped that the whole matter could be quickly and easily settled and Frederick ostracized. He was greatly dissatisfied with Frederick's defense of his faith and of his catechism. So as the enemies of Frederick had thus far failed to gain their end, other tactics were now resorted

to. Since Frederick claimed to adhere to the Altered Augsburg Confession, the Emperor determined to get the Protestant States to declare that they adhered to the Unaltered Augsburg Confession, which would shut Frederick out. In this he was assisted by the Dukes of Wurtemberg and Zweibrücken.

So five days later (Map 19) the Emperor gathered the councilors of Saxony and Brandenburg (the Elector of Brandenburg was not at the diet, the Elector of Saxony in the meantime had gone home), together with the other Protestant princes. He reminded them of what Frederick had said in his defense, that he adhered to the Augsburg Confession as far as it agreed with the Bible.* And he asked them whether they still recognized Frederick as one of their number. At this the councilors of Saxony (for Elector Augustus had left behind him one of the most astute members of the diet, a councilor named Lindamuth) declared that they were without instructions in the matter, and they would have to ask the decision of their master on a matter so important. And they thought that in view of its far-reaching effect, the other Lutheran States, some of them not present, ought to be heard from. They asked for delay, which the Emperor reluctantly granted. But the Saxon councilors became only the more convinced that the act of the Emperor was only a secret play to get more of the control of Germany into the hands of the Catholics. They gained the support of the Hessian, Baden and other delegates, who finally demanded that if any action was taken against Frederick as a Calvinist, similar action ought to be taken against those who held to the doctrine of ubiquity. So finally the Protestants presented a declaration to the Emperor, stating that Frederick was an adherent of the Augsburg

* This was exactly the position that Luther used to take.

Confession on the doctrine of justification and other articles of faith. And as to the one article about the Lord's Supper, they could not disown him. They assured the Elector that they steadfastly held to the Augsburg Confession and would not allow any sect, Zwinglian or Calvinistic, to find a place in their churches. And they were unwilling to give into the hands of others (the Catholics) who did not belong to their party, the decision as to who was recognized as an adherent of the Augsburg Confession. For under this pretence there might be injustice done (to Protestants). And finally they also reminded the Catholics, that they too had their own differences among themselves, as in regard to justification (referring to Cardinal Contarini's Evangelical doctrine of justification) and other doctrines.

Thus, Frederick was saved a second time. But the Emperor was not satisfied. He still labored at the matter, and on May 23 he again tried to have the decree of May 14 passed, but in vain. But by this time the opposition to it had solidified into a group who steadfastly opposed it. Moreover, the repeated actions of the Emperor only made the Saxon councilors the more suspicious of a Catholic trick in it all, and they were firmer than ever in preventing any action of the Protestants against Frederick. But while the Evangelical States, through the Saxon councilors, nullified the intrigues of the Catholic party, they were also, on the other hand, greatly exercised to show that they did not belong to those who held to Frederick's doctrine of the Lord's Supper. They, therefore, on May 23, sent for Frederick, and through the Saxon councilors gave him a most earnest admonition about his doctrine of the Lord's Supper. To this Frederick answered through his chancellor, Probus, that as to the Lord's Supper he taught nothing else in his cate-

chism and allowed nothing else to be preached than what was in the Augsburg Confession. So finally, on the morning of May 24, a meeting of all the Protestant States was held. Frederick was present, attended by his chancellors and his son, John Casimir. He was there very sharply charged that what was taught by his theologians in his churches and schools, yes, by himself at the diet, was more dangerous than anything taught by Calvin and Ecolampadius. And they earnestly asked him to desist from this, at least until a conference could be called.

And now we come to his second great address at the diet. He agreed with their last declaration to the Emperor and hoped they would ever carefully guard against division and would always remember that what happened to one today might happen to another tomorrow. He then again declared his adherence to the Augsburg Confession. But that as to the Lord's Supper he was ready to be instructed out of the Bible. Of Calvin's and Zwingli's doctrines he knew nothing and had nothing to do with them. Then he took the Bible, laid it on the table and urged all who were present to teach him something better out of the Bible. But no one among them was willing to enter the lists (for Frederick was evidently recognized as not only the most spiritually-minded among them, but the best versed in the Bible). He continued, therefore, saying that if he were reproached for having weakened from the Augsburg Confession, he could understand it in no other way than that he had gone back on his subscription to that Confession (which he had before denied).

This second address of Frederick, like the one of May 14, made a deep impression on those gathered there, and for a time there was silence. Then they all united on the holding of another conference at Erfurt, in order

to come to a closer union. Frederick to the last refused to drive away his teachers and professors without any trial; he also declared that he would not order their books to be destroyed. And he finally reminded them that one could as little dictate order in his realm as would please the others. He asked whether they wanted to start strife because of what had happened at this diet. None of them was willing, for they recognized his greatness of mind and the need of unity.

Frederick left Augsburg on the afternoon of that day, but before he left, he was dismissed graciously by the Emperor. And yet Maximilian, though appearing here friendly to Frederick, was none the less determined to exterminate Calvinism in his realm. For on that very day he expressed himself bitterly against the Evangelical States for their decision, and praised Mecklenburg for its (high-Lutheran) stand, but ridiculed Lindamuth. Frederick also bade good-bye to the Spiritual Electors, who were all Catholic, with whom was the papal legate. These, like their sovereign, were gracious to him. Frederick then gave a farewell banquet to the Protestant princes and left Augsburg.

He returned to Heidelberg on the Friday before Whitsunday. He was welcomed with great joy by his people, some of whom looked upon him as resurrected from the dead; for the rumor had repeatedly come that he was deposed; yes, that he had been beheaded. The next day he publicly joined with the congregation in the Holy Ghost Church at Heidelberg at the service preparatory to the communion. At that service he grasped Olevianus' hand and publicly admonished all the congregation to the same faithfulness as had animated him. On that Sunday he, with his son John Casimir and the court, partook of the holy communion.

The conference was held at Erfurt the next September, but it turned out to be a small one and was of little importance. None of the princes were present in person, and only a few sent deputies. The opposition against Frederick seemed to have burned itself out and a reaction to have taken place. Even Duke Christopher of Wurtemberg had had his eyes opened in the meanwhile to the great danger to Protestantism in Germany, that came through all this effort against Frederick. And he instructed his delegates against voting for Frederick's condemnation. He was, however, angered by the attack made there on ubiquity, and started a movement toward calling a synod of all Germany. This, fortunately for Frederick, found little favor among the princes.

And so Frederick finally gained victory for his cause, and the Heidelberg catechism was allowed to be tolerated in Germany. But it is none the less true, as Prof. Boquin, the oldest professor of theology in his university, said at in his funeral address on Frederick, "When it comes to martyrdom, to joyful willingness to suffer for the righteousness of the matter, dare we not truthfully count this pious prince among the martyrs of Christ." And we can join in this tribute. For Frederick, like Saul among Israel, rose head and shoulders above all, even the Emperor, at this diet. He was the uncrowned king there. And we can not thank him enough for this defense, which, as almost by a miracle, preserved to us our catechism. All honor to Frederick for his deep spirituality and wonderful eloquence at this diet!

B

CASPER OLEVIANUS

CHAPTER IV

THE THREATENED MARTYRDOM OF OLEVIANUS AT TREVES (1559)

Before Casper Olevianus became one of the authors of our catechism he had to pass through a baptism of fire. When our catechism so beautifully speaks of this life as a "vale of tears,"—a *via dolorosa*,—Olevianus knew by actual experience what that meant: for almost out of the fires of martyrdom at Treves he came to Heidelberg to write the catechism. Recently Rev. Julius Ney, the pastor of the beautiful Memorial Church of the Protest, at Spires, Germany (the Church which commemorates the Protest of 1529, from which we are all called Protestants), has published two interesting articles, entitled, "The Reformation in Treves." The fact that they are based on his original researches in the archives of Coblenz, Spires, Zweibrücken and elsewhere, gives them great value and authority. Heretofore, except in Südhoff's "Olevianus and Ursinus," we have had only brief glimpses of Olevianus' life at Treves, but these articles throw a flood of light on the subject. Olevianus was at Treves only six months in 1559, but he went through more in that brief time than in all the rest of his life. The story of it reveals his great ability as a preacher, and

also his heroism. This part of the life of the author of our catechism ought to stir us who love the catechism to high devotion; yes, even martyrdom for our day, if necessary.

The history of this period divides itself into three parts:

1. The early preaching of Olevianus (August 10 to September 17).
2. The first entrance of the Elector of Treves (September 17 to October 26).
3. The second entrance of the Elector of Treves (October 26 to December 31).

It was in June, 1559, that Casper Olevianus came back to his native city, in order to preach the gospel. (Farel, the great reformer, had first told him that it was his duty to go home and preach the gospel. And the consistory of Geneva, in response to letters from Treves asking for Protestant services, had appointed him). But it seemed a foolhardy thing for this young theologian, just out of Calvin's Theological Seminary at Geneva, to attempt such a thing. For Treves was the seat of one of the great Catholic Electors of Germany. It prided itself on having been attached to Catholicism for fourteen centuries,—that is, since the days of Constantine the Great,—indeed, so faithfully attached that it had received the name of Holy Treves. And besides all this it had, just before Olevianus' time, become the guardian of the "Holy Coat of Christ," a very sacred relic which was worshipped there every few years, as it was publicly shown. In view of all this, what possibility was there that such a devoted Catholic city would at all allow Protestantism to enter. Olevianus was like a man putting his head into a lion's mouth in attempting it. Indeed it almost looked as if he, like the early Christians,

courted martyrdom, which indeed, as we shall see, he narrowly escaped.

On his arrival his first act was to get a position so as to be able to live. On June 26, the records say he made application to the city council for a position as teacher. In his request he expressed a desire that he might be of service to his native city, that his recently deceased father had, at great expense, educated his two sons and had often admonished them to exhibit thankfulness to their city. As he did not wish to be a burden to his widowed mother, he desired to use his talents for the benefit of the youth of the city. He preferred to labor there at a smaller salary than he could get elsewhere. The city council accepted his request, for it, on its part, was somewhat proud of him, as although only 23 years of age, he bore the title of Doctor (he had received the title of Doctor of Laws at the university of Bourges), and he is generally named on the records of the archives as "Doctor" or "Doctor Casper." He was to receive a salary of 100 gulden (about \$40.00), and was to deliver lectures on logic and philosophy, on which subject no lectures had been delivered at the university of Treves for some time. They were to be delivered in a school building endowed for that purpose, but unused. The rector of the university seems not to have been informed of this arrangement, and when he learned of it he said: "Teach courageously out of the Bible, for the priests greatly need it." This Olevianus proceeded to do by using the Logic of Melancthon, in which there were many doctrines and proof-texts from the Bible, which he utilized to teach gospel truth. But as these lectures had to be given in the Latin language, the number of his hearers was small. This did not suit such an active young preacher like him, and the smallness of his audience was

especially galling to him, for the priests, who were his first opposers as they already smelt the heresy of Protestantism, ridiculed him on that account.

I. THE EARLY PREACHING OF OLEVIANUS

He, therefore, a little over a month after his arrival, sought a wider sphere of influence, and on one of the city's buildings, the Steip, he nailed, on August 9th, a notice that on the following day, which was a great Catholic festival day, St. Lawrence Day, he would, between 8 A. M. and 10 A. M., preach in his school in the German language. He also gathered the children and began teaching them the German catechism. He did not wait to get permission of the city council to do this, but it is probable that he had an understanding with some of its members, who were inclined to Protestantism, about the matter. For the scandalous lives of the clergy had caused a number of the citizens to incline to Protestantism. One of the priests complained, in 1548, to the synod that the clergy preached on Christ's fasting in the wilderness, but they lived after the fashion of Epicurus,—they lay fasts in others, but themselves keep bacchanalian festivals. Some of the Protestants were among the most prominent in the city, as John Steuss, the head burgomaster of the city, who had been in the city council for thirty years, and for six years had been at the head of the city's government. With him was his brother, Peter, the head of the weaver's guild; also some of the sheriffs and members of the city council, as Peter Sirck and Otto Seel. They had become more hopeful of a Protestant movement since it had been introduced into neighboring districts, as Beldenz and Zweibrücken, and neighboring towns, as Trarbach. Calvin had had a letter from Sirck

and Seel, and it was a letter from them to Geneva, that had led the Genevese to send a preacher in Olevianus.

On the next day, his birthday, Olevianus preached to a great crowd that filled his school. Many, instead of going to mass, went to hear what novelty he, like Paul of Athens, would tell. Among them was the secretary of the city council, Dronkman, a devoted Catholic, who became one of Olevianus' greatest enemies, and yet he is a very important character to us in this study, as it is to his diary that we owe almost all our knowledge of what happened to Olevianus here, for he was a very careful secretary and kept a fine record of events. It seems strange that a Catholic, Olevianus' worst enemy, should be his best witness to us. It is to Dronkman that we owe an account of what Olevianus preached upon at that first service. Olevianus might have preached an irenic gospel,—that is, not attacked Catholicism, and perhaps that would have been wise at that time. But Olevianus, like Paul at Athens, when his soul was stirred up within him at the idolatry around him, seems to have been roused by the gross superstitions of Treves. His sermon was against Catholic errors, such as the mass, processions, the worship of saints, etc. His sermon was received with joy by some, but with hatred by others. Dronkman declared that his impression was that it would cause an uproar in the city, and he proved a true prophet, as we shall see.

Two days later the preaching of Olevianus was brought before the city council by a Catholic,—Nussbaum,—who asked that it be prohibited. Olevianus was, therefore, called before the council. This was his first appearance before the city council, but not by any means his last: for he, like Paul before the Sanhedrim, had to repeatedly defend his new faith. He there declared that

“he was ready to stop preaching if so ordered by the council.” That day it did not come to a prohibition of his preaching, but the next day he wrote to the council, asking that there might be no hasty decision, as many of the citizens had not heard him or knew of the matter only by hearsay, and it would not be right to condemn him unheard. He declared that his doctrine was taken from no other source than the Word of God. He promised that if allowed to continue teaching, he would do so peaceably. So having had an understanding with the Evangelical members of the council he again preached that day, Sunday, August 13. On that day a meeting of the city council was held, the Catholics being in the majority, but its Evangelical members defended his preaching. They prevented any action against him by shrewdly suggesting that the matter be referred to the different guilds, which, at that time, were of the greatest influence in every German town.

This reference of the matter to the guilds revealed an interesting situation. Of the thirteen guilds of the city, the weavers was by far the most influential. It had eight members in the city council. It was the one that was most inclined toward Protestantism, and it voted that Olevianus should continue to preach and teach. They offered that if the city would not pay his salary they would do so, and, if the city would not allow him the school building for preaching, they would provide a place. The tailor’s guild also decided favorably to Olevianus’ preaching. The smiths, to whom there belonged a number of rich goldsmiths, also desired him to preach. Thus three guilds were in his favor. Of the remaining ten guilds, eight declared their willingness to have him continue his teaching in Latin, but that his school building should not be used for his preaching in German. Only

two guilds—the butchers' and grocers'—wanted him entirely silenced. As a result of this action of the guilds, he was not permitted to preach in the school, but he was not forbidden to preach elsewhere. So the Evangelical members of the city council found another place for him—the St. Jacob's Hospital Church. This Church did not belong to the Catholic Church, but to a hospital, and was the property of the city. It could, therefore, be used. To it Olevianus went on the following Sunday, August 20, accompanied by a crowd of Evangelical citizens.

Up to this time only the city council had taken action, but now another power steps in, for Treves had a double government. It was governed by its own city council and also by the Elector, who had an electoral council. The city council looked after the temporal affairs, the electoral after the religious. The Elector and his authorities now began taking a hand. He was away from Treves when Olevianus began preaching, attending the diet of the German Empire at Augsburg. He had left behind him a governor, who acted in his place, and together with his electoral council tried to hinder the Protestant movement. They also acquainted him with what was taking place in the city. So on Monday, August 21, after the first service in St. Jacob's Church, five members of the electoral council appeared before the city council and asked by whose authority this new religion of Olevianus had been permitted in the city. Peter Steuss that day presented a paper to the council, which reminded them that the last diet had permitted the free exercise of the religion of the Augsburg Confession, on the basis of the freedom granted by the Augsburg Peace of 1555.

The electoral councilors again came before the city council on August 22 and Olevianus was called before them. This was his second speech to them. He de-

clared that God's honor had led him to preach—that nothing was more needed for Germany than the Word of God. He declared that he had taught in Latin, but as his hearers were few and for this he had been ridiculed by the priests, he had begun to use the German in his religious teaching. No one had given him advice to preach, but he declared he was willing to obey the Elector's command. On Thursday, August 24, the electoral council considered how Protestant preaching might be suppressed in Treves. They determined that the first step was to get some of the Protestant sheriffs out of the city council; and so they call before them, August 25, all the sheriffs in that council as those who held this office had been appointed to it by their master, the Elector of Treves. Three of them—Sirck, Seel and Pisport—were Protestant. Only Seel and Pisport came. The president of the electoral council, as governor, charged them with violating their oath to the Elector by being friendly to Protestantism. They denied this. When a number of the sheriffs declared that they remained Catholics, Seel boldly declared that he was an adherent of the Augsburg Confession. Pisport did not declare that he was a Protestant (the truth was that he had gone to Olevianus' first service out of curiosity, but had been impressed, and afterwards, as we shall see, became a staunch Protestant). He said he believed in God Almighty and Jesus Christ. He had heard Olevianus preach, but had none the less attended the Catholic service at the cathedral. He was ready to hear anybody, even if he were a juggler. The president then suspended Seel and Pisport. Seel replied that if the suspension were legal, he must say that he placed the salvation of his soul above all worldly matters. But he questioned the right of the president to suspend him, and protested against it. The

Electoral had appointed him, and he, alone, could suspend him. He declared that, therefore, he would not stay out of the city council. Pisport took his suspension somewhat humorously, saying that he would play a game of draughts with the governor and drink a glass of beer with him, and then the war would result in reconciliation. He little knew the ferocity of Catholic vengeance on those who left their faith, as he found it out afterwards. It proved to be a tragic and not a humorous incident. The president then also suspended Sirck, though absent, because he had declared, in writing, that he adhered to the Augsburg Confession.

