

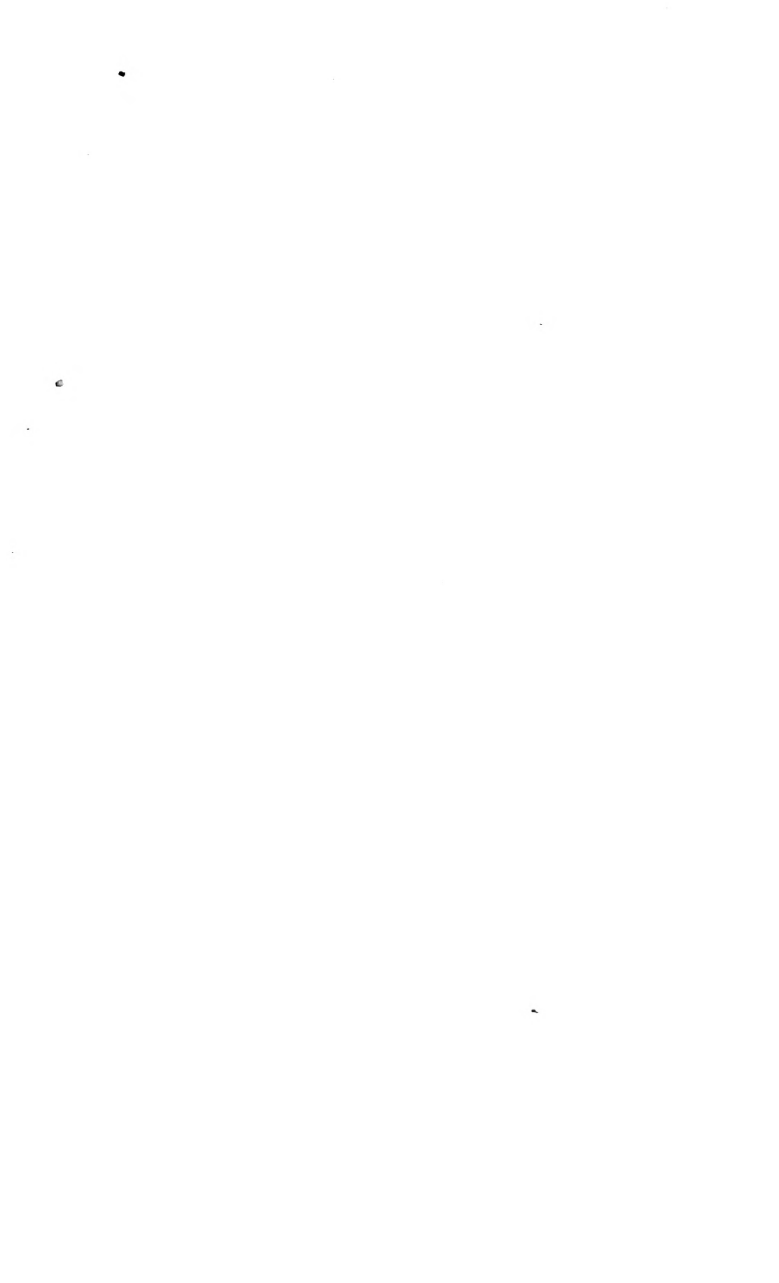
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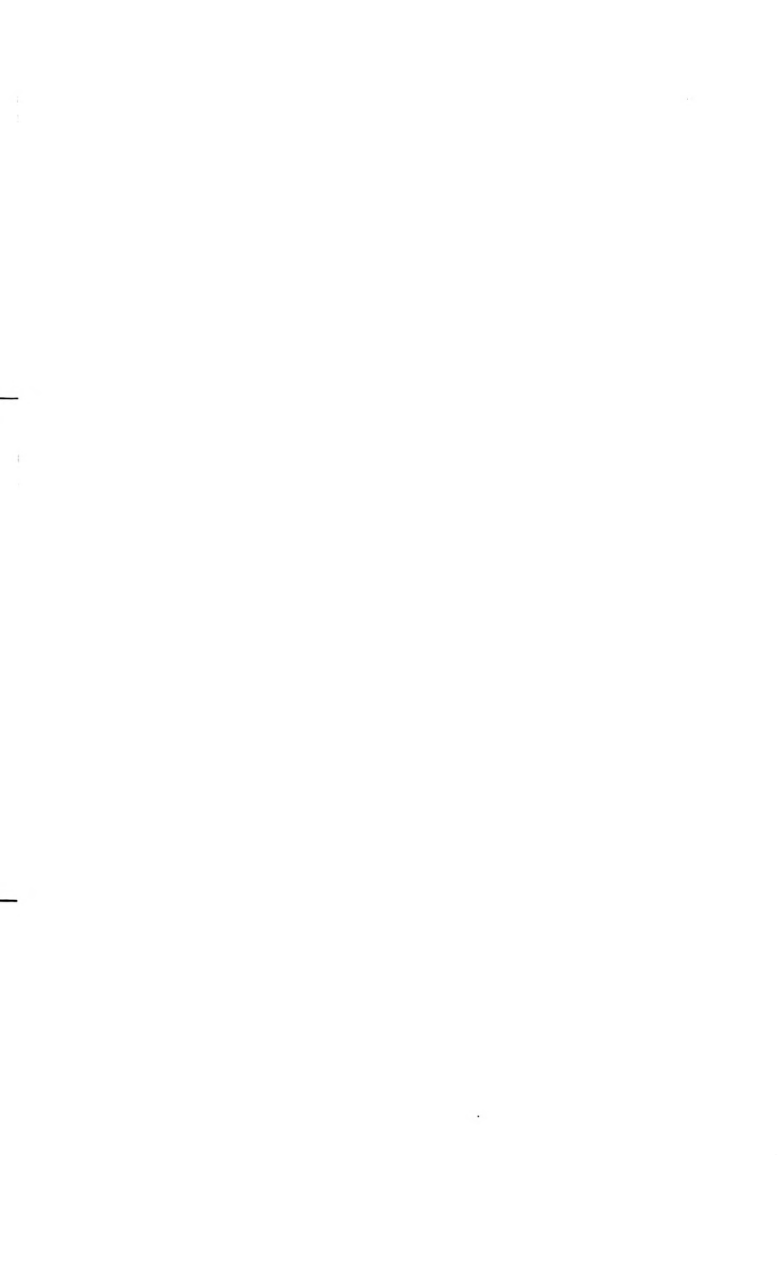


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Lectures on the reformation







LEADERS

OF

THE REFORMATION.