The electoral council, having failed to get the city council to act, now went directly to the citizens and invited the guilds to a friendly conference. This failed because it was contrary to custom for the electoral council to do such a thing, as it belonged to the city council. So the electoral council appeared before the city council, August 24, and asked them to forbid Olevianus to preach. So Olevianus was ordered to appear before the city council again, and there the electoral council forbade him to preach any more under danger of severe penalties. They worried him at the hearing with trying to get him to tell which one of the guilds had asked him to preach, but he replied that he had not received authority from any of the authorities to preach in German, but had been called to it by the people. And he appealed in defense to the act of the German diet, granting the right of worship to the adherents of the Augsburg Confession.

Olevianus preached again on Sunday, August 27, and on the 28th the president of the electoral council again declared to the city council that it was desirable to ask the city council to arrest Olevianus and keep him in custody until the Elector's return. That council also

declared that they would not meet with the city council as long as they allowed the three Protestant sheriffs, Sirck, Seel and Pisport, to sit as members of their body.

On Monday, August 28, Sirck, Seel and Pisport appeared before the electoral council to ask whether the president of that body had the right to suspend them without the Elector's special order. The president replied by asking Sirck whether any one had the right to appoint preachers without the Elector's order, as Sirck had done in the case of Olevianus. He asked Sirck whether all this did not encourage riot and disorder. Sirck then declared that he would not again appear before the electoral council until the Elector's return. They also asked on what ground that council declared that the action of the German diet, giving liberty of worship to the Lutherans, did not apply to them in Treves. In the discussion at the electoral council that day its president declared that Olevianus had preached the day before in spite of the decision of the council forbidding it. And he brought up a new point, which became very important in the later history of the controversy—namely, that Olevianus was not an adherent of the Augsburg Confession, but was a Calvinist. This charge he might make, for Olevianus had been a student of Calvin. It also brought up the new legal point, whether the Augsburg Confession was large enough in its meaning to include the Calvinists and protect their worship in Germany. The Zwinglians were not protected by it. But now a new doctrine, the Calvinistic, a higher doctrine of the Lord's Supper than the Zwinglianism, half way between Zwinglianism and Calvinism, had come up, and the legal question now was whether the peace of Augsburg, which allowed the use of the Augsburg Confession, was large enough to include the Calvinists and protect them in Germany. This ques-

tion was not fully and definitely decided until about ninety years later, at the end of the thirty years' war (1648), although the German diet of 1566, in permitting the Heidelberg catechism in Germany, gave the Reformed toleration, but not recognition. Before 1648 they existed *de facto*, but not *de jure*.

Sirck replied to the electoral council that Olevianus was not a sectarian, meaning a Zwinglian, and that they did him injustice. The president then weakened and evaded the issue by saying that he was no theologian and did not understand the matter, at which Sirck replied that then he had no right to make the charge.

Meanwhile Protestantism grew apace through the preaching of Olevianus, for he preached on weekdays in spite of the prohibition. His adherents grew daily, so that the Catholic Chronicler said (August 20) that no one came to the Catholic confessional, the canons of the Catholics were despised, and Olevianus was master of the city. Truly, Olevianus had lit a spark that had produced a great conflagration, and all in only ten days time. Either the people were ripe for Protestantism or he was a great preacher, especially for a young theologian. Both were probably true.

On that day (August 29) the electoral council came to the city hall to meet with the city council, and also with the guilds. The electoral council, seeing Sirck, Seel and Pisport seated among the members of the city council, protested against it. The city council replied that they still had their sheriff's letters of appointment, together with the seal of the Elector. Burgomaster Steuss declared that the president of the electoral council had no right to suspend them. Then Hompheus, a member of the electoral council, brought forward a second charge against Olevianus' preaching. He declared that privilege

of worship according to the Augsburg Confession, was only given to the free cities of the empire, but Treves was not a free city, but an imperial city, which meant that it was under the direct control of its prince, one of the Electors of the empire. (We may pause to note here, that they tried to prohibit Protestant preaching for two reasons: First, because Olevianus was a Calvinist; and second, because Treves, as an imperial city, was not under the law which permitted Lutheranism in it.) Hompheus warned the guilds against the evil of leaving their old religion, and asked them to declare to the council which religion they adhered to. It was evident, after this new point had been raised, that the Catholics would fight Protestant preaching legally to the bitter end. And it also revealed that further attendance on Olevianus' preaching would only bring serious dangers on the citizens. The issue was now clearly raised; but Olevianus, though the majority of the citizens remained Catholic, yet found his Protestant minority daily increasing, and so devotedly steadfast that, like Paul, he declared he must obey God rather than man. But he also declared that his opponents knew that he in no way attacked their persons, but only their doctrines.

And now we can see more fully his heroism, for every time he preached it was with a sword of Damocles hanging over his head. The majority of the council desired Steuss, as burgomaster, to forbid Olevianus to preach. This Steuss refused to do, replying: "It must go on, whether it be hurtful to the Catholic councilors or not." As a result of this there were stormy times in the city council and the guilds. Sirck went with Olevianus to four of the guild-houses, where Sirck addressed them, and Olevianus admonished them out of the Bible, not to condemn him unheard, and invited them to come and

hear him. Sirck did everything in his power, sending a letter to some of the guilds so as to strengthen their members who might be beginning to weaken.

The leaders of the Protestants also at the end of August or the beginning of September called all those who wished to be recognized as adherents of the Augsburg Confession to the Draper's House. There they asked them whether they wished to be recognized as members of the Augsburg Confession, and took their names. The whole assembly declared they would be true to that Confession with their goods and their blood (*gut und blut*), and they praised Burgomaster Steuss for his course. (The electoral council, which, as we have seen, was the centre of Catholicism in Treves, looked on this meeting as a conspiracy against the Elector.) These Protestant citizens also declared that they were ready to raise funds for the support of a pastor; yes, they were ready to call a second Protestant minister. And a strange Protestant minister, whose name is not given, who was probably from Beldenz, preached for them on September 3.

On September 5 the city council and the guild-masters appeared before the electoral council to state the action of the guilds. The weavers, all except one, declared for the Augsburg Confession, the dyers and shoemakers desired to be adherents of the Augsburg Confession and declared that the majority wanted Olevianus to preach. The tailors also decided thus, all except five or six. So also the smiths, except five or six. Among the latter was a goldsmith, but the other goldsmiths (of whom there was a considerable number) declared for the Augsburg Confession. The masons wanted to remain Catholic, except eight or nine, but did not wish to vote on either side as to Olevianus' preaching. The other

guilds desired to remain Catholic; but all of them, with the exception of the sailors, revealed a larger or smaller minority in favor of the Augsburg Confession. Evidently, comparing these statistics with the vote of the guilds when Olevianus came, the Protestants had considerably progressed, for now five guilds declared for the Augsburg Confession against only three before, and in all of the others, save one, there was a respectable Protestant minority. Of the citizens who were not in the guilds, the barbers and cooks declared for Catholicism, as did the brotherhood and the vintners, except two or three. On the whole, it was evident that one-third of the citizens had declared for the Augsburg Confession. What wonderful progress had been made within a month under Olevianus' preaching.

II. THE FIRST ENTRANCE OF THE ELECTOR OF TREVES

The second chapter of this history begins with the return of the Elector of Treves, which caused a new factor to enter in, and one against the Protestants. While the events just mentioned had been taking place, the Elector, alarmed at the progress of Protestantism in his city, returned. He had already sent to the chapter of the cathedral at Treves a demand for the arrest of Olevianus, and they had laid it before the city council September 6, but Burgomaster Steuss protected Olevianus and asked for time to make reply. The city council, on September 7, notified the electoral council that Olevianus had given his oath that he would not leave the city, and that he would appear before court, and they hoped that this would be satisfactory to the electoral court. But the latter repeated its request for his arrest.

By this time it was evident that the adherents of

Olevianus had increased to 500 or 600 persons, not including women, children and servants. The St. Jacob's Church had become far too small for his audiences. Matters had gone so far that the Catholic members of the city council, for the sake of peace, felt it best that free exercise of worship according to the Augsburg Confession be given the Protestants. So Burgomaster Steuss, on September 9, with his fellow-Protestants, sent a communication to the Elector, stating their case, for the Elector was expected every hour.

On September 11, the guilds again made a report. The furriers, grocers and tailors made no report, as their guild-masters were not present. All the other guilds voted against the arrest of Olevianus. Of these the weavers were the most important, and they not only voted against Olevianus' arrest, but they also asked of the Elector, that a larger church and more Protestant ministers be granted to them. So the city council decided that each religion, Catholic and Lutheran, should be permitted to have its worship, and that Olevianus should not be arrested.

On that day the Protestants sent to Zweibrücken for another minister, and Flinsbach was sent to them by the Duke of Zweibrücken. He arrived on September 23. Meanwhile the situation changed very much and Olevianus and Flinsbach found it difficult to meet the growing opposition from the Catholics, which was greatly aided by the return of the Elector.

The first to act was the electoral council, who, finding that they could not get the city council to arrest Olevianus and stop the Protestant preaching, now took the matter into their own hands. On September 14, the great Catholic festival of the Elevation of the Cross, the electoral council called Olevianus before them after

his morning service in the St. Jacob's Church. The president of the council now officially forbade him to preach. Olevianus replied that he would think it over.

On that very day there came a great crowd of people to the afternoon worship. Olevianus went up into the pulpit, and before he began the service he told them that the electoral council had forbidden his preaching under severe penalties. He added these noble words: "You remember that three of your guilds, with others, asked me to preach the eternal truth of God, as I have made known to his majesty, the Elector. If you have repented of this I will not preach. But if you remain steadfast to this call and remain firm in the truth, I will also place my life and blood in danger, in order to preach the Word of God and to obey God rather than man. Those who, from the heart, agree to this shall say, Amen." The whole congregation then, with loud voices, cried out "Amen." When he afterward made the public prayer the people broke out into loud weeping. These actions in the Church were then made known to the electoral council, who considered this to be rebellion. Another account of this service, given to the city council, adds that when Olevianus admonished the people not to desert him, if the priests tried to lay hands on him, that they replied that they would stand by him with their goods and their blood (*gut und blut*)—that is, to the end. Thus the two councils were at odds. The city council had given him permission to preach, and the electoral council forbade it. The jealousy between the two prevented the order of the latter from being carried out.

Just at this critical time the Elector came back to the city, and he came back with the fixed purpose to stamp out Protestantism, that the holy city of Treves should not have its reputation besmirched by heresy. He pre-

pared himself by arming his followers, and on September 16 came to the castle, about three miles from Treves, named Pfalzel, from which he expected to make his entry into Treves. He had with him 170 armed cavalry. But his coming with soldiers alarmed the citizens, even the Catholics, who feared for their liberties. A rumor spread abroad in the city that he was coming with soldiers, that the Elector of Mayence had sent him 60 cavalry, and the Elector of Cologne would send him 100. And one of his councilors in Treves left the word drop, that things were going to go as the Elector wanted. The excitement that reigned within the city can be imagined. Already, on September 13, the city council decided to garrison the Simeon's gate, the one nearest Pfalzel. (This act was later charged by the electoral council as an act of the Protestants, and that they had done it without the knowledge of the council.) The Protestants, alarmed at the Elector's approach with soldiers, armed themselves. This led the Catholics to arms. The feeling rose so high that it almost came to a conflict. Indeed, a Protestant goldsmith was wounded and lamed by a Catholic grocer. To prevent further strife, Burgomaster Steuss, on September 16, had the chains placed across the streets.

On that day (September 16) the Elector made his entrance into the city. On the morning of that day Burgomaster Steuss reminded the council that they ought to be united in protecting the rights of the city, and that the Evangelicals were prepared to answer the Elector about the Augsburg Confession, in a way that would not harm the city. While they were in the midst of the discussion of this, a citizen falsely brought the news that the Elector was coming and was at the city gate. So they sent a committee to meet him, who found him still at Pfalzel.

His deputy promised that he, if allowed to enter, would respect the rights of the city. When the committee asked what the Elector proposed to do in regard to the adherents of the Augsburg Confession, his representative replied that he would do nothing against the right or peace of the empire. Before the committee could return to make a full report, word came that the Elector, with a great crowd, had left Pfalzel and had come to the Simeon's gate of the city. The city councilors, who had remained in the city, gave commandment to close the bars of the gate against him. When they learned what promises he had given they sent a delegate to speak personally with the Elector. And Burgomaster Steuss asked him what he would do with the Lutherans in the city—that they desired that no force should be used against them. The Elector parried this by saying: "The Emperor was their and his Lord," and Steuss declared himself satisfied. So the gate was opened and the Elector entered.

The bitterness between Protestants and Catholics was increased by an incident that occurred on Sunday (September 17), the day after the Elector's entrance. The Elector had brought with him a priest, Peter Fae, from Boppard on the river Rhine. Because the Protestants wanted preaching he would give it to them. So he sent Fae to preach to them, or at least hinder their Protestant service as much as possible if Olevianus attempted to preach. The priest, therefore, attended by a body-guard of Catholics, proceeded to the St. Jacob's Church at 7 o'clock Sunday morning. He was, however, careful to hide his priest's robes under his mantle. When he entered the Church he found that Olevianus had not yet arrived, though quite a numerous congregation had assembled. He at once ascended the pulpit and was about

beginning to preach when Olevianus, with his body-guard, entered the Church. Astonished at seeing a stranger in his pulpit, Olevianus called out to the people: "What does this mean? Is he to preach or I?" Then he asked Fae from whom he had received orders to preach. Fae replied that his Lord, the Elector, had given them. Then Olevianus turned to the people and asked: "Do you want this man to preach?" At this there arose a great noise and tumult. The women cried murder and the men seized their weapons, at the same time taking up the benches and chairs. It looked like a riot against the priest. At these demonstrations Fae deemed it wise to come down out of the pulpit. When Olevianus and others came up to him, Fae asked if he was Olevianus. When Olevianus replied, "Yes," Fae said to him: "Do you mean to prevent me by force from preaching the gospel when commanded to do so by my prince?" Olevianus replied: "I will not restrain you, but will ask the people whom they desire to hear." Fae, however, did not want him to do this. All he wanted was that Olevianus should quiet the people, for Fae was alarmed at the threatening situation.

So Olevianus ascended the pulpit and asked the people to hear Fae, and he promised that if Fae preached anything that was false he would answer it in his sermon. But the people by this time were not in a mood to hear Fae. They would not be quieted. Fae declares that by this time daggers and other weapons were drawn, threatening him. Some prominent person, he said, called out that the bell should be rung. When he saw the men grasping their guns, he began to fear and called to the leader of his body-guard to go with him out of the Church, so that no evil might come to him. At this Olevianus encouraged him and took him by his hand, keep-

ing the people from harming him, and led him safely out of the Church. Outside of the Church there happened to be standing the brothers Steuss and Sirck. Burgo-master Steuss asked Fae: "Did you come to cause a riot here? Is that what your Lord promised us?" Fae replied that not he but they had caused the tumult, and that the Elector would keep his promises. After Fae's departure, Olevianus ascended the pulpit and again put the question whether the people wanted him to preach to them as before. They, with uplifted hands and loud voices, cried out: "Yes, yes. We pray you in God's name to proceed." So Olevianus preached to them again that day. The city council, when they heard what had happened at the St. Jacob's Church, sent a deputation to the Elector, stating that it had happened without their will, and apologized for such treatment of his messenger.

Meanwhile the Elector held a meeting of his council in his palace. The dean of the cathedral wanted to have Olevianus arrested, and urged that the Catholic guildmasters be sent for. When they appeared that day the Elector declared that it was not his intention to trespass on the rights of the city, but he charged the Protestants with a conspiracy against the city. He, therefore, to preserve the old Catholic faith, wanted them to allow him to place his soldiers as guards at the city gates, together with those of the Catholic citizens. The guildmasters then left to confer with their guilds.

But his request to place his soldiers at the city gates seemed, even to the Catholics, to threaten a violation of the liberties of the city. There had, before this, been strife between the Elector and themselves, and they were suspicious that the Elector was trying to make use of the present emergency to get control of the city. So they did not agree to the Elector's request. The tense state

of mind is shown that on the next day the chains were placed across the streets by the Protestants; and on September 19 the city gates did not open till 11 A. M. The Catholics in the city, seeing that something must be done, began negotiating with the Protestants and asked that Olevianus should discontinue preaching. The city council met on September 19th and decided to give each party their rights, neither was to attack the other.

On September 20, the city secretary and syndic went to the Draper's Hall, in which the Protestants were accustomed to assemble, and received from them the promise that Olevianus would not preach on the next day—St. Matthew's Day. The Evangelicals also again presented their claims to the Elector. They declared that they had gotten Olevianus to occupy the pulpit in the St. Jacob's Church, and had demanded from him the Protestant sacraments. They declared that they were Christians of the Old and the New Testaments; that Olevianus preached according to the Augsburg Confession, and asked that he be allowed to continue preaching and they would pay his salary. They also asked the council, either to hear him or to examine him so they might know his doctrine; yes, they even offered to have a public disputation with the Catholics. They declared that the disorder in their Church would not have taken place, if it had been known beforehand that a Catholic would be the preacher. For they were not, as had been charged, inclined to rebellion.

On Sunday, September 24, the day after his arrival, Flinsbach preached and notified the Elector of his presence in the city, and the next day, Monday, he was summarily called before the electoral council at the St. Gangelph's Church. Notwithstanding that he declared himself an adherent of the Augsburg Confession, he was

ordered to leave the city before sundown. He, like Olevianus, replied that "he must be obedient to God rather than to man." He sent a letter stating the legal status of the Lutherans in Germany. After the coming of Flinsbach, the charge of the Elector of Treves that the Protestants there were Calvinists was no longer true, for Flinsbach was a Lutheran. His coming put the Protestants formally under the protection of the Augsburg Peace.

And on that day the Catholic councilors called the Catholic citizens together to consider the statement made by the Evangelicals to the Elector. They decided that neither should Olevianus preach or the second Protestant minister. They appointed committees to go to the guilds and get their views. All the guilds except the weavers, whose members belonged to the Augsburg Confession, agreed to this. They then notified the Elector that they proposed remaining true to the old Catholic religion, but did not agree to his garrisoning the city with his soldiers.

The electoral council met again on September 25. The Elector now dubbed the Protestants' "Calvinists." Although the Protestants claimed to hold to the Augsburg Confession, although not a word of Olevianus could be found which showed he was a Calvinist, yet the Protestants were from this time looked upon as Calvinists. The electoral council also considered the taking of a criminal process against Olevianus, but they feared that the Protestant leaders in the city council, which would have to act as judges, would decide against them. On September 26, this council brought forward a new plan for settling the differences, a financial one. They would demand 10,000 or 12,000 guildens of the Protestants and the dismissal of their pastors.

Then the Elector ordered the Protestants to appear

at the city hall on Thursday, September 28. Steuss replied that he could not gather them together and so sent in a paper stating their case. But the influence of the Protestants was so great that the city council, on September 28, sent a deputation, composed of both confessions, to the Elector, asking him to reply to the repeated communications of the Protestants. He then made a reply that they had already received a sufficient answer. So every effort of his to suppress Protestantism had failed. The Protestants were determined to remain true to the Augsburg Confession. Among the Catholics many had been intimidated by the Elector. But still, little as they were inclined to favor the Protestants, they were as little inclined to favor the Elector's acts of severity against the Protestants. And they also feared lest the old freedom of the city would be lessened by the Elector. The Elector finally lost patience, and as the Catholics would not do anything against the Protestants he declared that they had become a party with them. So finally, unable to frighten the Protestants by his threats, embittered by the actions of the Catholics, on September 28, he summarily left the city twelve days after his entrance. He went to his garrison at Pfalzel. The next day his electoral court left the city. This departure of their bitterest enemies proved for the time a fortunate thing for the Protestants.

During all the negotiations and in the midst of the threats against him, Olevianus had fearlessly continued active, both in preaching and in the pastorate. Over against the Elector's orders he pled God's command. "We must obey God rather than man" was his motto. And he had the joy of gathering around himself a congregation that literally hung on his lips. Burgomaster Steuss wrote, on September 9, to Elector Frederick III

of the Palatinate, that 500 to 600 of the citizens had become Protestant, and, on September 27, that the number was constantly increasing. The truth was that this 23-year-old preacher had, by the power of God's Spirit, converted hundreds of souls in less than two months. The loud weeping of the congregation, when they heard that Olevianus dared no longer preach to them, only showed their deep attachment to him. This attachment to him increased, as the report spread abroad after the entrance of the Elector, that notwithstanding the refusal of city council to arrest him, he would yet be taken by force. The report went abroad that when the grocers, coopers and sailors had come to the St. Jacob's Church and surrounded it, then the Elector's cavalry could come and capture him and the other attendants on Protestant worship. Olevianus' mother heard these rumors. She was told that some young men out of the Catholic religious houses had come to an understanding that they would climb into her house at night in order to seize her son. In her motherly anxiety she told this to some of the congregation. And they promised to look after his safety. From that time on some of the Protestants always went with Olevianus, as a body-guard, when he went to the Church, as they did also with Flinsbach. The Protestants also watched at Olevianus' house by night. Later they gave the watcher and piper in the Gangolph's tower a paper flag, with the request to hand it out if there were danger. This they did to save a panic and to get the women and children away in case of danger. The steadfastness of the Protestants is shown by a remark of the sheriff Pisport. He said: "Our Protestant Confession must go forward, even if it be a cross." Again and again the Protestants declared that they would give up property and life if necessary for their faith. When either

of the ministers preached the Church was always very full. Even the chancel and windows were full of people.

III. THE SECOND ENTRANCE OF THE ELECTOR OF TREVES

We now come to the third and last stage of this history. The Elector from Pfalzel plotted to gain control of the city by oppressions from without and plottings with the Catholics within the city. On October 2, he sent word to the city asking that the new Protestant preacher should be arrested and cast into prison. As it was not done he began the more to oppress the city from the outside. And it soon had its effect on the citizens. On October 3, he sent to the city council two communications, one denying that the Augsburg Confession was to be permitted in Treves, and the other charging John Steuss with being a law-breaker because he permitted a layman to preach. He asked that their preachers be arrested until brought to trial as criminals. He gave the council three days in which to give him an answer. When this was received by the city council it at once led to a sharp division between the Catholics and the Protestants. But at this division the Catholic party, who had not been able to do anything before because its head Burgomaster Steuss was a Protestant, now found a head and leader in the second Burgomaster Ohren.

The Elector then proceeded to carry on a peaceable seige of the town. Thus he did not permit the farmers to bring provisions into the town. Its citizens, who came out of it, were caught and sometimes abused, then brought to Pfalzel, and under oath questioned as to what they knew about the actions of the Protestants in the city. After a few days they would be set free. He held up the city's market ship on the river Moselle that came from

Frankfort, at Berncastle, so it could not get to the town. The fields and gardens of the citizens were laid waste by his men. At the same time he increased the number of his soldiers and retainers. The city was thus completely cut off from outside communications.

All this had its effect on the Catholics within the city. They felt something must be done to propitiate the Elector, so on October 4 the secretary of the city council, Dronkman, with several other appointees, went to Steuss and asked him to give up his Protestant worship in order to gain the good will of the Elector. The Protestants replied that they would be willing to suspend the preaching as soon as their two delegates sent to Spires would return. These had been sent by them so as to gain information about the legal rights of the Lutherans in Germany. These delegates were also to go to Zweibrücken to get Flinsbach's order, by which Zweibrücken sent him to Treves. This they did to show the Catholics that he was there at the order of Zweibrücken and that if the Elector did anything to Flinsbach it might involve him in complications with the Duke of Zweibrücken. It also showed that the Protestants were somewhat under the protection of that prince. Meanwhile, the citizens suffered more and more from want of food.

On October 5, the Catholics and some Protestants went to the city hall, when the answer of the Protestants was read, and the guild halls took it up in their various guild houses. The Catholics, on the basis of the reports from the guild halls, demanded that the Protestant preaching should cease and that the ministers be arrested, and that all of them must go to the city hall before sundown, where they would be protected. On that day the Protestants repeated their promise not to hold services. On October 6, because of greater pressure from the Cath-

olics, they agreed not to have religious services until the Elector permitted or the matter was settled in court, and also that they would not leave the city until they had given answer to the Elector. On October 6, the end of the three days given them by the Elector to answer his communication, a committee of nine Catholic councillors, with Burgomaster Ohren at their head, went to Pfalzel to tell the Elector what had been done and to pray his mercy and favor.

On the same day the Protestants were called before the city council and asked to sign a paper that they would have their preaching cease until the Elector gave permission, and that they would not leave Treves until they had given answer to the Elector. Steuss and the other leaders of the Protestants agreed. Meanwhile, the excitement within the city was increased by the Elector. Every new arrest of a citizen or new act of severity outside of the city only increased the bitterness of the Catholics against the Protestants, whom they regarded as the cause of all their trouble. Both parties armed themselves, and, on October 5, remained armed till 2 o'clock. The Catholics did not do anything, as they seem to have felt themselves the weaker in power.

By October 7, the oppressions of the Elector from outside, and his plottings with the Catholics within the city had stirred up such a bitter feeling between Catholics and Protestants that the latter were under arms from morning till evening, as they feared betrayal. On October 8th a new message came from the Elector making the offer that because of the faithfulness of the Catholic citizens the Protestants would be allowed to leave if they would pay 20,000 dollars. If not, they would be charged with capital crimes. And criminal prosecution in those days was a more serious thing than even to-day,

for their punishments were much more severe. For comparatively light offenses men were beheaded or hung. The two criminal charges against Olevianus and the Protestants were heresy and conspiracy,* both of which were punishable with death. We thus see the gravity of the situation of Olevianus and his friends, especially in the hands of a hostile court.

On October 10, the Elector cut off the water of the stream that flowed through Treves, thus preventing their mills from having water and their men from working. More and more the Catholics blamed the Protestants for all this, and the more moderate Catholics more and more went over to the more fanatical. The declaration of the electoral council, that for all the damages the city had suffered, the Protestants would have to pay, roused the greediness of those without property. The populace filled the beer-gardens, as they had nothing to do, and said: "drink much, for the Lutherans will have to pay the bill." The feeling between Protestants and Catholics became so acute that both sides began arming. The rumor spread abroad that the Protestants intended to betray the city, and that they had sent delegates to get military help from the Protestant nobles. Thus, their sending of the delegates to Spires and Zweibrücken, of which we have spoken, was misinterpreted and used against them. On that day the little paper flag, which the Protestants had placed on the Gangolph's tower as a signal against danger, was found by the Catholics and used as a proof that they intended to betray the city. Thus, every act of theirs was perverted to stir up the Catholics against them. Flinsbach wrote (October 10) that matters were continually becoming worse. Outside

* Goebel says they were charged with riot, treason and arson and attempt at killing.

the city there was plundering, within, the citizens were divided. He prayed for help.

On October 11, the Elector gained the victory also with the moderate Catholics, for the Catholic members of the city council met and decided that on the following morning each of the guilds should meet and consider the situation. The increased embittering of the Catholic citizens against the Protestants made it easy to see the result.

Finally, on this day, the Catholic city council decided to do what the Elector had long wanted them to do, but they had refused. They decided to arrest the two Protestant preachers and the Protestant members of their council. They, however, mitigated it into an order that these should come to this city hall and remain there until permitted to leave. Only Burgomaster Steuss could remain in his house, but was under house-arrest, and he did not, therefore, dare to leave it. They also ordered the head of the weaver's guild, Ulrich of Aichorn, and the head of the tailors' guild, John of Neuerberg, to come to the city hall. The Protestants felt that all this was a violation of their rights, yet they obeyed, as they wished to show they were not conspirators, but law-abiding citizens. But before they did it they filed a protest with a notary. By sundown they were all, the two ministers and eight others, in the city hall, under virtual arrest, but not put into prison.

These Protestant leaders sent a paper (October 12) to the city council, asking that there be a meeting of the citizens, so as to protect the liberties of the city so that they might all stand together against the Elector. The city council received this, but ordered Steuss to give up the key to the council chamber, as he was no longer recognized as burgomaster. The city council then notified the Elector of what they had done, hoping he would now lift

the siege. With their deputation to the Elector were sent several Protestants, who also took the Duke of Zweibrücken's order to Flinsbach, in order to show it to the Elector. The Elector refused to recognize these Protestants and arrested them and kept them in prison for eleven days; and one of them, Zehnder, the city syndic, who was the lawyer of the Protestants, he kept there for months.

Then the Protestants began appealing for aid to the neighboring Protestant princes, Zweibrücken, the Palatinate, and even Wurtemberg. The Elector, hearing of this, tightened his siege on the town. One of their messengers was caught as he returned to the city, and kept in the cold prison in Simeon's tower. In vain, the Duke of Zweibrücken interceded for him, for he was one of his servants; but only after twenty-two days was he left out and permitted to go to his house, and was not freed till December 15. The Elector now approached the city council about opening the city gates to him. About that time (October 16) the Protestant prisoners had their liberties curtailed. Before this they had been allowed freedom within the city hall, and their food was sent in to them by a leading Protestant. But now the latter was cut off from them. Flinsbach wrote (October 19) to his prince, giving a deplorable condition of the city, as it was without food or water, that neither party had confidence in the other, and that both lived in constant fear.

Meanwhile, the Elector, from without the city, continued his negotiations with the Catholic city council, but the latter hesitated to let him come in, lest he might, with his soldiers, jeopardize the liberties of the city. During this time the Catholics within the city labored with the weak Protestants, so as to get them back to

Catholicism. As a result the Catholics told the Elector, on October 18, that the greater part of the Protestants had come back to Catholicism. This was, however, an exaggeration; but of the guilds, only the weaver's guild, as a guild, remained true to Protestantism.

Finally, on October 26, about a month after he had left, the Elector made his second entry into the city, the city council having agreed to all his conditions. He entered with 200 cavalry, a company of 600 armed servants and a following of 50 religious and secular adherents. These soldiers and servants he quartered not on the Catholics, but on the Protestants who bore it with great suffering. The one to suffer most severely was Olevianus' mother, who had ten quartered on her at house in the Fleishgasse. This quartering of the soldiers on the Protestants caused the weak-hearted Protestants to give up because it was so exhausting to them, but a Zweibrücken correspondent wrote that 500 remained firm.

The first act of the Elector was to get rid of Flinsbach. On October 28 he was brought to the palace charged with heresy, incitement to riot and disobedience. There he defended his acts. The Elector's councilors were careful to ask him what religion Olevianus belonged to. They hoped in that way he might let something drop that would show that Olevianus was a Calvinist, so that this might be used against Olevianus afterward in his trial. They were evidently getting ready for a severe punishment on Olevianus, upon whom they looked as the main cause of all the trouble. But Flinsbach gave them no aid. He was freed on October 31, and two days later, accompanied by two of their cavalry, he arrived at Zweibrücken.

Meanwhile, the Elector also still further curtailed the liberties of the Protestant prisoners. On October

27 they were not allowed to walk about in the city hall, but must remain in their rooms.

In the meanwhile the Elector and the council were laying plans to bring criminal charges against the prisoners. The real cause of the matter—namely, their adherence to the Augsburg Confession—the Catholics did not wish to bring forward prominently, as it might involve them with the Lutheran princes, who might bring them before the bar of the empire. So some other charge must be trumped up. They, therefore, sought to find material for a charge against Olevianus that he was a Calvinist, and, therefore, he and his followers could not be protected by the law that granted liberty to Lutherans. As Flinsbach had not incriminated Olevianus in his examination, they had Olevianus' books searched, so as to find proof that he was a Calvinist. But it was in vain.

It only remained for the Elector to indict them as rebels, but this had weak grounds for defense. Still the Catholics made this the charge against them, and in three forms—sedition, rebellion and breach of the religious peace. These charges were brought against Burgomaster Steuss, the sheriffs, Peter Sirck, Otto Seel and John Pisport, against councilors Peter Steuss, Ulrich of Aichorn, John Steub, John of Neuerberg, Dr. Casper Olevianus and four others, thirteen in all. It was charged that these, instead of taking to the Augsburg Confession, had joined themselves to a schismatic fanatic, Olevianus. These had, against the order of the rector of the university and council, allowed Olevianus to preach first in the school and then in St. Jacob's Church, all of which was against the order of the Elector. They had conspired against the Elector, abused his priest when sent to St. Jacob's Church to preach, and had armed themselves. The flag of the Gangolph's tower was brought in as evi-

dence against them as a signal to their friends outside. Their actions had compelled the Catholics to arm, etc. The Catholic council added that the Protestants had been in communication with foreign princes and they (the Catholics) had suffered losses amounting to 20,000 dollars. They asked that the Protestants be compelled to leave the city.

On November 14 the Protestants were notified that the Elector had finally decided to settle matters if they would pay these costs and leave the city, otherwise they must suffer as criminals. He demanded their answer that day. But all the Protestant prisoners refused to consider these terms. In their discussion Seel said that this was treating them as the Jews were treated, by a tax levy. Peter Steuss declared that before he would give anything they might take his life. Olevianus declared that he could not give anything, as he had nothing, and that what he has done had been done for the good of the people. He would not give up the Word of God or preach what was not in agreement with it. Thus the Protestants increased the danger of suffering for the serious crimes charged against them by their refusal of the terms. Nothing now remained but to try them.