LEADERS OF THE REFORMATION:

LUTHER, CALVIN, LATIMER, KNOX,

THE

REPRESENTATIVE MEN

OF

GERMANY, FRANCE, ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.

BY

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PREFATORY NOTE.

THE substance of these sketches was delivered in a series of Lectures at the Edinburgh Philosophical Institution during the past spring. I mention this not to excuse their publication, which I had designed from the first, but to account for a rapidity and summariness of statement, and certain oral peculiarities of style, which will be sufficiently obvious here and there. I cannot expect that in their present shape, and by the general public, they will be received with the same indulgent interest as they were received by the large audiences whose presence honored their delivery; but I trust they may be found

useful and stimulating studies of a great period, fruitful in great men, and in lessons of enduring meaning. They are simply sketches, — as far as I could make them, fair and accurate and living sketches, — but nothing more.

I have been careful, and even minute, in my references, where, from the character of the statements in the text, I judged it necessary to be so; and in some instances these references may be found serviceable by the student.

ST. MARY'S COLLEGE, ST. ANDREWS,

23d May, 1859.

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I.

LUTHER.



LEADERS OF THE REFORMATION.

L U T H E R.

LUTHER is the most notable of all the Reformers. His name at once starts the most stirring associations, and leads into the widest details and discussions. His work was comparatively single and original in its energy; and his life was especially heroic in its proportions, and varied and graphic and interesting in its incidents. There is a grandeur in the whole subject, below which we are apt to feel that we constantly fall, particularly within the limits of a mere sketch.

Few characters have been more closely observed, or more keenly scrutinized. There is a breadth and intensity and power of human interest in the career of the German reformer, which have concentrated the attention both of friend and foe upon it; while the careless freedom and humorous frankness with which he himself has lifted the veil and shown us his inner life, have furnished abundant materials for the one and the other to draw their portrait and point their moral. I do not know that in all history there is any one to whose true being, alike in its strength and weaknesses, we get nearer than we get to that of Luther. This is of the very greatness of the man, that from

first to last he is an open-hearted, honest German,—undisguised by education, unweakened by ecclesiasticism, unsoftened by fame. Whatever faults he had lie upon the surface: they appear in all the manifestations of his character, and we have nowhere to search for any secret or double motives in his conduct. No one has ever ventured to accuse him of insincerity. He lives before us in all that he did; and neither dogmatic violence nor political necessity ever serve to hide from us the genuine human heart, beating warm beneath all the strong armor of controversy, or the thin folds of occasional diplomacy.

The life of Luther divides itself into two great periods, which denote as well an important distinction in his work. The first of these periods terminates with the Diet of Worms (1521) and his imprisonment in the Wartburg, and is marked by the striking series of events which signalize his education and conversion, his conflict about indulgences, and then his general conflict and final breach with Rome. The whole series falls naturally into three main groups or stages sufficiently distinct, yet of disproportionate outline. The first may be said to extend to the memorable year of 1517, and summons before our minds a varied and graphic succession of pictures—the boy at Mansfield, the scholar at Eisenach, the student and monk at Erfurt, the pilgrim to Rome, the professor and preacher at Wittenberg. The second stage, with all its peculiar significance, is a very rapid one, lasting exactly a year, from October 1517, when he posted the ninety-five theses on the gates of the Church of All Saints, to October 1518, when he fled by night from Augsburg, after his unsuccessful interview with the Legate¹ Cajetan. The third is

¹ Thomas de Vio, Cardinal of Cajetan.

traced in its successive steps by the Leipzig Disputation, July 1519; the burning of the Papal Bull, December 1520; and, finally, the Diet of Worms, April 1521.

Between these several stages of the reformer's career there is an intimate natural connection — a connection not merely accidental, but, so to speak, logical, in the manner in which they follow one another. They arise, the later from the preceding, by a sure process of rational and spiritual expansion, issuing in order like the evolving steps of a great argument, or the unfolding scenes of a great drama, or like both together, — presenting a marvellous combination at once of logical consistency and dramatic effect. It is of great importance, therefore, to understand the principle and ground of the whole, as portrayed in the struggles and experience of the first part of his life. The convent at Erfurt is the significant prologue to the whole drama.

Luther was born at Eisleben on the evening of the 10th of December, 1483. His parents were poor — his father, John Luther, being a miner; his mother, Margaret, a peasant. Humble in their circumstances, they were both of superior intelligence and character. The father was a diligent reader of whatever books came within his reach, and had his own somewhat immovable convictions as to life and duty; the mother was esteemed by all her honest co-matrons as peculiarly exemplary in her conduct — *ut in exemplar virtutum*, as Melancthon says. The story is, that they had gone to Eisleben to attend a fair, when their son was unexpectedly born on the eve of St. Martin. The very next day he was carried to the Church of St. Peter, and baptized by the name of the saint on whose day he had seen the light. Shortly after Luther's birth, his parents removed to Mansfield, where, by industry and perseverance, his father's worldly circumstances improved. He became

the owner of two small furnaces, and was elevated to some civic dignity in the town of the district. Here, in the "Latin school," the young Martin first began to experience the hardships of life. He appears to have been a somewhat unruly boy, or the school discipline must have been of a very savage description. He is said to have been flogged by his master fifteen times in one day; and while the scholastic rod thus weighed heavily upon him, the parental rod was not spared. Neither father nor mother nursed the boy in softness. He himself gives us rather an unpleasant glimpse of the domestic discipline. "He was whipped for a mere trifle," he says, "till the blood came." But then, as a companion picture, serving to relieve by its bright tenderness the severity of the other, we are told of the father carrying the little Martin to school in his arms, and bringing him back in the same manner.