So on November 15 the Elector formally brought criminal charges against them, and they were brought out for trial. The 600 armed servants of the Elector were stationed in the market. Fifty-one armed citizens brought the Protestant prisoners from the city hall to the court house, before which the 600 followers of the Elector remained. The charges against them were read. They denied them and handed in a paper in which they declared that they wanted to defend themselves. They repeated their request to be allowed to leave the city, but declared that they would not pay any money, as that

would be giving tribute such as was demanded of the Jews. They were willing for amicable negotiations, but to a jurisdiction like this, forced up on them, they were not favorable.

During the trial, when Olevianus' right to preach was denied because he was unordained, he declared: "If I do not happen to have permission from the Roman magistrates or Parisian sophists, I have, nevertheless, received it from God. From him I have received the command to employ the talents entrusted to me. The rector of the university did not forbid me, as has been charged, but he said: 'Preach the Bible for the priests need it.'" And the city council did not forbid me to teach theology in Latin. I know that nothing was preached contrary to the Word of God. Only once did I speak against a minister of the Elector, and that was because he, a Jesuit, had preached contrary to the Bible, and among other things had said that the blood of Jesus was not sufficient for our sins. And that priest had preached without permission of the city council, to whom the St. Jacob's Church belonged. And he had come to cause a tumult, for which I am charged. I deny that the Protestants were about to riot, for their weapons were not guns, but the Word of God."

After they had been heard they were taken back from the court house to their prison. The next day the prison rules were made stricter. They were not permitted to be together any longer. Olevianus, with three others, were thrown into the prison in the city hall, and the others were placed in other rooms. Olevianus and Sirck complained that in the prison they could die because of the cold. So they were all put into a room in the city hall, called the "flour-room," where the rest were.

While in prison Olevianus, on October 11, wrote

the following letter. It comes to us like Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress," out of prison. It is written to the ministers of Strasburg.*

"Grace and peace. Although we may have one foot in destruction, we have been unwilling to pass by this opportunity of writing to you what was denied to us daily in afflictions and chains. We desire to truly make known to you our condition and to pour out our hearts to your sympathy. This is the sum of our affairs. About half of the citizens, and especially of the councilors of this city have embraced the gospel. But God is permitting our adversaries to proceed with unheard-of methods, so that Rev. Mr. Flinsbach, a man of prudence and singular piety, has been detained in custody. Neither do they seem to be satisfied merely with exiling the rest of us, but they are also trying to mulct us out of a great part of our possessions. Meanwhile, that they may remit some of their severity, the ministers of Germany and legates from the princes are laboring. What they may effect is problematical, except that we are certain that we will be sent into exile. We seek from you, Reverend Fathers, that you commend us and ours to God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, in your prayers, as becomes members of one and the same body. D. Matthaeus, who brings this letter, will narrate to you what is happening to us. Farewell.

"CASPER OLEVIANUS,

"Minister of the Gospel of Christ, Written to You in the Name of All the Imprisoned and Faithful Citizens."

A second hearing was given to these prisoners on November 29, in which they were required to answer the charges. As these were not given to them, and as they had had no attorney they were in a deplorable position. Their Protestant advocate, Zehnder, the Elector, as we have seen, had imprisoned at Pfalzel before he came into the city, and he refused to release him so as to defend

* We have largely abbreviated it.

them. They finally got an advocate from Strasburg on November 24, but he had only five days to prepare for their defense. But before these had passed, circumstances occurred which gave an entirely new appearance to things—namely, the arrival of the ambassadors of the foreign Protestant princes, who had come to intercede for them. But for their arrival Olevianus and his friends would have probably suffered the full penalty for their crimes charged against them—namely, rebellion and heresy.

For while all this was going on, the Protestants in other places were becoming interested in their cause. They began sending in appeals to the authorities of Treves for mercy to these prisoners. However, all was in vain. Even the plea of Elector Frederick III, of the Palatinate, great prince that he was, had no effect. He had sent two ambassadors to intercede with the Elector of Treves, who arrived October 26 at Pfalzel. They declared that the Elector had imprisoned the Protestants because they were adherents of the Augsburg Confession. But the Elector of Treves replied that the reason for it was Olevianus' Calvinism, and also their acts of riot and sedition. The ambassadors replied that their master, Elector Frederick III, of the Palatinate, knew better than that. When Elector Frederick heard that they were threatened with a criminal process, he sent an ambassador asking that an impartial commission be appointed, who would hear the case and make a decision. But the Elector of Treves refused all these appeals, so Elector Frederick III finally determined to hold a conference of the neighboring Protestant princes. He invited the Duke of Wurtemberg, the two princes of Baden and three other princes to send representatives to the city of Worms, on November 19, to consider how these persecuted Protestants in

Treves might gain relief. (He also notified the two great Protestant princes of Germany, the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg of what was taking place.)

The princes sent their delegates to Worms on November 20. They continued in session for two days. The legal question before them was: "Was Treves an imperial city or not? If it was, then was it under the Augsburg Peace of 1555, which guaranteed freedom of worship to the Lutherans?" They decided it would be best to send a deputation to Treves. From Worms they went to Treves, where they arrived, twenty-six in number, an imposing body, on November 27, and were later followed by seven more ambassadors. Then began the negotiations. The Elector of Treves, at first entirely refused to allow any mitigation of his charges against the Protestants and proved very stubborn. They pled for the rights of the adherents of the Augsburg Confession. His reply was that these Protestants were rebels. He declared that Olevianus was not protected by that, as he was a Calvinist. Their leader, however, called the attention of the Elector, as he said he was treating them as rebels, and not in regard to the Augsburg Confession, to the offer he had once made to them eight days before, that he would cease his enmity if they would give up the Augsburg Confession. This proved that he himself confessed that his opposition to them was not for their rebellion, but because they were Lutherans. On November 30 these ambassadors were given an audience with the prisoners in the city hall, where the prisoners stated in their own defense what they had done. On the next day the ambassadors again visited the prisoners. They declared that, as Erfurt and other episcopal cities had accepted the Augsburg Confession, they had the same right. They declared that they were willing to leave

the city, but not to pay the costs. Further negotiations followed between the ambassadors, the Elector and the city council. On the one hand the Elector persisted in declaring them rebels ("a viper brood"), and that they must be punished as such; on the other hand, the Protestants denied this, and refused to pay the costs.

Finally, by December 17, after much and repeated pressure by the ambassadors, the Elector had come down from 20,000 dollars to 3,000 dollars, and the Protestants were to leave Treves within eight days. All the Protestants agreed to this except Olevianus. He stood out, even though his refusal might mean death to him, for there was something in it to which he could not conscientiously agree. At the urgent solicitation of the ambassadors he finally consented to agree to a Latin form of it, but only if he could satisfy his conscience by being allowed to make a protest against the charge that he had despised the Elector's express prohibition of his preaching, and had confessed that he was the cause of the disorders at which the Elector felt himself greatly injured. The agreement seemed to him to be a denial of his doctrine and position as a preacher. However, he was not compelled to take part in the payment of any money.

On December 19 the prisoners were brought before the electoral council in the city hall, and were asked if they accepted the terms. To this Sirck, in the name of all, replied: "Yes." Only Olevianus presented his protest, as mentioned above. He declared before God that he had preached the gospel in its purity and according to the Augsburg Confession, on which Confession he declared he still stood. What there was in the agreement that might be interpreted against the true Christian religion or the Augsburg Confession he would not concede. Only on condition that he made this protest was he

willing to accept the agreement. They then signed it when Olevianus, a second time, repeated his protest. They were then set free. We thus see the conscientiousness and bravery of Olevianus in spite of the danger in doing so.

Olevianus seems to have left Treves before the rest on December 22, in company with the ambassadors of the foreign princes. The count of Erbach, the ambassador of the Palatinate, took him with him to Heidelberg. It seems Elector Frederick III had not forgotten how this young preacher had, some years before, plunged into the river at Bourges, in France, to save his son from drowning, and had almost himself drowned in the attempt. At Heidelberg the Elector made him the teacher in the College of Wisdom, and sometime later he was made professor of theology in the university, and later preacher in the great city church at Heidelberg, the Holy Ghost Church, and superintendent of the Church of the Providence of the Palatinate. Although he declared his adherence to the Augsburg Confession at Treves, yet Olevianus was at heart a Calvinist. Indeed, almost as soon as he got to Heidelberg, he wrote to Calvin about the introduction of the Calvinistic church government into the Palatinate. By becoming a Calvinist he did not feel himself out of harmony with the Augsburg Confession any more than did Elector Frederick III, when he published the Heidelberg catechism three years later, for both believed that the Altered Augsburg Confession—the Augsburg Confession of 1540—was large enough to include the Reformed. In 1576, Olevianus had a repetition of his experience at Treves, though not so severe, as he was again banished from Heidelberg for being Reformed by Elector Lewis, who was a high Lutheran.

The two brothers, Steuss, shook the dust of the city from their feet on the day before Christmas. Sirck, Pis-

port and Monday left on the day after Christmas, Seel, on December 27. Most of them went to the neighboring districts of Beldenz and Zweibrücken, which was Lutheran. The brothers Steuss, Sirck and Seel, two months later, nobly paid the whole amount required—3,000 dollars—out of their own pockets, so that the rest of the Protestants need not pay.

After the departure of the leaders of the Protestants, the Catholics made repeated efforts to convert them back to the Catholic faith. In this the Elector used every form of persuasion. On December 23, the day after the foreign ambassadors had left, the council gave order that all who held to the Augsburg Confession must leave the city within fourteen days. Lenninger, with other leaders of the Protestants, appeared before the council, saying that within eight days they would leave. In all, forty-six persons of the different guilds declared before the council that they were Protestants and would leave the city. With their departure went all the leaders of Protestantism. But they were not all the Protestants, for on January 12, of the next year, the secretary of the city council, Dronkman, declared there were 300 Protestants in the city. Every effort was used to reconvert them to Catholicism, and on January 4, 1560, forty-seven went back to the old religion. The guilds were called up separately, and each member was required to become a Catholic. But this did not fully succeed. On January 9, ninety-eight returned to the Catholic faith, but on January 27 thirty-five more Protestants left the city.

So Treves freed herself from heresy, but she struck herself a death blow when she drove out the Protestants, for they were her leading citizens and best artisans. The industries of the city fell off greatly. Treves, from being one of the most important of the cities of Germany and

the seat of one of the great Electors of Germany, went back to a third-rate city and worse. She has not progressed very much in the last 300 years. And in spite of all the measures against Protestantism, some of the clergy inclined to it in 1560, and in 1564 it was said that many of the citizens went out of the city for the Protestant Lord's Supper. Olevianus' mother still lived in the city, of course, as quietly as possible. But when twenty years later the next Elector drove out all the remaining Protestants, she had to leave, and she went to Herborn, where her son had started a university, and where he died. She survived him nine years.

The Elector at once called in the Catholic orders, especially the Jesuits, to reconvert the Protestants. The Jesuits, in 1560, founded the Whitmonday procession, held every Whitmonday, in honor of the driving out of the Protestants under Olevianus. This festival has been observed ever since, although its special reference to Olevianus has been forgotten. Protestantism was kept out of Treves for 200 years. No Protestant was permitted to live there. Finally in 1784 the Elector issued an edict of toleration, and the French revolution came along and gave them religious liberty. In 1817 the first Protestant service was held. To-day Treves is still an exceedingly Catholic city. Above her on a hill towers a great statue of the Virgin Mary, who seems still to dominate that valley. But there is now a large Protestant congregation there, and, strange to say, they worship in the old basilica, erected by Constantine about 1700 years ago.

C

ZACHARIAH URSINUS

CHAPTER V

URSINUS' CONVERSION TO THE REFORMED FAITH

THE new data that we have been unearthing gives us new light on the early life of Ursinus, especially as to the steps by which he became Reformed.

It is said that man's life is determined by two causes, heredity and environment, by disposition and circumstances. If that be so, let us examine Ursinus' life. And we will see how heredity and environment combined to make him a Reformed, even though educated a Lutheran.

And first, there was a basis for the Reformed type in Ursinus' natural disposition. First, he was naturally intellectual and later a giant in intellect. That his natural tendency was to run out into intellectualism is shown by the dialectics of his later life. Now it has been the Reformed Church that has emphasized the intellectual, whereas the Lutheran has emphasized mysticism, especially in regard to the sacraments. The Lutherans have often charged the Reformed with rationalism, and the Reformed have returned the charge by saying that the Lutherans inclined to superstition. We grant that the Reformed emphasized intellectualism, though we do not believe that that necessarily meant rationalism. For there can be rationality without rationalism. And it has been

the peculiarity of the Reformed, that they always demanded that a thing must be rational,—that is in accord with the demands of reason, even though they could not understand it. It must never contradict reason, and even if too profound to be understood, it must be in accord with the laws of reason. The Reformed always gave a large place to reason in their system. Now this being so, we can see why the Reformed method of thinking and theology had an especial attraction for a mind like that of Ursinus. It allowed larger room for an intellect like his to consider every question.

Secondly, Ursinus, strange to say, had a tendency in some respects to the opposite of intellectualism. He had a heart as well as a head. And especially in his early life before and at the time he wrote our catechism, he was strong on the experimental, even though this hardened later under the influence of study and his controversies. For it is to be remembered that he, and not Olevianus, was the first to strike the keynote of our catechism in experience. He first put in the question, "What is thy comfort," etc., even in his first catechism. His early addresses, as well as his letters, reveal a heart full of emotion. Well, if that was the case, the Reformed Church would be the one most suited to him, for it has always been the church of experience. The Lutheran Church emphasized the sacramental, the Reformed the experimental. Both had their mystical side, but with the Lutherans the mysticism was of the sacraments, with the Reformed, of personal experience. This emphasis on experience made pietism germane to the Reformed Church, but was brought into the Lutheran Church from the outside, for Spener got it from Labadie at Geneva. We are indebted for this last thought to our dear departed friend, the late Rev. H. J. Ruetenik, D.D. Well, this being the case, we can see

how the Reformed Church would prove attractive to Ursinus and be the one he would finally enter.

For Ursinus was a great mind. A great man is a varied man, generally a union of opposites, delicately poised and exquisitely blended. And so Ursinus was a union of the intellectual and experimental. Indeed, Ursinus was a remarkable union of the intellectual, emotional and ethical, each of which appear prominent in his make-up. Of them, however, as he grew older, the intellectual bulked largest and became the most prominent. But he reveals his greatness in the splendid unity of this threefold nature especially during his early life, during the period when he was becoming Reformed. No wonder the Reformed faith proved attractive to him. But we must not dwell too long on the ontological side of this subject. Let us turn from heredity to environment and see the influences that were brought to bear on him that landed him in the Reformed Church.

The first of these that may be mentioned was the influence of his pastor, Moibanus. We have seen that in his catechism, Moibanus did not speak as a high-Lutheran, indeed hardly like a Lutheran at all. His doctrine of the Lord's Supper emphasized the memorial aspect. He does not have anything about confession in connection with the sacraments as Luther's catechism has. He seems to have represented the spirit of the early reformation, when there was neither Lutheran or Reformed,—that is when they were not set over against each other. He was a Lutheran before Luther formulated its doctrines hard and fast. And after Luther's death, in his reaction against the narrowness and sacramentarianism of the high-Lutherans, he seems to have gone over to Calvin. A letter of Moibanus to Calvin, written about the time that Ursinus went to the university

of Wittenberg, puts matters in a new light. It reveals that Moibanus had virtually become a Calvinist. The letter is dated September 1, 1550, and reads thus:

“Often enough, my dear Calvin, have I considered how I might find an opportunity to write to you, for we live very far away from each other. I make it my care to seek intercourse with learned persons. Your writings meet with my approval. Your Institutes I continually read anew, and without wishing to flatter you, I would say that all that comes from you meets with the approbation of great men. Poland is now busy with your letters and nothing else finds so much approval there. Indeed to speak truly there is no one today, who places himself so courageously against the Beast (of Rome) as yourself. You have enemies, with whom you bravely contend. The battle is now on for Helena, not the Greek one, but you know what I mean. The Lord be with you that you show yourself brave in controversy.

“In the meantime, what are we (Germans) doing. We are quarreling among ourselves about the Interim. You have placed yourself with your entire person against the kingdom of Satan. I see how diligently you are working on the interpretation of the Pauline writings, which aim at the destruction of the bulwark of the enemy. I would like very much to see a list of your works. With us such things seldom succeed. I pray you to have your Pauline writings, together with your commentaries on them, printed in one volume. Because of my little skill in the interpretation of them, I, myself, miss the exact expression in the interpretation of their Hebraisms. Paul, it is true, wrote in Greek, but after the custom of his people, he made use of Hebrew forms of speech. You do right, dear Calvin, to bestow your time on such useful studies. Erasmus, as the court theologian of his time, allowed himself to miss the depth of thought in many references. Often he evidently did not grasp the ideas of Paul. I have long sought for your Psalms. At any rate, I once noticed that you had translated the Hebrew into Latin. Gladly do I express the wish that you especially undertake what will be of benefit

to the Church. May you live well in Christ.

AMBROSIUS MOIBANUS.

This letter would make it appear that Moibanus accepted Calvin's views. His approval of Calvin's Institutes is quite significant. Is it at all surprising that, when Moibanus wrote so favorably of Calvin's writings, his pupil, Ursinus, should afterward become a Calvinist. The truth seems to be that the beginnings of Ursinus' Calvinism were in his youth. Though, as a boy he did not know the differences between Lutheranism and the Reformed, but he was caught in an atmosphere which clung to him ever afterward. He learned this from his pastor and teacher in the school, Moibanus. In other words, from what was virtually a Reformed impression he went to the university at Wittenberg.