Having got all the schooling he could get at Mansfield, he went first to the school of the Franciscans at Magdeburg, and then nearer home to Eisenach. It was in the latter place, while singing in the streets for bread, according to a common practice of the German schoolboys, that his fair appearance and sweet voice attracted the notice of a good lady of the name of Cotta, who provided him henceforth, during his stay at school, with a comfortable home. Luther, in after years, recalled his school days with all the zest of his genial and affectionate nature, and used, in his familiar house-sermons, to exhort his hearers "never to despise the poor boys who sing at their doors, and asked bread for the love of God." He would even illustrate the advantage of prayer by a humorous story drawn from his experience as a street-singer. "Importunity in prayer," he says, "will always bring down from heaven the blessing

sought. How well do I remember singing once as a boy before the house of a rich man, and entreating very hard for some bread. At last the man of the house came running out, crying aloud, 'Where are you, you knaves?' We all took to our heels, for we thought we had angered him by our importunity, and he was going to beat us; but he called us back and gave us two loaves."¹

On his reaching his eighteenth year, it became a question to what profession he should devote himself. His father's ambition was excited by his talents, and the law seemed the most likely avenue by which these talents could carry him to distinction and emolument. He accordingly entered the university of Erfurt, then the most distinguished in Germany, with the view of preparing himself for the legal profession. There he studied philosophy in the writings of the schoolmen, and perfected his classical knowledge in the pages of Cicero and Virgil. Even thus early the barren subtleties of the scholastic philosophy rather repelled than interested him. They left, however, a permanent influence on his intellectual character. He took his degree of Doctor of Philosophy or Master of Arts in 1505, when he was twenty-two years of age, and the event, according to custom, was celebrated by a torchlight procession and great rejoicing.

But, before this event, he had begun an education of a far more real and profound character than any that the university could impart to him. One day, as he was turning over the books in the university library, he fell upon a copy of the Vulgate. He beheld with astonishment that there were more gospels and epistles than in the lectionaries. A new world opened upon him; he returned again

¹ *House-Postils* *Walch*, xiii. 535; quoted by *Worsley*, *Life of Luther*, i. 41.

and again with avidity to the sacred page, and, as he read, his heart burned within him. Several circumstances served to deepen these feelings, — a dangerous sickness, which brought him near to the point of death, and the decease of a friend of the name of Alexis, accompanied, or at least somehow deeply associated in his mind, with a dreadful thunder storm, to which he was exposed on his return to Erfurt, after a visit to his parents. This latter event especially made a powerful impression upon him. The common version of the story¹ is, that the lightning struck his friend by his side as they journeyed together, and that Luther was so appalled by the disaster that he fell upon his knees in prayer, and resolved, if spared, to dedicate himself to the service of God. The story is at least a fair tribute to the child-like piety that now and always animated him. He kept his resolve, silent and apparently unmoved for some time, yet cherishing it in his heart. His mode of carrying it out was characteristic. One evening he invites some of his fellow-students to supper, gives them of his best cheer; music and jest enliven the company, and the entertainment closes in a full burst of merriment. The same night there is a solitary knock at the door of the Augustine convent, and the student who has just gayly parted from his companions, two volumes alone of all his books in his hand, — a Virgil and a Plautus, — passes beneath its portal. He has separated from the world, and devoted himself to God, as he and the world then understood devotion.

The three years which Luther now spent in the convent at Erfurt are among the most signal and significant of his life. During these years were laid deep in his

¹ It is supposed to mingle together two events.

heart those spiritual convictions out of which his whole reforming work sprang and grew into shape. The sparks which were afterwards to explode in the overthrow of the Papacy, and to lighten up into the glory of a restored gospel, were here kindled. The struggle for which Germany was preparing was here rehearsed in the single soul of a solitary monk. It is a painful and somewhat sad spectacle; but it possesses not only the interest of an earnest individual struggle, but the sublimity of a prelude to the great national conflict which was impending.

It was Luther's duty, as a novice, to perform the meanest offices in the convent. He had chosen his lot, and he was not the man to shrink from its mere servile hardships; so he swept the floors, and wound the clock, and ministered in various ways to the laziness of his brother monks. He was even driven to his old trade of street-begging, as they assailed him with their doggel cry, "Sackum per nackum" — "Go through the streets with the sack, and get us what you can to eat." After a while, and by the friendly interference of the university in his favor, he was able to resume his studies. Augustine and the Bible on the one hand, and Occam and Gerson on the other, shared his attention, and we are left vaguely to guess what seeds of divine truth from the one, and of papal disaffection from the other, were sown in his mind. All was as yet chaos in his spiritual condition. The darkness had been stirred within him, and a profound uneasiness produced, but no ray of light yet rested on it. By fasting and prayer, and every species of monkish penance, he labored to satisfy his conscience and secure his salvation. "If ever monk could have got to heaven by monkery," he afterwards said, "I might have done so. I wore out my body with watching, fasting, praying, and other works." He was some-

times for four days together without meat or drink. But all his labors and mortifications brought him no peace. The terrors of guilt haunted him as a bodily presence — clung to him as a pursuing shadow; so that one day, at mass, he cried out, as some dire aspect of wrath rose up before him, “It is not I! it is not I!” On another occasion he disappeared for certain days and nights; alarm was excited, his cell door was broken open, and he was found prostrate on the floor, in a state of helpless emaciation, unconscious, and apparently dead, till roused by the chanting of the young choristers. The one human influence, to which he was never insensible, moved him when everything else had failed. Now and always, music had a charm for him only second to theology. “It is the only other art,” he says, “which, like theology, can calm the agitations of the soul, and put the devil to flight.”

At length light began to dawn upon him. The Vicar-general of the Augustines came on a visit of inspection to the convent at Erfurt. Staupitz is one of those characters who, amid the prevailing unworthiness of the Romish clergy of the time, stands out as a remarkable and most honorable exception. Of clear intelligence, simple and affectionate feelings, and most real and living piety, he reflects, no doubt, the brightest side of the system which he represented; but it is well for us to remember that it had a bright side, and that, saving for this, Luther and his work might never have been what they were. With characteristic frankness, the reformer never ceased to confess his spiritual obligations to the head of his order. “Through him,” he said, “the light of the gospel first dawned out of the darkness on my heart.” Touched by the undisguised zeal and grave and melancholy looks of the young monk, Staupitz sought his confidence. Luther unbosomed him-

self. "It is in vain," he said, "that I promise to God; sin is always too strong for me." — "I have myself," Staupitz replied, "vowed more than a thousand times to lead a holy life, and as often broken my vows. I now trust only in the mercy and grace of God in Christ." The monk spoke of his fears—of the terrors of guilt that haunted him, and made him wretched amidst all his mortifications. "Look at the wounds of Christ," said the Vicar-general; "see the Saviour bleeding upon the cross, and believe in the mercy of God."—Surely a brave and true gospel, speaking from the bosom of the old and corrupting hierarchy to the heart of the nascent and reviving faith! Luther further deplored the inefficacy of all his works of repentance. "There is no true repentance," answered Staupitz, "but that which begins in the love of God and of righteousness. Conversion does not come from such works as you have been practising. *Love Him who has first loved you.*" There was comfort in such words to the heart of the weary monk. The darkness began to clear away; but again and again it returned, and the struggle went on. "Oh my sins! my sins!" he exclaimed, in writing to the Vicar-general. "It is just your sins that make you an object of salvation," was the virtual reply. "Would you be only the semblance of a sinner, and have only the semblance of a Saviour? Jesus Christ is the Saviour of those who are real and great sinners." To these precious counsels Staupitz added the present of a Bible; and Luther, rejoicing in its possession, devoted himself more than ever to its study. Gradually the truth dawned upon him as he nourished himself upon Scripture and St. Augustine. Still he had not attained a clear and firm footing. A renewed sickness, brought on by the severity of his mortifications, brought back his old terrors.

God seemed an offended judge ready to condemn him, and he lay miserable in his fears, when an aged monk, who had come to see him, sought to console him by repeating the words of the creed, "I believe in the forgiveness of sins." Luther caught at the words. The monk pressed the point by urging that it was necessary to believe not only that David's or Peter's sins were forgiven, but that his own sins were forgiven. From this time the doctrine of grace was clearly seen by him. His soul passed into its bright light. The confusions which had rested on the language of Scripture cleared away. "I saw the Scripture in an entirely new light," he says, "and straightway I felt as if I were born anew; it was as if I had found the door of Paradise thrown wide open."

Thus Luther fought his way step by step to the freedom of the gospel; from hard and painful asceticism to despair of holiness by any such means, and then from the very depths of this despair to the comfort and gladness of a free salvation in Christ, as preached to him by Staupitz and the aged monk. By the end of his stay at Erfurt his Christian convictions were well matured, although he was still far, and for many years after this still far, from seeing their full bearing, and the inevitable conclusions to which they led.

In the year 1507 he was ordained a priest, and in the following year he removed to Wittenberg, where the Elector Frederick of Saxony had recently planted a university, destined to be memorably associated with the reformer. If Erfurt be the cradle of the Reformation, Wittenberg was its seminary and the chief seat of its triumph; and the old Augustine convent there, even more than that at Erfurt, gathers to itself a stirring and glorious, if somewhat less solemn interest.

At first Luther lectured on dialectics and physics, but with little good-will. His heart was already in theology — that theology “which seeks out the kernel from the nut, and the flour from the wheat, and the marrow from the bones.” In 1509 he became a bachelor of theology, and immediately began lecturing on the holy Scriptures. His lectures produced a powerful impression by the novelty of their views and the boldness of his advocacy of them. “This monk,” remarked the rector of the university,¹ “will puzzle all our doctors, and bring in a new doctrine, and reform the whole Roman Church, for he takes his stand on the writings of the apostles and prophets, and on the word of Jesus Christ.” On such truly Protestant ground he already stood, although he called himself after this, and truly enough, so far as all practical recognition of his position was concerned, a “most insane Papist.”

From lecturing he passed to preaching, although here, as at every step, with a struggle. He had an awful feeling of the responsibility of speaking to the people in God’s stead, and it required the urgent remonstrance of Staupitz to make him ascend the pulpit. He began his career as a preacher in the small chapel of the convent, a mean building of wood, thirty feet long and twenty feet broad, decayed and falling to pieces. There for the first time was heard that mighty voice which at length shook the world. His words, Melancthon said, were “born, not on his lips, but in his soul ;”² they sprang from a profoundly awakened feeling of the truth of what he spake, and kindled a corresponding feeling. They moved the hearts of all who heard them, as they had never been moved before ; and

¹ Dr. Martin Pollich of Metrichstadt.