Then, at the university, what happened. He stayed there for seven years, 1550-1557. He was there in the closest association with Melancthon. His letters reveal his intense admiration for Melancthon and his deep sympathy with him against the attacks made on him by the high-Lutherans, as Westphal and Flacius. He declares he stayed at Wittenberg only because of Melancthon's influence. He gives his estimate of Melancthon in a letter to Crato, January 10, 1557. Speaking of the controversies with the high-Lutherans, he writes:

"I am of the opinion that Dr. Philip teaches what is right, and has been fortunate enough to teach us in a holy and pure way, the real substance of the holy sacrament. Dr. Philip never swerves, but sticks to what is true, secure, important and necessary, never losing sight of what is sublime and divine. Personally I do not hesitate to confess that I have been benefitted and learned more from his impressive method of teaching than from the vague commentaries of his opponents."

Prof. Lang calls attention to his language early in 1557, where he says: "When Phillip has spoken I can not and dare not think otherwise," also to his objection to "Stoic Necessity," which places him in outspoken opposition to Calvin's doctrine of predestination. On the other hand, Ursinus speaks of Calvin several times in his letters. He speaks of Calvin's defense against Westphal twice in 1556, and also (October 3, 1556) of Calvin's visit to Frankford.

There is, however, one letter to Crato, that of March 22, 1556, which contains a sentence that may be significant. Rott, who republished these letters of Ursinus, thinks it is a sign that Ursinus was predestinarian.* Ursinus writes thus: "I belong to that circle, to whom the fact of their election stands as certain." To this inference of Rott, Prof. A. Lang objects, saying that Ursinus does not refer to his personal election there, but uses the word elect in the general sense.

But we are inclined to believe there is more in it than Lang grants.

1. The sentence is personal, for it uses the first person. Besides, in it he expresses the personal hope of the certainty of his election.

2. It is strange that he used the word "election" at all, because all that was Reformed was being so bitterly attacked just at that time, by Westphal and Flacius. A true Lutheran would hardly have used Reformed verbiage at all.

3. If it had been the custom of Melancthon to generally use the word "elect" in its general sense as meaning Christians, then we could account for Ursinus using it here. But we have to some extent examined Melanc-

* Prof. Lauterberg, in Hauck's "Real Encyclopædia," also thinks so.

thon's "Loci," in German, and also his "Consideration of Ordinances," and he generally uses the words "saints" or "the converted" for Christians and not the elect. Ursinus' use of the word is therefore strange. And its reference seems to us stronger because he speaks not of the elect, but of election. It seems to us that his earlier Calvinistic tendencies cropped out unintentionally, or he may have been reading about Calvin's controversy with Westphal, for, as we have seen, he speaks of Calvin a number of times in his letters. The least that can be made out of this passage is that he was familiar with the doctrine of God's election. And yet, in spite of this passage, which seems to be in conflict with his Melancthonianism while at the university, we believe that Gillet is probably correct, when, in his "Crato of Crafftheim,"* he says that "Ursinus left Wittenberg a real follower of Melancthon."

We now pass on to the next period of Ursinus' life—his travels, after leaving the university of Wittenberg. And here it is a noticeable fact, that almost all of his travels were in Reformed lands. Of all the universities that he went to, only one was Lutheran,—namely, Tübingen. He was at the Reformed schools of Basle, Paris, Geneva and Zurich. The only teacher he specially mentions is Mercier, of Paris. Calvin, at Geneva, seeing his talents, presented him with one of his works. And Fries, at Zurich, invited him, if he ever needed a refuge, to come to Zurich. Zurich was so attractive that he visited it a second time, when Peter Martyr made a deep impression on him. From his long sojourn among them, it is evident the Reformed most interested him.

Then came the next period of his life, when he was teacher at Breslau, 1558-1560. During this time, two works of his appear, which we may examine for any

* Vol. I, p. 180.

signs. The one was his "Inaugural Address," the other was his "Theses on the Sacraments," published at Breslau as his defence against the high-Lutherans.

His "Inaugural Address" was on a general subject. It is an exhortation to the study of Christianity. It was just such an address as a teacher of religion would make in order to urge his pupils to study religion. However, there is a significant passage in it:

"Neither are catechisms any other than a summary declaration of such sentences of Scripture. Now this little Consideration (of Ordinances, prepared by Melancthon, which he was to use there), we intend to propose to you is such and its author has faithfully and with great dexterity comprehended the chief grounds of Christianity in proper and plain language. And it seems that it would be beneficial that in other churches there should be a like form of catechism extant. Prepare yourselves to speedily learn it."

He then sums up the reasons he had previously given to do this, the commandment of God, your own salvation, your duty to posterity, the example of a purer Church, your manner of life, your friend's desires and hopes, the imminent danger of our times, and the rewards and punishments we are to look for in God's hands.

In this passage there are two references that are interesting. Is it not significant that he refers to catechisms in other lands—that there ought to be a like form of catechism. This seems to have been an unconscious prophecy of his own writing a catechism later. Or, better, it shows the unconscious tendency of his mind toward catechizing.

In this address, he also refers to the persecuted brethren in England, referring to Lasco and his Reformed congregation, whose sufferings had evidently made a deep impression on him.

In teaching at Breslau he used the work of Melancthon, which had appeared while he was at the university, the "Consideration of Ordinances." This work is, of course, Melancthonian. In its answer on the Lord's Supper it taught:

"What is given out and received in the Lord's Supper? The true body and blood of the Lord Jesus. For the Lord Jesus has instituted this eating and drinking, so that he shows that he will be truly and essentially with us and in us and will live in the converted to communicate to them his benefits and be powerful in them."

But Ursinus' teaching of it did not at all please the high-Lutherans, for they attacked him for being a Calvinist. This charge would not necessarily prove that he was a Calvinist, for the high-Lutherans charged every one in the Lutheran Church who did not agree with them with being a Calvinist. It at least meant that he was a Melancthonian. To show to them his position he published his first work, "Theses on the Doctrine of the Sacraments." This work called forth the strongest praise of Melancthon, who wrote to Ferinarius, and said: "I have well known his learning up to this time, but I have never seen anything so brilliant as in this work." It is, however, to be noticed that what Melancthon praises seems to be his splendid arrangement and fundamental treatment. But, in spite of Melancthon's praise and a letter of Melancthon admonishing peace, the high-Lutherans so attacked him that he had to resign. His treatise had only laid bare his position and the high-Lutherans were only too glad to utilize any weakness to Lutheranism in it against him. Indeed, they had influence enough to have the book forbidden in Breslau, and there was nothing left but for him to resign from his school and leave Breslau.

The question therefore arises: Is there anything in this publication to justify the charge of the high-Lutherans that he was Reformed and not Lutheran;—were there any signs of Calvinism in the work. The work consists of 123 theses, of which 51 are on the sacraments in general, 12 on baptism, and 60 on the Lord's Supper. They are remarkable in their clearness, logicalness, thoroughness and wide mastery of the whole subject. This is especially true when one remembers that Ursinus was only twenty-five years of age at their publication. In them he talks like an old professor after years of study. No wonder Melancthon went into ecstasies over them, especially at Ursinus' learning and ability in them. A great thinker had arisen. Ursinus also reveals his great power at analysis that afterwards made him a master dialectician.

On the Lord's Supper, they in the main follow Melancthon's views. Their method of statement is Melancthonian. The influence of Melancthon's work "The Consideration of Ordinances," which he was using as a textbook at Breslau is evident in them. But while they were in the main Melancthonian, there were some outcroppings of the Calvinism he had imbibed. Thus in theses 16 and 18 on the sacraments, he speaks of election. This was not wise at that time in view of the strained relations to the high-Lutherans at Breslau. Their use, however, shows that he was beginning to think in terms of the Reformed categories. Then again, in theses 25, on the Lord's Supper, he has a reference to Christ's body in heaven at the Lord's Supper. Now these were Calvinistic outcroppings. His association with the Swiss had evidently affected him. And his opponents at Breslau were quick to seize these signs and to use them against him. So Südhoff is right in his estimate that in them

Ursinus went beyond Melancthon in the direction of Calvin. And yet Ursinus does not define things according to Calvin's categories or use the Calvinistic terminology, though it is evident he is drifting thither. Had Melancthon only spoken even as clearly as Ursinus did here, on the body of Christ as in heaven at the Lord's Supper, there might have been a slight basis of truth for the Melancthon-Calvinistic theology.*

He left Breslau with an honorable dismissal, and on the condition that he would return if desired. His words at his departure to his uncle Roth, when asked, where he would go, were

"Not unwillingly do I leave my fatherland, since it does not permit the confession of the truth, which I can not with good conscience give up. If my teacher Melancthon still lived, I would go nowhere else but to him. But as he is dead (Melancthon had died shortly before), I will go to Zurich where there are pious, great and learned men. As for the rest, God will care."

Goebel makes a beautiful remark on this: "This shows that among the living, none were nearer to him than at Zurich and among the dead than Melancthon."

Then comes the final scene in this topic, when he avows himself Reformed. In a letter written from Zurich to Crato, October 6, 1560, he declares his full agreement with the doctrine of the Swiss on the sacraments, providence, election freewill, the human statutes of the Church and the rigidity of Christian Church discipline. Now the fact that he wrote this confession of being Reformed only three days after he arrived at Zurich, is significant. He could not have changed from Lutheranism, even low-Lutheranism, to Calvinism, especially on election, in three days. He could not have changed as sud-

* See Chapter II, page 173.

denly as that. The process must have been going on in his mind before he came to Zurich. He must have been Reformed in mind and spirit before he came to Zurich.

Now when did this change take place. We have given all the light that can be found. We have tried carefully to weigh it and combine it. We may have erred in our estimate, for the whole subject is more difficult. Indeed, sometimes subjects become more difficult the more light you get on them, as instead of clearing the subject they make it more difficult. We believe, however, that the summary of the whole subject may be this,—that Ursinus when he was a boy under Moibanus' instruction at Breslau, was under what were virtually Reformed influences. He, therefore, went to Wittenberg with no strong and specific Lutheran basis of thought. At the university, Melancthon's strong influence led him up to low-Lutheranism. Yet even there his previous Reformed tendencies revealed themselves occasionally. When he left the university for travel, it was mainly in Reformed lands and though he came back to Germany a Melancthonian, or at least believed himself to be, yet the influence of the Reformed on him in his travels, especially of Peter Martyr, who later became to him what Melancthon had been to him before, his spiritual and theological guide, remained with him. When Melancthon died that broke the last tie to Lutheranism. He followed his early inclination, which had been deepened by his travels and went over entirely to the Reformed faith. In his letter back to Breslau, he declared that if Breslau wanted him back (for there was a coterie of his friends, among them Crato, who hoped to win him back) that it would be on condition that he would be allowed to teach the doctrine taught at Zurich.

So Ursinus became Reformed. Lutheranism lost its brightest theologian at a time when it most needed him. He would have been a great tower of strength had he remained at Wittenberg, as was desired. And the Reformed Church gained not merely a great theologian, but also the one who wrote her greatest book, the Heidelberg catechism.

CHAPTER VI.

CRATO OF CRAFFTHEIM, URSINUS' PATRON

THE life of the patron of Ursinus, Dr. John Krafft, or as his name has come down to us, Crato of Crafftheim, gives us a delightful insight into the life of one of the authors of the Heidelberg catechism. The correspondence between Crato and Ursinus is a new and powerful sidelight into Ursinus' life.

John Krafft was born November 20, 1519, at Breslau. Like his later protegé, Ursinus, he attended the school of the St. Elizabeth's Church there. He was a poor boy and for thirteen years received stipends for his support, just as Ursinus later received from him. Intending to study for the ministry, he went at the age of fifteen, in 1534, to the university of Wittenberg. There Luther took him into his own house and he lived for six years in close fellowship with the great reformer. But though so close to Luther, he was more attracted by Melancthon, who had the charge of his studies. He excelled in the classics, especially in Cicero, so that Melancthon later gave his literary style a special name, "the Cratonian diction," because it revealed such clearness and beauty. Luther was also greatly pleased with his ability and wanted him for the church, but seeing he was too weak for preaching and that he had a decided inclination to medicine, he advised him to give up theology for medicine, as Protestant physicians of the first rank were at that time greatly needed. He soon gained the master's degree at the university and then lectured on Aristotle

and Plato with great success.

He then became tutor to a noble and accompanied him to Leipsic, at whose university there was more room for young lecturers like himself. But he found that there, as at Wittenberg, there were no famous professors of medicine. He, however, found a patron in Prof. Joachim Camerarius, one of the most celebrated philologists and theologians of his day. So he went to Italy, the Mecca at that time, of the medical profession. Through the influence of Melancthon and Camerarius, the Duke of Prussia gave him money enough for this trip, in order that he might prepare himself to become a private physician to the nobility. At the university of Padua he found in Professor Montanus a great friend and guide, such as Luther had been to him in faith, and Melancthon in philosophy and theology. Montanus was one of the greatest physicians of his day, combining the new discoveries of medicine with the older methods.

After gaining his medical degree there, he practiced for a short time at Verona and then returned to Breslau, in 1550, by way of Augsburg. He expected to make Breslau his home and so married there. He soon revealed his advanced methods of medical practice. For he was the first German physician who held that the plague was a contagious disease. The plague broke out in Breslau, in 1553, the sixth time in that century. He was the first to draw up rules about it and introduced police regulations to isolate and suppress it. He disclosed to physicians the difference between a non-contagious and miasmatic disease. As a result, Breslau had no visit of the plague for thirty-four years. His success gave him great fame and the city, in 1554, recognized his services by giving him an annuity of one hundred dollars. He also, as a progressive physician, attempted

to introduce in Breslau, what Paris had, namely, regular druggists. In 1554 he added to his fame by publishing two important works on medicine.

As a result his fame became so great that he was called to be private physician to the Emperor of Germany, Ferdinand I. For, though the Emperors of Germany were Catholics, yet they had Protestant physicians. Crato had the honor of being private physician to no less than three of the Emperors in succession, Ferdinand I, Maximilian II and Rudolph II. Only one other Protestant had a similar honor, and he a Reformed, Ambroise Paré, who was private physician to four of the French kings, even though they were Catholics. The Protestant kings did not dare to trust the Catholic physicians thus, for the Catholic physicians, at the instigation of the Jesuits, sometimes secretly poisoned a number of Protestant princes as Dukes Bernard of Weimar, and Henry of Rohan. Crato became court physician in 1560 and remained with the King till he died, in 1564. In 1563 he left Breslau and for nearly twenty years spent his time with the court. He exerted considerable influence with Ferdinand, in making him milder against the Protestants, in the hope of winning them back to Romanism.

It is interesting to note that it was during this early period of Crato's life that he began the financial support of Ursinus at the university of Wittenberg. It is somewhat remarkable that he should begin this so soon, for he commenced only a year after he began practicing medicine at Breslau. But then, Crato supported other students, especially those in medicine. It is remarkable that he helped Ursinus, as when he first began, he had never yet seen him. He perhaps helped Ursinus because he felt that he had started out to enter the ministry and then been turned aside from it: he therefore wanted

to put some one in the ministry to take his place, and he therefore aided Ursinus. He never invested money more profitably for himself or for the Church than what he put into Ursinus. For Ursinus became one of the greatest theologians of that day. Crato is a noble example to many of our people today, who have financial means, and yet for sufficient reasons, are prevented from entering in the ministry. The example of Crato in doing this ought to give to them a suggestion and an inspiration to put some one into the ministry in their place.

And Ursinus, whom he aided, became a great blessing, not only to the world, but also to Crato himself. This is shown by their correspondence, which was continued down to Ursinus' death. When later Crato became royal physician, he never was too busy to read a letter from Ursinus or to write one to him. It is interesting to notice that both Crato and Ursinus enter upon their life work about the same time. Crato became royal physician in 1560, and Ursinus professor at Heidelberg in 1561. It is also very interesting to see how the lives of Crato and Ursinus run parallel and yet are interwoven. Before Crato became royal physician, he had begun Ursinus' support at Wittenberg. But their correspondence continued while Ursinus was in the university. Ursinus is continually expressing his great thankfulness to Crato for his aid. Of these six years of his university life, thirty-nine letters that Ursinus wrote to Crato have come down to us. Crato soon found that he had discovered a great helper in Ursinus. Crato was a man of books, and yet he was far away from the book markets when he was at Breslau. So Ursinus, who was near the book market at Leipsic, would keep him informed about the books, especially new books, and would buy them for Crato whenever he wanted them. A very beautiful illus-

tration of Crato's kindness is shown in an incident that occurred during Ursinus' university life. In a letter written January, 1554, Ursinus gives expression to a great desire to have the works of Cicero, which he was too poor to buy. The suggestion was enough. Crato bought them and two months later Ursinus, in a letter, expresses his great thankfulness for the gift.