² Non nasci in labris sed pectore.

very soon the creaking and mouldy timbers of the old edifice were altogether unable to contain the numbers who thronged to hear him. He was invited by the town council to preach in the parish church, and there his burning words reached a much more general and influential audience.

One important element in the education of the reformer still remains to be mentioned. He was destined to see and study the Papacy in the very centre of its power — in its full-blown magnificence in Rome. In the year 1510 — some say 1511 — he went on a mission to this city.¹ What he saw and heard there, made an ineffaceable impression upon him, although it did not produce any immediate result. “I would not take a hundred thousand florins,” he afterwards said, “not to have seen Rome. I have said many masses there, and heard many said, so that I shudder when I think of it. There I heard, among other coarse jests, courtiers laughing at table, and bragging that some said mass and repeated these words over the bread and wine: *Panis es, Panis manebis; Vinum es, Vinum manebis.*” For the time, however, the fervor of his monastic devotion burned bright amid all this blasphemy. He ran the round of all the churches, and believed all the lying legends repeated to him. It even passed through his mind as a regret that his parents were still living, as otherwise he might have wrought their deliverance from purgatory by his masses and penances. He tried to mount the Scala Sancta (Pilate’s staircase, miraculously transported from Jerusalem) on his knees, and yet (strange evidence of the conflict raging in his heart), as he essayed the painful task, a

¹ The nature of the mission is not exactly ascertained. It is supposed to have been partly connected with the interests of his order, and partly in fulfilment of a vow.

voice of thunder kept shouting to him, "*The just shall live by faith!*"

A further and last step of academical honor awaited him on his return. He was created a Doctor in the holy Scriptures in the year 1512, and the oath which, on this occasion, he solemnly swore on the Bible, to study and preach it all his life, and maintain the Christian faith against all heretics, is said to have been often afterwards a source of comfort to him in the great crisis of his work.

And now our reformer's education was nearly complete, while everything was preparing for the approaching struggle. Some visits of inspection, which he made in the place of Staupitz, to the Augustine convents, served still more to awaken his feeling of the need of reform, and to call forth his activity and practical abilities. "The whole ground," he complained, "was covered, nay, heaped up, with the rubbish of all manner of strange doctrines and superstitions, so that the word of truth can barely shine through; nay, in many places not a ray of it is visible." The train of conviction was thus fully laid; the impulse and power of reform were fully prepared. It only required a spark to kindle the train — some special excitement to call forth the energy still slumbering, but all ready and furnished for the struggle. Could Rome only have penetrated beneath the surface at this moment, and seen what a deep tremor and current agitated the German mind, — how light had begun to peer through unnumbered chinks of the old sacerdotal edifice, revealing not only its weak defences, but the vile and unclean thing within, — how warily would she have acted! But the blindness of decay had struck her, — falsehood had eaten away her judgment, as well as undermined her strength, and foolishly, nay, madly, she went staggering on to her overthrow.

The system of indulgences was a natural growth out of the general system of penance,—it rested on the same fundamental falsehood. So soon as the purely spiritual character of repentance became obscured, and the idea of sin as an outward accident within the control of the church, rather than an inward and spiritual fact, began to prevail, there was obviously no limit to the growth of ecclesiastical corruption. If the church possessed the power of freeing the sinner from the consequences of his sins, it was a mere development of this principle that the Pope, as the head and sum of the church, should possess this power in an eminent degree; and when attention was once fixed on the mere externals of penance, it was only a fair logical conclusion that these externals could be appointed and regulated by the Pope at pleasure. The steps of the degradation are plainly marked, from the recognition of outward satisfaction as a condition of salvation, to the substitution of mortifications, pilgrimages, etc., as exhausting the demand of the church, and then, as the moral feeling sank and the hierarchical spirit rose, to a payment of money in place of actual service of any kind. Once materialize the spiritual truth, and gradually the material accident will become everything, and not only substitute itself in place of that truth, but necessarily pass from one degraded form to another, till it find its last and summary expression in money—money being always the brief and convenient representative of all mere external work. In so far as there was anything distinct in the character of indulgences, they were worse than even the general system of which they formed a part. While penance and priestly absolution, corrupted as they had become, confessedly rested upon the merits of Christ, and were held to imply contrition in the offender, indulgences were

rested upon the special doctrine of the treasure of the church or the overflowing merits of the saints, and were, in some of their forms, confessedly dispensed irrespective of the moral condition of the recipient. Regular ordination, moreover, was a requirement of the one system; whereas indulgence was arrogated by the Pope, as his peculiar privilege, and could be exercised at will by any one nominated by him.¹

It may be easily imagined what a system this was in the hands of an unscrupulous and low-minded agent; and such an agent, of the worst description, it was the misfortune of Rome to send abroad at this time through Germany. At Jüterbock, a few miles from Wittenberg and the borders of Saxony, which the Elector had refused him permission to enter, John Tetzel, a Dominican friar, established himself for the sale of the papal indulgences. A shameless traffic had fallen into the hands of a man conspicuous for shamelessness of tongue, and who scrupled not at any blasphemy to exalt the value of his wares. As the dispenser of the treasure of the church, he claimed to be on a level with St. Peter, and even to have saved more souls than the apostle. Distinguished by an unblushing countenance and stentorian voice, with the papal red cross borne aloft, the papal brief prominently displayed to view, and the money-counter before him, he proclaimed aloud the merits of his paper pardons; while his companion,

¹ The alleged object of the plenary indulgence was to contribute to the completion of the Vatican Basilica, and its vaunted effect was to restore the possessor to the grace of God, and completely exempt him from the punishment of purgatory. There were, however, lesser forms of the papal blessing capable of procuring lesser favors. For the plenary indulgence, the necessity of confession and contrition was acknowledged; "the others could be obtained, without contrition or confession, by money alone." — RANKE, vol. i. p. 335.