But perhaps the most remarkable result of this friendship between them was the way in which Ursinus influenced Crato's religious belief. For it was the influence of Ursinus that converted Crato to the Reformed faith. Crato, like Ursinus in the university, was a Melancthonian in doctrine. And when Ursinus got into trouble at Breslau because of his Melancthonianism, Crato stood by him, for he seemed to have no sympathy with the narrow high-Lutheranism. Fortunate was it that Ursinus had such a rich friend at that time. For when he resigned there as teacher, in 1560, and went away, not knowing whither he went, it was Crato who helped him financially. He had not gotten many stations away from Breslau, before he found a letter from Crato containing money. And when Ursinus shortly after publicly declares that he has become Reformed, Crato followed suit and became Reformed. Indeed, Crato's sympathy with Ursinus and the Melancthonians at Breslau made his position there uncomfortable. For the hatred of the high-Lutherans led him to be deprived of his position as doctor of the poor. And he was therefore very glad to get away from Breslau when he was called to be private physician to the King.

Crato became a strong Reformed in his beliefs. He later translated Calvin's catechism into Latin and Greek. And during the latter part of his life he used it as a daily handbook. He underscored passages in it

which met his especial approval. Ah, Crato had given much to Ursinus, but he got back more than he gave. He got back what was worth more than his money. He realized this, for when Ursinus left Breslau, as he bade him farewell with the assurance of help, he said that Ursinus had offered him "eternal treasures." For Crato had received his religious and theological tendencies from Ursinus and kept them to his end. Crato, together with Ursinus' friends at Breslau, tried to get Ursinus back there; but Ursinus wrote them that if he came back, it must be as Reformed. He finally begged them to give up their efforts and went to Heidelberg. When Ursinus lived in Heidelberg, he still keeps up his correspondence with his patron. Very beautiful are their efforts to comfort and strengthen each other as trials and sicknesses come to each of them. Ursinus at Heidelberg, being near the great book market at Frankford, keeps Crato posted about books and often, at his request, buys them for him.

After the death of Emperor Ferdinand, Crato went back to Breslau to live. But the next Emperor, Maximilian, was not a well man, as he had suffered for many years from heart trouble. So Crato was called back as private physician, in 1565, though he usually spent a month each year at Breslau. Maximilian had two other private physicians, all Protestants, but Crato was his favorite physician and was with him for about twelve years. Maximilian was the most liberal of the emperors toward the reformation. He greatly honored Crato and often made him his counselor in political matters, even though Crato was a Protestant. The comparative mildness of Maximilian, as compared with his predecessor and successor, was quite marked. His reign was the golden age of the reformation, especially in Austria.

Then all the prominent nobles, except Bavaria, were Evangelical. Had Protestantism used this opportunity, and not torn itself asunder by strife between high- and low-Lutherans and Calvinists, Austria today would probably be prevailing Protestant, and there would have been no awful Thirty Years' War in the next century.

It was during this period that Crato became the protector and pillar of the Protestants in Austria. For he became the power behind the throne. If any one wanted influence at court they sought it through him. He especially used his influence to protect the Bohemian Brethren, with whom he came into contact while with the court at Prague. In 1567 one of their leaders employed him as physician at Vienna, and after that Crato became their defender and mediator at court. A beautiful illustration is told of him. One day, while the Emperor was taking a walk alone with Crato, their conversation turned on the divisions with which Christendom was torn. The Emperor asked his favorite, which of the varied sects seemed to him to approach nearest to apostolic simplicity. "I do not know any, of whom it can be more truly said," replied Crato, "than of the Bohemian Brethren, who are also called Picards." The Emperor replied, "I believe that myself." This remark led Crato to advise the Brethren to dedicate their new hymnbook to the Emperor. They followed his advice and the dedication is still extant, in which they express the hope that the Emperor would, like David, Josiah, Constantine and Theodosius, be a nursing-father to the Church. When the Lutherans, Reformed and Brethren united at Sendomir, he tried to effect their union with the churches of the Augsburg Confession, so that they might gain greater privileges.

Maximilian greatly honored him and, about 1567, ele-

vated him to the rank of nobility; so that plain Dr. John Krafft now became Dr. Crato of Crafftheim, the name by which he is usually known in history. In 1574, when the Melancthonians were driven out of Wittenberg, it was expected that that would reduce his influence at court and perhaps cause him the loss of his position. But instead, the next year Maximilian granted him a new honor by giving to him, and also to his son, the high title of Pfalzgraf. He also made him doctor of law, philosophy and medicine, with all the academic rights belonging to those degrees. Today a man may be a doctor of law or philosophy or medicine, but Crato had all of them together. During Maximilian's life, his fame spread to all parts of Europe.

But Crato tired of court life in spite of its many advantages. He had to be away a great deal from Breslau, as the Emperor was not well and traveled around a great deal. He longed for the enjoyment of home. Frequent spells of ill health added to his ill humor. Dissatisfaction at the court also began to show itself. Owing to the increasing illness of the Emperor, a strong party arose against him in the court, who questioned his medical treatment of the Emperor. On one occasion, it went so far as to call in a quack, a woman doctor. Against this Crato protested and when he was called back it was too late. The Emperor died and Crato went back to Breslau, expecting to remain there. For one of the other private physicians of the late King attacked his medical treatment of Maximilian in a pamphlet, and thus tried to injure his reputation.

It is strange how the periods of the life of Crato and Ursinus synchronize. We have seen how about the time Crato became royal physician, Ursinus became professor at Heidelberg. And now again, about the time that Crato

left the court and went back to Breslau, in 1576, Ursinus was driven out of Heidelberg after the death of Elector Frederick III, when his son and successor, Lewis, reintroduced Lutheranism there. When that catastrophe occurred, Ursinus was thrown out in the world without any resources. He had nothing and knew not where to go. Ursinus, in a letter of November 24, 1576, speaking of the change caused by Elector Frederick's death, thus writes to Crato: "As for me, I have no objection to be sent away from this treadmill. I am only regretting that it is winter and I am not in possession of any money for traveling, neither can I say that I am prepared, should I be ordered to leave. This and all other matters do I commit to God." We here see revealed the extremity of Ursinus and yet his beautiful trust in God.

Then it was, in his time of greatest need, that his old friend Crato again came to his assistance. Crato loaned him three hundred dollars which tided him over until he became professor at the new university of Neustadt.

Returning to Crato, although he had gone back to Breslau after the death of Emperor Maximilian, expecting to spend the rest of his life there, he was not permitted to do so. For the next Emperor, Rudolph II, called him back to the court as private physician. Though this emperor dismissed many Protestants in his court, among them the two other Protestant physicians, yet he called Crato to his side. Crato hesitated at first, for he knew that the new emperor was an intense Catholic, much less liberal than Maximilian. He also knew that a party at the court had been formed against him. But finally, at the urgent solicitation of friends, he accepted.

But he soon found that he had a very difficult position to fill. The papal party at court made him very

uncomfortable. Their cause was aided by the continued illness of the Emperor, which cast discredit at Crato's medical treatment. The anxiety and continued care of his master finally broke down his health, so that he resigned his position, in 1581. He retired to a country-seat, at Ruckersdorf, a mile from Breslau, on the road to Prague. There he built a church and had a Reformed minister, who was the first in Lutheran Silesia. He introduced the Reformed custom of preaching on the catechism on Sunday afternoons, in which, Olevianus' handbook, "The Strong Foundation," was used. The Lutheran minister, however, opposed this effort to introduce the Reformed faith.

But Crato found that his country-seat was too far out of the world for one with such a large correspondence. So, in 1583, he went back to Breslau to live. It was during his stay in his country-seat that one of Ursinus' last letters was written to him. It is a letter wonderfully revealing Ursinus' hope and his consolation to Crato. He writes:

"May it please the Lord still to spare you in the miseries of this life. You know that diseases are crosses that have to be borne as long as they last, with patience, especially at your age, which is the time for disease. Undoubtedly you have overcome the sickness of spirit, otherwise you will overcome it with the medicine of that Heavenly Doctor, through whose exhaustion we get strength, through whose body, blood and spirit we have life, so that we shall not taste death in eternity, but be alive when we are dead, inasmuch as we, through faith, have passed from death to life and are not to be judged. I am, therefore, in no doubt whatever in regard to the power of your spirit, because, to him that hath shall be given. He that hath begun the good work within us will also finish it. The consciences of unbelievers are also convinced by the clearness of Scripture. The Word

of God is sharper than any two-edged sword. Those who pray to God become enlightened and fortified, will be released from all their doubts, for it is written, 'Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness for they shall be filled.' The greater pre-supposition of our pious comfort is this chief truth of Holy Scripture. 'He that believeth on the Son hath life.' The minor one is but this desire for faith, 'I believe Lord, help my unbelief.'

And from these truths he arrives at the conclusion:

"Therefore, I have life eternal and from everlasting I have been elected to this life and no one can separate me from the love of God, which is in Christ, neither can any snatch me away from the hands of my Father and Shepherd.'

"When you firmly believe and yet are troubled with doubts, it proves that in reality you are a believer, who has received the gift of the Spirit, which cries, 'Abba Father' and who represents you before the throne with unspeakable signs. You, yourself, have attained to such an age as few go beyond. I fail to see what can give you lasting joy in this world. Happy are they who die in the Lord. Flesh and nature within us may sigh and shudder, yet the heart will sing, 'Lord now lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace for mine eyes have seen Thy salvation.' To you theology is not mere dialectics, but it is a means. I have also come to know this more by practice than by theory. Therefore, I pray, Almighty God, that it may please him to relieve your bodily sufferings, as well as those of your mind, that you will be able to do only what he will have you do, and that your confidence shall be, that what he has ordained for you, is best."

Thus does Ursinus beautifully comfort Crato in his old age and failing health. It was almost the last letter of Ursinus. What a beautiful insight the letter gives of Ursinus' piety and hope.

Crato spent the remainder of his days in Breslau. But he found that he had been away for so many years

at the Emperor's court, that he was now a comparative stranger. Yet, in a small circle, especially of learned men, he met a warm reception. During his day, the Reformed, though they had no Church at Breslau, were accustomed to hold conventicles or meetings for prayer and Bible study at the house of Dudith. In these, Crato joined whenever his health permitted. He died in 1585 or 1586, of catarrh. He died in the arms of his friend, Dr. John Herman. His last words were: "I live and thou shalt live." During his last years, owing to increasing infirmities, the religious and the spiritual became more and more prominent. It was at this time that he wrote a collection of Latin religious poems which were published after his death by a friend. They were like a religious diary, in which, he gave expression to his religious views and aspirations. They were full of thoughts about God, redemption and immortality, now in a complaining, now in a comforting tone, now an inquiry and now in a reflective mood.

Crato was one of the most prominent men of his age. He was prominent as a physician. His biographer, in Hauck's "Real-Encyclopædia," gives him the honor of being the reformer of the materia medica of the Middle Ages. If his protégé, Ursinus, was a reformer of the Church, he was a reformer in medicine, preparing it for a new materia medica. And if Paré, the great Huguenot physician, his great Reformed contemporary, put medicine under everlasting obligation by the discovery of the ligature of the arteries, Crato made medical science his debtor in the new materia medica. He ranked with the leading physicians of his day, with Vesalius, in Spain, and Gessner, in Zurich. He was also prominent in politics, and, what is most significant, a Protestant in the midst of a Catholic court. It is here that we begin to

realize the greatness of the influence of Ursinus. Ursinus, by his friendship and advice of Crato, through his letters, became a factor in the court of the emperor. We have no direct evidence of any particular influence. But Ursinus is continually acquainting Crato with the political news of Europe in his letters. No one can measure how far this silent influence of Ursinus may have influenced Crato politically. The influence of Ursinus' correspondence was not only great all over Europe, but even to the Emperor's court, as he wrote to Crato. And the correspondence of these two men is a beautiful evidence of Christian friendship and mutual helpfulness.

CHAPTER VII.

THE UNIVERSITY DAYS OF URSINUS*

URSINUS College is named after Ursinus. Ursinus College, we know, with its reputation for beautiful situation, for careful and thorough education, and for success in athletics. But who was the man after whom it was named? I fear that some of these twentieth-century scholars, who think that our age knows everything, and who look upon all that has gone before them at antediluvian, may think that he was some fossilized old theologian or some behind-the-times professor. Well, he is behind our time, because he lived 350 years ago, but that, we had better say, was before our time:—"some fossilized professor," not for his time, when he was quite in the forefront of the education of his day with his humanism. It is well, therefore, for our time to get better acquainted with him. I have recently had his Latin correspondence translated. There are about forty letters that he wrote to his great patron, Dr. Crato, during his university days. Out of them I have taken my subject for today, a subject that ought to be especially interesting to college men, "The University Days of Ursinus."

A word, first, in regard to his life, so that we may get the proper setting of this subject. He was born July 18, 1534, at Breslau, in eastern Germany. His name, Zachariah Baer, was, after the custom of his day,

* Address delivered at Ursinus College, Collegeville, Pa., on Founder's Day, February 19, 1914. It has been left unchanged so as to be issued as a tract.

latinized into "Ursinus." At the age of sixteen, he left home for the university of Wittenberg. After studying there for seven years, from 1550 to 1557, he travelled for a year in western Europe, and then returned to Breslau, to teach languages and religion. But a religious controversy broke out there, and, after two years, he resigned. After spending a year at Zurich, he was called, in 1561, to Heidelberg, as professor of theology in the university there. In 1578, he became professor of theology at the new university of Neustadt, west of Heidelberg, and died there, March 6, 1583, not quite fifty years of age.

He was a very learned man, one of the most prominent theologians and teachers of his day. He belonged to the second generation of reformers. Luther, Melancthon, Zwingli and Calvin belonged to the first generation. But, in the second generation of them, Ursinus ranks next to Bullinger and Beza. And it is a question whether, on some things, he does not equal, or even excel them. He was especially profound in philosophy and theology, and acute in dialectics, as the logic of his day was called. He is one of the few persons of that day who was considered important enough, so that his complete works were gathered together and published. This shows the honor and esteem in which he was held by his contemporaries.

The only thing that tended to lessen his fame was his great modesty. And yet that trait is often, in itself, a sign of greatness. For, in our day, the greatest talkers don't keep still long enough to accumulate thoughts. Ursinus was so modest that I am afraid that if he had known you were going to name this college after him, he would have declined the honor, because he felt himself unworthy. For it is to be remembered that he was, if anything, overconscientious, even with a tinge of

melancholy. Indeed, in his later days, nothing but the express command of his prince could bring him out into public address. I wonder whether there are any such modest people here in Ursinus now. But when he did speak in public, it was with great power. Still he was more of a teacher than anything else. The lecturer's desk in the university was his throne, where he was an uncrowned king. After his death, the leading Protestant thinkers of Europe vied to do him honor. He left behind him a generation of his pupils, who became leaders of thought. As a humanist from boyhood, he stood in the forefront of the education of that day. This college need not be ashamed to be named after him. For he was one of the leading thinkers and educators of that age. His correspondence with prominent persons in all parts of Europe demonstrates the honor with which he was held. May Ursinus College ever stand true to the lofty ideals and noble example of such a man.

But I am not to speak of Ursinus as he was in his later days—one of the greatest teachers of his day. I am to speak of his youthful days, when he was just beginning his studies, when he was not the great man that he afterwards became. I am to speak of his college days, when he was not greater than any student here. And you must not expect too much from him then—not more than you expect from yourselves. But, I think, it will bring you, who are in college, all the closer to him, as you look at him when he was like you—a student. And it will also bring him closer to you.

Now, the first thing that he did in the university, of which we have any record, was to write poetry. He doubtless did other things before that, for it was not until he had been there a year that this poem appears. But this poem is the first writing that has come down

to us. I don't know whether any of the students of Ursinus College write poetry, whether the banks of the Perkiomen are especially able to inspire the poetic Muse, or whether you have the Muses around here in the trees on the campus, lurking, perhaps, like owls. Sometimes there are real poets in college.

But Ursinus wrote poetry, and wrote it in his second, or sophomore, year. What won't sophomores do! And it was poetry in Latin, fashioned somewhat after Virgil. Now, we must remember that the German students (for the European who is able, like us in America, to speak only one language, is a back number), were trained to speak Latin and Greek as fluently as their own language. And so it became easy to them to write in Latin, and even in Latin poetry.

The reason why Ursinus wrote poetry is interesting. There are many things about Ursinus that make him very much like the average college student of today, even though three and a half centuries have intervened. He, like many students today, had no money to go through college. Had it not been for friends at Breslau, who sent him to Wittenberg, he never would have gotten there. And he would never have been able to go on in college if he had not found a great friend in his patron, Dr. John Crato, one of the greatest physicians of his day, the private physician of three of the emperors of Germany. Crato, without having seen Ursinus, sent him money from Breslau. And Ursinus, overflowing with gratitude, just bubbled over with poetry. That is the way to be able to write poetry—you must bubble. But with many of us, the bubbling only results in froth, not poetry. And he bubbled over in Latin poetry, for he lived in the days of humanism, which made much of the classics. I will read a part of this first letter. It

will be in prose and not in poetry, for my poetic dictionary is frozen up, just at present, on account of the cold weather. The rhetoric of this letter may, perhaps, seem somewhat exaggerated, but you must remember he was only seventeen years of age. Still, this poem-letter is interesting. At the beginning, he refers to the siege of the city of Shechem by the Syrians, which produced a great famine, but the supreme Father brought help, and the besiegers fled, leaving all the spoil for the besieged. So, he says, our merciful Father hears the cry of his people in distress:

“Depressed with poverty, the way leading to the Muses (Parnassus) was almost closed to me, I had ceased to expect any happiness, and was just on the point of calling out, ‘Fare-ye-well, ye Muses,’ at this critical moment, the Heavenly Father sent me benefactors, who assisted me in my studies in a way that surpassed all my expectations. Your great kindness,” he says to Crato, “to an unknown protégé, should justly cause your benevolence to be better known. May you, therefore, as is most fitting, be called an ornament and light of the fatherland. May your fame be great among the disciples of Aesculapius, to whom you have brought such great honor and glory. Whilst you are surrounded by such beautiful virtues, and persons of such high rank, how can my poor Muse of poetry ever ascend to those high merits of yours. Alas! in vain does she endeavor to extol your high qualities, in vain does she try to express my thanks to you in a suitable way. As she, however, is quite conscious of the noble way in which you have acted, she proves her good-will in striving to do this. My endeavors in this respect are problematical. The real proof of this will be my works, because, I confess, I know but little about the art of poetry. I can only ask you to consider this as a proof of my gratitude.”