Friar Bartholomew, shouted always, as he closed, "Come and buy! come and buy!" His mingled impudence and impiety almost baffle belief. He even went the length of saying, that "when one dropped a penny into the box for a soul in purgatory, so soon as the money chinked in the chest the soul flew up to heaven."

When Luther heard what was going on in his neighborhood, we can understand how his spirit was stirred in him. At first, indeed, and before the full enormities of the system became manifest, he seems to have taken it somewhat quietly. "He began," he himself says, "to preach with great moderation, that they might do something better and more certain than buying pardons." But when he saw the practical influence of the traffic on the members of his own flock, and heard of Tetzels blasphemies, his whole soul was roused, and he exclaimed, "God willing, I will beat a hole in his drum." He felt the necessity of taking some decided step, as no one else seemed disposed to interfere. He took counsel with God and his own heart, with none besides; and on the eve of All Saints, when the relics, collected with great pains by Frederick for his favorite church, were exposed to view, and multitudes thronged to gaze on them, Luther appeared among the crowd, and nailed on the gate of the church his ninety-five theses on the doctrine of indulgences, which he offered to maintain in the university, against all opponents, by word of mouth or in writing. These famous propositions generally asserted the necessity of spiritual repentance, and limited the dispensing power of the Pope to those penalties imposed by himself. They did not absolutely deny the doctrine of the treasure of the church, but only the sole authority of the Pope over this treasure, and altogether denied that this treasure had any power to absolve the

sinner, without contrition and amendment on his part. "If the sinner had true contrition, he received complete forgiveness; if he had it not, no brief of indulgence could avail him; for the Pope's absolution had no value in and for itself, but only in so far as it was a mark of divine favor."

The publication of these theses is commonly considered the starting-point of the Reformation. The excitement produced by them was intense and wide-spread. Luther's diocesan, the Bishop of Brandenburg, a good, easy man, expressed sympathy, but counselled silence for peace's sake. Silence, however, was now no longer possible. Everywhere the excited popular feeling caught up the bold notes of defiance. It seemed, in the words of Myconius, "as if the angels themselves had carried them to the ears of all men." The excitement grew and strengthened, and sympathetic voices were heard through all Germany. Tetzl retreated to Frankfort-on-the-Oder, and with the assistance of a Dr. Whimpina, drew out a set of counter-theses, while he publicly committed those of Luther to the flames. But this was a game easily played at; and the students at Wittenberg retaliated, by seizing the messenger bearing the counter-theses, and burning them in the marketplace. Frederick of Saxony refused to interfere. He did not encourage, he did not even promise to protect; but, what was the very best thing he could do, he let things take their course. Yet, if the story of his dream be true, he must have had his own thoughts about the matter. It is told that on the night of All Saints, just after the theses were posted on the church doors, he lay at his castle of Scheinitz, six leagues distant, and as he was pondering how to keep the festival, he fell asleep, and dreamed that he saw the monk writing certain propositions

on the chapel of the castle at Wittenberg, in so large a hand that it could be read at Scheinitz; the pen began to expand as he looked, and gradually grew longer and longer, till at last it reached to Rome, touched the Pope's triple crown, and made it totter. He inquired of the monk where he had got such a pen, and was answered that it once belonged to the wing of a goose in Bohemia. Presently other pens sprang out of the great pen, and seemed all busy writing; a loud noise was heard, and Frederick awoke. The dream, mythical or not, foreshadowed the great crisis at hand. The hundred years had revolved, and Huss's saying had come true. "To-day you burn a goose;¹ a hundred years hence a swan shall arise whom you will not be able to burn." The movement, long going on beneath the surface, and breaking out here and there ineffectually, had at length found a worthy champion; and all these forming impulses of the time gathered to Luther, welcomed him and helped him. The Humanists, Reuchlin, Erasmus, and others, expressed their sympathy; the war-party, Hütten and Seckingen, uttered their joy; above all, the great heart of the German people responded; and while the monk of Wittenberg seemed, as he said afterwards, to stand solitary in the breach, he was in reality encompassed by a cloud of witnesses, a great army of truth-seekers, at whose head he was destined to win for the world once more the triumph of truth and righteousness.

When the reality of the excitement produced by the theses became apparent, opposition as well as sympathy was, of course, soon awakened. Tetzl continued to rave at Frankfort-on-the-Oder; Hochstratten, professor at Co-

¹ The meaning of the Bohemian name "Huss."

logne (the great seat of the anti-humanist reaction), and head inquisitor of Germany, clamored for the heretic to be committed to the flames; Sylvester Prierias, the general of the Dominicans and censor of the press at Rome, published a reply, in dialogue, in which, after the manner of dialogues, he complacently refuted the propositions of Luther, and consigned him to the ministers of the Inquisition; and, last, and most formidable of all, Dr. Eck, a theological professor at Ingolstadt, entered the lists against the reformer. Eck was an able man, well versed in the scholastic theology; and a warm friendship, founded apparently on genuine respect on either side, had hitherto existed between him and Luther. Now, however, instigated partly by a natural feeling of rivalry, partly by honest opposition to the sentiments of Luther, and the call of his diocesan the Bishop of Eichstadt, he attacked the ninety-five theses in a style of violence which galled Luther, and made him strongly feel the breach of friendship, especially as Eck had given no warning of the attack.¹ The reformer, it may be imagined, did not spare his adversary in reply. Strong language was a difficult game to play at with Luther; and the old friends, now rival disputants, were destined, ere long, to meet face to face in a more memorable conflict.