Yes, it was his gratitude that made him write in poetry, and, for so young a man, it is quite creditable.

His next prominent experience was quite different

from anything that we have here in our colleges. The German student will often attempt to tutor younger students or those in lower classes. So Ursinus, to increase his exchequer, took as a student under him the son of a citizen of Breslau, who had aided him. But he soon found his hands more than full. He attempted to teach the boy, and also to watch over him very carefully—too rigidly, perhaps. And the boy, just at the critical age of outgrowing adolescence, when, with the power of a man, he had the common sense of a pigmy, soon bade defiance to his tutor's authority. The boy fell into bad company, which made it worse, and refused to reform, in spite of Ursinus' threats and tears. Ursinus wrote to his father, who wrote to the boy. He even got Melancthon to use his influence with the boy, but it was all in vain. The boy finally threatened to beat Ursinus, and did even strike him, so that Ursinus was in despair. Finally, after tutoring him for about eight months, Ursinus had him taken home, and he was discharged from the office of tutor. Ursinus was evidently not yet the teacher he later became.

There was another difference between Ursinus then and the Ursinus student of today, Ursinus had no athletics in the university of Heidelberg. German universities do not make athletics prominent. Baseball and football are unknown, as also cricket of the Briton. They have no athletic sports or athletic matches between universities. Even the German boy does not have the outdoor games that make the life of the American boy so delightful. It would have been well if Ursinus in this respect had gone to Ursinus college. What he needed was athletics for he applied himself so closely that his health suffered. Such athletic training as is given now, would have sent his ill-health to the winds and prevented him from form-

ing even in the university a tinge of melancholy. It would have prevented the shortening of his valuable life by overstudy and underexercise.

But there was another experience of his in the university that may perhaps be that of some student here. He got into trouble with his boarding-house keeper. His keeper was quite a prominent man, a Dr. Vitus, who charged him with setting a bad example to other students. He tells the story to Dr. Crato in one of his letters. "During my absence (from Wittenberg), two barons came here and Dr. Vitus gave them my rooms. On my return, Dr. Vitus offered me other rooms, but as they were badly situated and much too small, I refused to occupy them." This action made Dr. Vitus angry. Ursinus also found that in his absence these people had circulated false and unkind reports about him, that he was untruthful, ungrateful and disobedient. A year later, Dr. Vitus was again circulating severe and false reports against him. Ursinus thus writes: "What has enraged him seems to be that he imagined that I had written to his boarders, that the food at his house was such poor stuff that the eating of it made me sick. Of nothing else does he accuse me, except of ingratitude." Ursinus then determines to do what every one should do in the case of evil reports that are false, live them down by living for God, an example that I commend to any who may have to pass through similar experiences. That these charges were untrue, is shown by the fact that his teacher, Melancthon, stood by him. But as his trouble came from his boarding-house, it may be interesting to note, that during his student days he was in not less than nine boarding-houses, although in one of them he stayed for five years. For German universities do not have the dormitory system in vogue in American

colleges.

Such are some of the experiences of the student, after whom, this college is named. And now, before closing, permit me to call your attention to some things which were prominent in his university life and which deserve to be emulated by the students of Ursinus College today, if they would in any way desire to attain to any such prominence as was his, if only in a small degree.

The first thing to be noticed is his industry,—his indomitable industry. This does not come out so prominently in his letters, for he is never boastful. The only sign of it in them is, that he frequently speaks of being very busy, so that he apologizes that he has not been able to write to his patron, Crato. His industry is evident in other ways. The high opinion that his teacher, Melancthon, had of him, reveals it. Melancthon quite overflows over Ursinus' first published booklet which revealed the results of his industry while in the university. His biographers speak of his great industry. He was industrious, very industrious, in his life. Now that is the way to go through college properly. The student, who in college, is unfaithful to his studies, is unfaithful to himself. His habits in college will be apt to become his habits through life. May I appeal to the students of Ursinus to emulate Ursinus in this respect. To excel in life, means to excel in study here. There is no royal road to learning, but the road that has in it the sweat of the brow intellectually and the burning of the midnight oil at study.

There was another peculiarity of Ursinus in the university, and that was, the integrity of his character. The student who wastes his time in dissipation, his strength in immorality, only wrecks himself. I regret to say that

scenes of dissipation take place only too commonly in German universities, and also in some American universities, and are not unknown in the smaller colleges. For the period of life of the college and the university student is the age of moral stress and strain. Speaking of German universities, I can still see with what disgust the honored founder of this college, my esteemed friend, the Rev. Dr. Bomberger, looked upon a lot of university students at Erlangen, Germany, in 1884, drinking beer hilariously at a table in a public restaurant in the middle of the street. For the German, it seems, gets and drinks his beer anywhere. I remember the scenes of revelry at Heidelberg by the university students such as no American school would tolerate. I need not refer to the sword duels that are relics of barbarism that exist there. Such scenes were common in Ursinus' time, more common than today. He refers to them a number of times in his correspondence. But his pure soul reacted against them. For in each of the German universities there are many, very many fine young men, like him, who will have nothing to do with such things. Repeatedly in his letters does Ursinus express his disgust at such actions. Thus he writes: "The general want of discipline here fills my heart with the greatest sorrow." He repeatedly speaks of the roughness of the students, and even of riots among them, so that some were robbed, yes, wounded. He once declared that he would not have stayed there any longer, but for the sake of his teacher, Melancthon, whom he greatly loved. Ursinus says he kept aloof from such bad company, for a man is known by the company he keeps. What an inspiration this noble life of Ursinus, pure in the very midst of temptation and sin, should be to every student of this college. What an incentive for each to set up noble ideals of the strictest

integrity and highest conscientiousness.

“My strength is as the strength of ten,
Because my heart is pure.”

Of course, all this integrity was based on a Christian experience, for religion is the basis of character. Christ is the model for every student, and he is also their inspirer to nobility and purity of life.

There might be another prominent trait of Ursinus noted in closing. It is his deep gratitude. This is very prominent in his letters. Ursinus was a poor boy, as we have seen. But for Dr. Crato, he would not have gotten through college. He was not like, alas, some students now, ungrateful and selfish. It is very beautiful to see how he constantly expresses this to Dr. Crato. In these letters it is evident that he is constantly trying to help Dr. Crato, as well as he can, especially in finding for him medical books and also literary works, for Crato was a great literateur, famous for his Latin style. So as Ursinus was nearer the great book markets of Leipsic and Frankford, than Crato in distant Breslau or Vienna, he constantly calls Crato's attention to new rare books and buys them when desired. In his second letter, he writes to Crato: “It will never seem to me as if I in the smallest degree repaid you or redeemed even the smallest part of my indebtedness to you.” And, in one of his last letters in the university, he wrote to Crato: “Pray do not hesitate to ask for anything you might wish done for you. To be of service to you is not only a joy to me, but your right. And if only one of the small services I can do for you causes you pleasure, it will be myself that owes you gratitude.” No wonder that the third and last part of our beautiful Heidelberg catechism is headed “Gratitude.” Ursinus was full of it,

he lived gratitude and could therefore so ably expound it.

Is there not a lesson here for college students? One of the highest and finest graces is gratitude. And yet how often are college students ungrateful. Many of them, it is true, are grateful, very grateful indeed, and all their after years show it to their friends and Alma Mater. But there are sometimes those who are ungrateful,—ungrateful to those who have helped in their education and forgetful for what they owed to them,—forgetful for money loaned to them, perhaps, to help them through college,—forgetful of parents, who, perhaps, with the greatest sacrifices, have put them through college, and forgetful of their parents' prayers, as well as of their gifts. O such things are shameful and such persons ought to be shamefaced all the remainder of their lives. They ought not to be able to look a man straight in the face. And how often, after students get out of college, do they forget their Alma Mater. Some of them even take it for granted that she owes them an education, when all the fees they ever paid to the college would not pay one-tenth, perhaps one-hundredth, of what it has cost the college to educate them. My hearer, Ursinus' example should be a stern rebuke to ingratitude of whatever sort and a strong incentive to great gratitude to the friends and the college that have helped you to gain an education. You ought to say to your patrons and to this college what Ursinus did. Sons of Ursinus, you ought to follow his example as he writes to Crato, "I am fully aware of what I owe you. It will never be possible in the smallest way to repay you. The only thing I can do is this, continually to pray our Heavenly Father to reward you with his richest blessings, both in this life and the life to come." And such gratitude will transmute your dross into gold and transfigure your life.

“A thousand blessings, Lord, to us Thou dost impart.
We ask one blessing more, O Lord—a thankful
heart.”

PART IV

CONCLUSION

CHAPTER I

THE PECULIAR SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PUBLICATION OF THE HEIDELBERG CATECHISM IN 1563*

ON March 13, 1781, the world was startled by the discovery of a new planet, Uranus. This discovery of the addition of a new planet to our solar system caused great wonder and joy everywhere. But the aberrations of its orbit could not be explained, until finally it was suggested that there was perhaps another planet beyond it. The course of this unknown planet was carefully calculated and its position located before it was ever discovered. It was then discovered simultaneously by two astronomers, Adams of England, and Leverrier of Paris, in 1846, and named Neptune. Since then, as our telescopes have become larger and stronger, new fixed stars have been discovered and also many wonderful nebulae. Suns larger than our sun and solar systems, compared with which, ours is merely a pigmy, have been discovered by the score. So that such discoveries have become rather a commonplace by this time, and they do not cause the wonder and excitement caused by the discovery of Uranus and Neptune.

I have told this romantic story of the stars, because the publication of the Heidelberg catechism was like the bursting forth of a new star in the heavens. Stars, there were many in the heavens at that time,—I am now speak-

* Address delivered at Central Theological Seminary, Dayton, in the fall of 1913, with a few additions in reply to "Studies on the Heidelberg Catechism."

ing of the stars figuratively to represent the different catechisms,—catechisms, there were many in the sixteenth century. Their reprint shows that there were thirty-eight in south Germany and eighty-eight in middle Germany, in all one hundred and twenty-six. And when the north German catechisms are reprinted, the number will probably make a total of between one hundred and fifty and one hundred and seventy-five, to which must be added the Reformed catechisms of Switzerland and a few of other lands. And yet, of them all, only two have survived until this time as world-wide catechisms, the catechism of Luther, of 1529, and the Heidelberg catechism, published over a quarter of a century later. Only one other Reformed catechism of that day has continued in use up to our time, the Emden catechism,—a catechism from which, as we have seen, some of our Heidelberg is drawn. Its influence on the world has, however, been very slight, as it has been mainly a local catechism. Only the Luther catechism and the Heidelberg remain unto this day, three hundred and fifty years after their birth.

Hence the birth of the Heidelberg catechism must have had some significance about it that was peculiar. For more than twenty-five years, since the publication of Luther's catechism, in 1563, no such world-wide catechism had appeared. And since the Heidelberg catechism has appeared three hundred and fifty years ago, only one catechism of world-wide significance has been published, the Shorter catechism of the Presbyterian Church. Catechisms have come and catechisms have gone. Older catechisms, though excellent, like that of Brenz, the reformer, of Wurtemberg; newer ones, like Pezel's at Bremen, and the Zweibrücken catechism, have all passed away. But the Heidelberg has continued. There must, therefore, have been some peculiar signifi-

cance about it when it appeared, that has made it shine like a star of the first magnitude and continue to shine with such undimmed lustre all these centuries. I, therefore, call your attention to the peculiar significance of the publication of the Heidelberg catechism at the time of its publication, in 1563. It had a peculiar message to the world of its day, that struck the world like the discovery of a new planet or star. What was it?

Before going into its peculiar significance for its day, permit me also to call your attention to a fact about the Heidelberg, that makes what was significant for that day, to be also significant for our day. It has been said, and with truth, that of all the great reformers, Zwingli, the founder of our church, was the most modern, that is, his ideas were best suited to modern times. That is true. There was not the scholasticism about him that there was about the monk Luther. And as a patriot reformer, he is especially suited to our American free spirit. But what is true of Zwingli is also true of the Heidelberg catechism. It is the most modern of the old catechisms,—of the three great world-catechisms, the one most suited to the spirit of modern times. Though three hundred and fifty years old, it is not old. It has been ever new and as new today as when it was issued. It is, like the Gospel of Jesus enshrined in it,—to use our Saviour's own expression,—“a well of water springing up unto everlasting life,”—a perpetual fountain of joy and comfort and hope. It has been like Christ,—the same yesterday, today and forever, because it has so much of Christ in it. So that, what was of special significance for its day will be especially significant for our day. And the lessons that I shall draw will be suited to us as they were to those who lived in the day when it was first published.

I. IT IS IRENIC

The first striking peculiarity of the catechism was, that it was intended to be a union catechism. You remember how it came into being,—how the church of the Palatinate was then greatly divided. High-Lutherans, like Hesshuss, read every other kind of Lutheran out of the church. And as for the Reformed, well, Hesshuss excommunicated Klebitz, one of the Reformed ministers at Heidelberg. As to catechisms it was no better. The Church-Order of the Elector, Otto Henry, of the Palatinate, which was the law for the Palatinate before our catechism was published, ordered that the catechism of Brenz, the low-Lutheran reformer of south Germany, was to be used. But Hesshuss and his party, in his zeal for Luther, wanted Luther's catechism to be used. So to stop the strife, Elector Frederick III, who had succeeded Otto Henry on the throne, cut the Gordian knot by ordering a new catechism to be written to heal these dissensions. And so the Heidelberg catechism came into being.

The Heidelberg catechism has, therefore, always been looked upon as an irenic catechism; that is, one making for peace and intended to bring about church union. It is true, it does not seem to be altogether irenic, and its irenic character has often been pressed too far, we think. For it boldly declares itself, especially against three opponents,—against Unitarians and Pelagians in answers 33, 35, 62, 63 and 114; against Romanism in answers 30, 57, 62, 63, 64, 80, 95 and 98, and against the high-Lutherans, with their new doctrine of ubiquity in answers 47, 48, 76 and 78. But true irenics will never give up fundamentals and the catechism is right there. Present-day irenics often goes too far, so far as

to imperil the whole cause of church-union, because it blurs out all differences and gives a composite creed as meaningless as a composite picture. Much irenics now is only syllabub and gives us a creed of the jelly-fish variety. The Heidelberg catechism is truly irenic, for it holds to fundamentals, and yet is favorable to union. It gives us a solid foundation on which to base our union.

For there is a fact that must be remembered because of its peculiar significance then. The age in which it appeared was a very polemical age, especially the latter half of the sixteenth century. The reformers used harsh, very harsh words against each other. We would be sorry to see them used today. But we must remember that such expressions and denunciations were an inheritance to them from the monkish age before them, when the Catholic Church anathematized (and no one can curse like the Pope). Besides there is another reason for the harsh language of the reformers. In their reaction against error, especially against the errors of the Catholic Church, their adherence to principle became so dear and so intense that they often tended to become narrow. They had had to fight so hard for what they had, that it seemed so dear to them that they could not look beyond it. Zwingli was the only one who held out his hand to Luther. And so, too, the Heidelberg catechism was the only catechism that held its hands out to Lutherans and the Reformed alike, for the Reformed claimed it came under the Altered Augsburg Confession. The aim of Frederick was an honest one. He wanted to make it a catechism which would heal the differences in his land. When we first began our historical researches, more than thirty years ago, we were for years greatly puzzled by contradictory facts about the catechism. Its contents were decidedly Calvinistic. But every now and then a

statement about Frederick III showed he wanted the Heidelberg catechism to be under the law of Germany, which allowed only the Augsburg Confession. How to harmonize these has been a problem. But it has finally come to us. Frederick wanted to make the catechism Lutheran enough so it might bring its adherents under the Augsburg Confession of the Lutheran Church, the only legal Protestant church of Germany of that day (the Reformed not being legally recognized until at the end of the Thirty Years' War, 1648). He wanted it to be under the Augsburg Confession, but (and this is significant) the Altered Augsburg Confession. And Frederick, while thus placing it under the Altered Augsburg, also wanted his catechism to be broad enough to include in it the Reformed. Whether the catechism came up to that is the question. It was only to be expected, when both authors were Reformed, that it would wink toward the Reformed. And Elector Frederick III winked at this dereliction,—that is, he passed it by with the thought that the catechism was better than either Lutheran and Reformed,—that it was according to the Bible. The catechism was therefore irenic.

What a lesson for our day. Therefore it is the most modern of all the catechisms. For it is entirely up to the spirit of our age. There is none of the great world-catechisms on which the various Protestant churches could so well unite as the Heidelberg. This is a day of irenics, when the union of the churches is in the air. We may individually differ as to the methods of union, but we all agreed on its principle and importance,—that it is right and necessary. How true are the words of that hymn about Christ's prayer at the Lord's Supper, that "they all may be one."

"O may that holy prayer,
 His tenderest and best,
 The utterance of His latest care
 'Ere to His throne He passed,
 No longer unfulfilled remain
 The world's offense, Thy peoples' stain.

II. A CREED-CATECHISM

2. A second peculiarity of the Heidelberg catechism at the time of its publication was, that it was a creed-catechism. That was its second peculiarity over against any other catechism of its day. They had creeds in those days,—great creeds, which were accepted or adopted by the Church, as the Augsburg Confession of the Lutherans, and the Second Helvetic Confession of the Reformed. And they had catechisms in those days, many of them as we have seen. But these catechisms were not intended for church creeds, but only for use in catechization. They would have both a creed and a catechism. Thus the Lutheran Church had as its creeds the Augsburg Confession and the Smalcald Articles, and as its catechisms, Luther's and Brenz'. It was not supposed that a creed could be a catechism or a catechism a creed,—until the Heidelberg catechism came. Elector Frederick III did not dare draw it up as a creed only, for was not the Augsburg Confession the only legal creed of Germany? He knew he would be setting himself against German law if he had done so. Yet he wanted not merely a catechism, for the theological questions between him and the high-Lutherans were too severely theological for that. And yet they must be stated, so as to vindicate his theological position. You see he was in an awkward dilemma. He had to have

a creed-catechism, which seemed impossible. And the Heidelberg catechism solved the impossible. It made the impossible possible. That was one of the most significant things about it in the days of its birth. It was written to be in some sense the creed of the church and at the same time to be the catechism for the youth. It aimed to be, like the Gospel it enshrined, profound yet simple, deep yet clear, doctrinal yet with a living theology,—a strange union of opposites. So the catechism was both the creed of the Church as well as the catechism of the children, and as well adapted for the one as the other. The minister would preach on it on Sunday afternoons, expounding its great profound truths, and then he would teach its simple faith to the children in the schools. This has always been one of the most remarkable peculiarities of our catechism. Some, it is true, have criticized it as being too much of a creed to be a catechism, and others, as being too much of a catechism to be a good creed. But they have been few. Its usefulness for both purpose has answered such detractors.

The objections to the catechism are mainly of two kinds, pedagogical and doctrinal. Rev. Prof. George W. Richards, D.D., in his recent work, "Studies on the Heidelberg Catechism," pages 146-170, favors the objections to the Heidelberg. On page 165 he notes the objections to the reformation catechisms, which, of course, include the Heidelberg.

1. They discuss questions of abstract doctrine, which have lost their significance for our age.

2. The material in the catechism is not adapted to the child, neither in his intellectual capacity nor to his religious experience.

3. The catechisms grew out of the ancient rather

than the modern methods of Bible study.

4. Even the doctrinal systems of the catechisms no longer satisfy the religious consciousness of our time.

These objections, however, are summed up in the two mentioned above.

1. The pedagogical objection: "Their material is not adapted to the child, either in his intellectual capacity or religious experience." This brings to view the modern pedagogy, which is essentially rationalistic and tends to minimize, if not to utterly destroy, the supernatural. Who was the originator of this movement? Rousseau, whose confession of faith would not satisfy even a Unitarian today. He held that the child was not to be taught religion till he came to years of discretion. This pedagogy rules out the teaching of what the child does not understand. It will therefore rule out all teaching to the children about God (because they cannot apprehend Him), all about sin, salvation, regeneration and immortality, all of which are beyond the ken of even those of us who are grown-ups. It rules out all religious propositions from education. But a child needs to be taught the great truths of religion, even if he does not understand all about them. He needs religion to enable him to grow up useful and honest and Christ-like. And nowhere will one find it more attractively presented than in our catechism, where it is pictured as a "comfort." But this modern pedagogy holds that nothing is to be taught to the child that is beyond his intellectual capacity. Well, what is the use of teaching the child anything at all, for everything that comes to the child is new and to him unknown before? The new pedagogy paralyzes all progress in the child. And it also bankrupts all education, for the child is always learning the unknown. Cut that incentive off and what incentive

has he for any education. The fundamental mistake of modern education is, that it makes education to be everything. It does not believe in instruction. Nothing is to be put into the child but what is gotten out of him, is its rule. We believe that the older view of education, which included both education and instruction, is better. It is certainly a broader view of education. There are certainly some things that we must put into the mind of the child. And these are especially the doctrines which will mould the child's character. But they are the things the child does not and cannot fully understand,—the blessed doctrines of our faith. No, we believe in the principle of the older pedagogy, that the greater, larger and more important the ideas placed before the child, the greater the child will become. The child needs the inspiration of great ideals, ideals which he does not understand, yet which he, according to his inquisitive nature, can attack constantly. For he is always attacking the new and non-understandable. The unknown is the continued incentive to the child. So when this pedagogy takes this incentive away, it is doing what harms the child. It does not understand the instincts of the child. And it especially mocks the early natural religious instincts of the child by giving it a stone for bread. This is the root-idea of modern pedagogy.

Doubtless our opponents would reply, that they do not rule out religious ideas. Well, if they don't they are giving up the root-principle of their pedagogy, which is, that profound subjects must not be presented to the child, because he can not understand them. Any true religious ideas, such as God, sin, salvation, eternity, are the most profound of ideas.

The new pedagogy rails against the old pedagogy, often tearing it up root and branch. But the older ped-

agogy has produced the greatest men of genius and the highest minds in the past. Present civilization is only the product of their efforts. Calvinism and Puritanism, what mighty thinkers they have produced; in comparison with them, the new pedagogy has as yet produced nothing. An education that has produced such leaders did so why?—because it has great elements in its education. And it was the supernatural that made them great. We believe that the catechisms that have the older ideas of God, sin, regeneration and immortality will produce better children and higher manhood and womanhood. They are what the children need. They are profoundly impressed by them. And they are nowhere taught with such power as in books like the Heidelberg. What great thinkers the Reformed Church has in the past produced on the basis of the Heidelberg. If she gives up that basis, what will she produce?

The other objection to the Heidelberg catechism is the theological. The new theology does not like it, because out of sympathy with its doctrines, especially the substitutionary atonement of Christ and even the deity of Jesus Christ. The new theology, according to "Studies in the Heidelberg Catechism" (page 147), travesties the old view of the doctrine of God and does so by becoming there essentially pantheistic. Its doctrine of man (page 147) is evolutionary, for it traces sin to our brute nature. Then the fall of man is a fall up and not down. The third presupposition given there is that religion is a life. That is not new. The old theology also held it to be a life in the Holy Spirit. And as to the fourth mentioned there, the kingdom of God, this is not a new discovery of the new theology, for the old theology held it, though it did not emphasize it as much. But the danger of this over-increasing emphasis on the king-

dom of God is that we are getting so much sociology in religion that the spirituality is all gone,—the ethical has taken its place. But the ethical will be spiritless and sociology, ineffective, without spirituality as its inspiration. Religion has lost this in this age, due to the new theology. She needs to regain it again, if she would be mighty, for the victory of the kingdom of God. "Studies in the Heidelberg Catechism" (page 165), quotes Professor Hall, who generally poses as a great expert in pedagogy. It seems to us he does not know what he is talking about when he there says: "The most careful study of the child's mind shows that before eighteen or twenty years of age there is no interest in anything Pauline and that other elements than the Bible, than Paul's, should take precedence up to that age. "That has not been our experience as a pastor. We have found that the children of the adolescent period are deeply interested in the Pauline, profoundly impressed with the doctrine of justification of Paul. It is what their nature calls for. Perhaps a doctrine of justification, such as Professor Hall teaches, which emasculates it of its centre of grace, does not appeal to the child. That is probably a reason why he makes such a blundering statement. Professor Richards writes approvingly of Rev. Prof. W. C. Schaeffer's Catechetical Manual. We would like to ask, why has Professor Schaeffer omitted the Pauline. Is it a concession to this new pedagogy? If so, we deprecate it, for we have had too high an opinion of him for that. But the Heidelberg does not avoid the Pauline. It takes in the whole of the New Testament in all its fulness of the revelation of the plan of God for our salvation.

We must confess to an honest question when such things are mooted. It is, "How can ministers and pro-

fessors, who at ordination and at induction into office, solemnly promise to maintain and defend the Heidelberg catechism, now try to criticize it and undermine its authority": the consistency and ecclesiastical honesty of such actions, we are, to say the least, too obtuse to see.

We deprecate any attempt to set aside the Heidelberg in our Reformed Church, believing that such an attempt will divide the Church. There are too many of us too deeply attached to it to see it dishonored. We believe, however, that if its answers were abbreviated, as is done in the excellent Shorter Heidelberg catechism by my colleague, Rev. Prof. David Van Horne, D.D., it is adaptable to our needs. The Heidelberg that has been so great and done so much for our Church, is yet needed to make her great in the future as in the past and to make her able to do much for the world's salvation and the victory of our faith.

III. AN EXPERIMENTAL CATECHISM

3. But there was a third significance in the Heidelberg at the time of its birth. It was an experimental catechism,—a catechism of the heart as well as of the head. It was founded on the psychological experiences through which a Christian passes. It was not a mere cold theological treatise, but one of warm living faith. Most of the catechisms of its day were inclined to be mere theological statements. Occasionally we find a catechism which aimed to bring out the experimental side of religion as those of the Lasco type. But none of them ever began to approach the Heidelberg in the breadth and depth of personal experience. Thus take the prominence given by it to religion as a personal comfort, to faith as a hearty confidence, to assurance of

faith, these and many more show its experimental character. Its questions are not merely in the third person singular or first person plural, as in other catechisms, but many in the second person singular, thus making them direct questions to the catechumen, and the answers are often in the first person, as expressions of personal faith by the catechumen. Thus, the first question and answer: "What is thy only comfort?" "That I, with body and soul am not my own, etc., also answers 5, 32, 39, 44, 52, 58, 59, 60, 61, 94, 103, 104, 105, 111, 112 and 129, 17 in all. All this has made the Heidelberg the greatest catechism of experience and that undoubtedly has been one of the causes of its wide-spread popularity.

And yet, strange to say, this very peculiarity of the Heidelberg has been criticized and criticized by friends as near to us theologically as the Presbyterians. Rev. Prof. B. Warfield, of Princeton, in the Princeton Review, 1908, page 565, charges that our catechism is not free from a sort of leaven of spiritual utilitarianism when it asks, "What is thy comfort, what profit, etc." He charges it as being hedonistic and attempting to attract the child to religion by hedonistic and selfish ideas of enjoyment. Well, we would reply that if the Heidelberg is a sinner in this respect, Dr. Warfield's Shorter catechism of the Presbyterian Church is a sinner, too, for it has several questions which begin with "what are the benefits," as 36, 37, 38. And if the Heidelberg catechism is wrong, then the New Testament is wrong, for our Saviour makes religion a matter of profit, as Jesus says: "What shall it profit a man," etc. Christ says: "Come unto me and I will give you rest," etc. Both Christ and Paul place religion before us as eternal happiness. Dr. Warfield's quarrel is not with the Heidelberg, but with the New Testament. Besides,

he mistakes this idea in the Heidelberg, for it does not present religion as merely utilitarian, hedonistic and selfish, but, as it says in its 6th answer, that "we might live with him in eternal happiness, to glorify and praise Him. This last clause is exactly like the first answer of the Shorter catechism of the Presbyterians, that "the chief end of man is to glorify God and enjoy him forever." If the Heidelberg is wrong, we ask him is his Shorter catechism right.

And then comes Rev. Dr. D. S. Gregory, in the Independent of December 16, 1897, where, after quoting our first answer, he says: "Mark the egoism of it:— I my, my, my, me, me, my, my, my, me, me." He thus attacks it as leading to spiritual pride and egoism. We reply that his difficulty is not with the Heidelberg but with the New Testament. For if our catechism is wrong, then Paul was wrong when he said: "I know whom I have believed," and Job was wrong when he said, "I know that my Redeemer liveth." The New Testament demands such assurance of faith and Christian testimony, and so does even his Shorter catechism. Such objections have no standing. I greatly fear that these eminent divines of the Presbyterian Church are more affected by jealousy of the Heidelberg, lest it will, by its popularity, replace their Shorter catechism, and just because of this very experimental character, which the Shorter catechism lacks.

No, the combination of head- and heart-faith in the Heidelberg, of intellectual faith and personal experience, has been one of the most striking peculiarities of our catechism. The Heidelberg catechism, though it knew it not then, yet solved a problem that it has taken three centuries for the world and the church to finally locate and attempt to solve. I say both the world and the

church, for both have been struggling at the same problem.

And first as to the world. And by the world, I mean the world as purely secular, the world of thought, whose quintessence is philosophy. For this world of thought has been ruled for two centuries by what is called intellectualism. Everything else was made secondary or ruled out of court. Logic reigned. Everything must be made rational. Pure intellectualism was the king. And now what is happening? I was reading just the other day one of the greatest of recent books of today on philosophy and what does it say,—that intellectualism in philosophy has had its day and that experimentalism is coming in to correct its errors. The appearance of Professor James' great book on "Varieties of Religious Experience," is epochal and proves this. Its grant of the truth of experimentalism has tolled the death-knell of intellectualism. For it has been found out that intellectualism left out many problems and warped the answers to others. It is therefore bankrupt. For emotionalism is just as important as intellectualism and the heart is as important as the head, indeed the springs of action are in the heart. Why, what philosophy has been trying to find out for these centuries and is just now announcing as a great discovery, the Heidelberg catechism declared three hundred and fifty years ago, as it made emotionalism as important as intellectualism in its philosophy of religion.

Well the Church has also had the same problem of intellectualism. She continually inclined to become merely intellectual. Faith and experience became so divorced that she had much dead orthodoxy, that is, her ministers and members were orthodox enough, but religion had little effect on their lives. Theology con-

stantly tended to become scholastic. Logic ruled in theology. The great problem of the Church has been to make her faith living and not merely intellectual, to unite faith and life.

And now permit me to call your attention to one of the most wonderful romances in Church history, for even theology has its romances. In the eighteenth century, Count Zinzendorf was converted, it is said, by seeing a painting of Christ on the cross with the words under it.

“All this I did for thee,
What hast Thou done for me?”

He ever after made the Christ and the cross central in faith, even exaggerating it so as to make it offensively prominent in its crassness. But he impressed the prominence of the cross on the Moravians who ever after emphasized it.

Over a century ago, a Reformed minister in Germany, an army chaplain named Schleiermacher, was so afraid his son would be led astray by the rationalism in the universities, that he sent him to the Moravian School at Barby. The young man remained there some time. But he was naturally inclined to liberal theology and the Moravians were too strict in their rules and too narrow in their doctrines for him, so he ran away to Halle university and there drank of rationalism to the deepest fill.

But though he wandered far from old orthodoxy, there were two things that he had learned at Barby he never forgot. One was that Christ was central in theology. And that idea he stamped on the theology of the nineteenth century. Theology must centre in Christ. That idea created a new era in theology, as it made it

Christocentric. And the other idea that Schleiermacher got from the Moravians was the one to which especially we refer for our purpose. Schleiermacher taught that theology was not a mere matter of the head. He taught that the centre and basis of theology was a feeling,—the feeling of dependence on God. He made that feeling the sum and substance of religion. And that idea has revolutionized all modern theology. Schleiermacher solved the problem that had troubled the Church for many centuries. He taught that religion was not a mere matter of doctrine, but was of the heart. In a word, where before orthodoxy was cold and dead, it now became living and feeling. Now in thus praising Schleiermacher, I do not mean to say that I agree with him in all his theology. He makes too many concessions in it to the pantheists. But he made the discovery of a principle about religion that is all important. I am also willing to grant that often this very principle that religion is a feeling of dependence of God, has been taken advantage of by emotionalism and even by rationalists. There are dangers in his position. But at the same time he struck a true keynote when he declared that emotional religion was as necessary as intellectual; and that to keep religion warm and living the heart must beat in it.

And so now theological thought, like philosophical thought, has given up the old intellectualism so that there may be no more dead orthodoxy. It aims to make room for the feelings so that faith may be vital. Why, my dear friends, that is what the Heidelberg catechism said three hundred and fifty years ago. It made religion a matter of the heart as well as of the head. It is true some Reformed theologians have tried to intellectualize it, but there it is,—its emotionalism, warm and living.

Now this is the reason why our catechism is the most

modern of the catechisms and the one most up-to-date. This is the reason why it has been so popular in our own Church all these centuries and is so popular today. This is the reason why, when, in our own Church a century ago, some of our ministers published their own private catechisms for their catechumens, yet these were all set aside and our Church went back entirely to the Heidelberg. These other catechisms did not have the warmth and personal faith of the Heidelberg. This is the reason why a Presbyterian divine once said to the writer, "If our Shorter catechism had a little of the Heidelberg it would be better," and he added: "If we had a catechism that would combine the excellence of the Shorter and the Heidelberg it would be the ideal catechism."

My hearers, when the Heidelberg catechism was born, it started a new era, it set a new pace for the world. It was like the flaring up of a new star. It was the most significant event in the history of catechisms, before and after it.





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