At first the Pope, Leo X., took but little heed of the disturbance. He is reported, indeed, to have said, when the attack of Prierias was submitted to him, that "Friar Martin was a man of genius; that he did not wish to have him molested; the outcry against him was all monkish jealousy." Busy with his own diletante and ambitious schemes, his buildings and his MSS., Leo had no percep-

¹ "Neque monens, neque scribens, neque valedictens," as he complains.

tion of the real state of things in Germany, and would fain have kept aloof from interference. Some of the cardinals, however, saw more distinctly the real character of the movement; the seriousness of the affair was made at length apparent even to papal indifference, and a tribunal was appointed to try Luther's doctrines. At the head of this tribunal was placed Luther's declared opponent Prierias; and the monk received a summons to appear, within sixty days, at Rome, to answer for his theses. Compliance with this summons would have been fatal to him. Once in the hands of the cardinals, the fate of Huss, or a secret and still more terrible one, awaited him. His university, accordingly, interceded; and the Elector at length took active steps, and claimed that, as a German, he should be heard in Germany rather than in Rome. This was conceded, and Luther was appointed to appear before the papal legate Cajetan, then present at the Diet of Augsburg.

But, while thus seeming to yield to a fair investigation of the case, the papal court, with true Roman perfidy, had prejudged it, and despatched secret instructions to the legate to deal with Luther as a notorious heretic, and forthwith excommunicate him, unless he recanted his opinions. Unwitting of this judgment, Luther hastened to present himself before the legate, under the protection of a safe-conduct procured through the zealous intervention of his friends. Cajetan met him with the most bland and smiling kindness. The affair seemed to him only to require a little smoothness and address. The idea of conscientious conviction in a poor monk was unintelligible to him. He offered two propositions to Luther — the one as to the spiritual virtue of indulgences, and the other as to the necessity of faith to the efficacy of the sacraments; and he was asked, in opposition to his supposed views, to admit the

affirmative of the one, and the negative of the other. Submit, and recant your errors, was all that the legate had to say to him. Submission without conviction, however, was about the very last idea that had entered Luther's mind. It is a grand and typical contrast between the moral earnestness of the Teuton and the diplomatic accommodation of the Italian. "Most reverend father," said Luther, "deign to point out to me in what I have erred."—"You must revoke both these errors, and embrace the true doctrine of the church," was all the answer. "I ask for Scripture; it is on Scripture my views are founded."—"Do you not know that the Pope is above all?"—"Not above Scripture."—"Yes, above Scripture, and above councils. Retract, my son, retract; it is hard for you to kick against the pricks." It was of no use. They could not get near to one another, and never could have done. Thrice the conference was broken up, and thrice renewed. At length irritated self-esteem broke through the fair courtesy of the Italian. "Retract," he cried, "or never appear in my presence again!" Luther retired in silence, and set forth in writing the grounds on which, while willing to acknowledge that he might have spoken unadvisedly and irreverently of the Pontiff, he could not retract his doctrines, for *that would be against his conscience*. Cajetan made no reply. He felt that he had been foiled; and his real feelings betrayed themselves, in an unguarded moment, to Staupitz: "I will not speak with the beast again; he has deep eyes, and his head is full of speculation." What his designs were, remain unknown. Luther became convinced of his danger—hastily drew up two letters, the one to the legate, the other to the Pope, strongly repelling the imputation of heresy, and appealing from "Leo ill-informed to Leo well-informed;" and, having procured horse and guide, he fled,

during the night, from Augsburg, and with all speed reached Wittenberg. On his homeward way he was made acquainted with the secret instructions of the court of Rome, and, with characteristic generosity, offered to the Elector to retire into France till the storm had blown over. But this was not to be : God had further and higher work for him to do. The university resisted his proposal, and the Elector refused to part with him.

Baffled so far, the papal court made a further attempt at negotiation. Miltitz, himself a German, and the envoy of the Pope to the Saxon court, undertook the office of mediator. He understood the necessities of the case better than Cajetan. He even recognized the justice of the attack on the indulgence system, by bringing Tetzels task, dismissing and disgracing him. He was content to impose silence on the offending monk, without demanding retraction ; and Luther for a while consented to keep the peace. The truce, however, was hollow ; it was not in the nature of things : the current of change had set in too strongly. Luther himself, while constantly reluctant to advance, felt that he was driven onward, as if by a higher power. " God hurries, drives, not to say leads me," he wrote to Staupitz. " I am not master of myself. I wish to be quiet, and am hurried into the midst of tumults." And so the movement gathered force under apparent repression. The current only channelled for itself a deeper and wider course, from being shut up and sealed from outlet for a time. The convictions of the reformer were assuming a bolder scope. " Whatever I have hitherto done against Rome," he said, " has been in jest ; soon I shall be in earnest. Let me whisper in your ear that I am not sure whether the Pope is antichrist or his apostle." And this, too, while he still kept appealing to the Pope, in language

deprecatory, and even servile in its adulation.¹ This inconsistency, if not defensible, was very intelligible in Luther. There was a violent conflict raging in him, between the new ideas forcing themselves upon him from all sides, and his old and natural feeling of monkish obedience. Bold as he was, there were moments when he had dark and painful misgivings, and would fain have rested quietly in the bosom of the church. More and more, however, the new ideas gathered force and shape, and took firm possession of him. It was no longer merely the special abuse of indulgences, but the general pretensions of the hierarchical Roman system, that actuated and impelled him forward. The indulgence controversy had done its work. A glare of light had been let in upon the hideous abuses of the prevailing ecclesiasticism. A rent had been made in the great sacerdotal fabric. Miltitz cunningly sought to patch up the rent, and shut out the streaming light; but the time had passed for such compromise. The spirit moved was too earnest to be thus allayed: the arm which had rudely given the shock was too brawny and restless in its youthful power to be thus stroked into quietness. The work of destruction went on; and, through the tumbling timbers of the crazy edifice, light came rushing in at all points. Luther himself was amazed at the discoveries that crowded upon him.

The Leipzig disputation with Dr. Eck marks this great advance in his views. It is no longer a question merely as to indulgences and the power of the Pope on a special point, but a question as to the general supremacy of the Pope. So far as the doctrine of indulgences was concerned, Luther's adversary gave in on almost every point; but he

¹ Luther's letter to the Pope, 3d March 1519; *Opera*, vol. i. p. 184—Jenæ, 1612.

made a vigorous stand on general grounds in behalf of the absolute supremacy of the Pope, arguing, among other reasons, from the basis of the well-known text, Matt. xvi. 18, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church." Luther maintained the customary Protestant version of the text, applying the *rock* to Christ, whom Peter had just confessed to be the Son of the living God. He claimed for Christ the sole absolute headship of the church: although, at the same time, he did not deny the primary ecclesiastical position of the Pope, nor his right to that position as a mere constitutional arrangement. Eck tried to frighten him, and cast discredit on his doctrines, by raising the old cry of "Bohemian" against them; but Luther was not to be moved by such imputations, and did not hesitate to defend some of the articles of Huss. The controversy lasted for days, and at length terminated with the usual issue in such controversies — both sides claimed the victory. A drawn battle with Rome, however, at this crisis, was equivalent to a defeat. Luther was hailed more than ever as the champion of the national indignation, rising always more urgently against Rome. The question of indulgences was forgotten as the tide of national feeling swelled higher, and it became more manifest every day that the real question was Germany or Rome, — national independence or hierarchical bondage; and still more deeply, Scripture or church, — conscience or authority. The popular sympathy showed itself eagerly, in numberless satires and caricatures of Eck and his party. Even Erasmus joined the affray, with his cold, glancing mockery;¹ and Hütten, after his peculiar fashion, aimed a trenchant blow at the papal champion in the "Planed-off Corner" (*der*

¹ "Don't call him Eck; call him Jeck" (fool), was the pun of Erasmus.

Abgeholtè Eck).¹ Copies of the disputation, in thirty different versions, were rapidly bought up. Luther was now fairly engaged in a life-long struggle, and the fight went bravely on.

Now, and on to the Diet of Worms, the life of Luther rises to its grandest pitch of heroism. No one ever stood more fully in the light of a nation's hopes, or answered, upon the whole, more nobly to them. Recognizing his great position, he stood to it like a true man; and as the battle was now joined, he spared not those "thunderbolts,"² which no one knew better how to use in a moment of need. Resting for a month or two to gather breath, after his contest with Eck, in the course of the following June (1520) he published his famous address to the "Christian Nobles of Germany." It was only a few sheets; but never did words tell more powerfully. "The time for silence is past," he said; "the time to speak is come." He struck a clear and loud note of national independence, and summoned the Christian powers of Germany to his aid. "Talk of war against the Turk!" he cried; "the Roman Turk is the fellest Turk in the world!—Roman avarice the greatest thief that ever walked the earth!—all goes into the Roman sack, which has no bottom, and all in the name of God, too!" He reiterated, in brief and emphatic language, the great truth which had begun to dawn upon him at Leipzig, — that all Christians are priests, and that, consequently, the clerical office is a mere function or order. He maintained the independence of all national churches, and the rights of national and social life, against ecclesiastical usurpation.

¹ "A satire," says Ranke, "which, for fantastic invention, striking and crushing truth, and Aristophanic wit, far exceeded the *Literæ Obscurorum Virorum*, which it somewhat resembled."

² "Fulmina erant linguæ singula verba tuæ."—MELANCTHON.

He drew a strong picture of the miserable exactions and oppressions of the Papal See, and cast back, with no measure, its insolence in its very teeth. "Hearest thou, O Pope! not all-holy, but all-sinful,—who gave thee power to lift thyself above God, and break his laws? The wicked Satan lies through thy throat. O my Lord Christ! hasten thy last day, and destroy the devil's nest at Rome!" The impression produced by such language may be more easily imagined than described. In the course of a fortnight, four thousand copies of the address were sold; and before the end of the month, a new edition was in print, and speedily bought up. This address was followed, in October, by a treatise "On the Babylonish Captivity of the Church," in which he attacked with vigor the abuses into which its sacramental system had grown. He now looked back, as it were, with pity on his former indulgence to the Papacy. In the course of two years, and during his disputes with Eck, Emser, and others, his eyes had become greatly opened. After hearing and reading the "artful subtleties of these champions,"¹ he was certain that the Papacy was "the kingdom of Babylon, and the power of Nimrod the mighty hunter." "I must now deny that there are seven sacraments, and bind them to three — baptism, the Lord's Supper, and penance; and even these are led by the Church of Rome into a wretched prison, and the church is robbed of all her liberty." He defended, as he never ceased to do, the literal reality of Christ's presence in the Supper; but he warmly combated the Thomist definitions of that presence, resting on a supposed Aristotelic distinction of subject and accident; and he zealously maintained the right of the laity to the cup as well

¹ "Subtilissimas subtilitates istorum Trossulerum." — *Opera*, ii. 259.

as the bread. These two works, with his sermon "On the Liberty of a Christian Man," mark the very crisis of the movement. Appealing, on the one hand, to the excited national interests of Germany, and, on the other hand, to its reviving spiritual life, they struck, with a happy success, the two most powerful chords then vibrating in the nation. "They contain," Ranke says, "the kernel of the whole Reformation." They concentrate its spirit while they signalize its triumph.

The publication of the papal bull just at this time consummated the crisis. It had been obtained by the reckless importunity of Eck nearly a year before; but great difficulty had been felt in making it public, owing to the enthusiasm now so widely spread on behalf of the reformer. At length Eck fixed upon Leipzig as the place where he supposed that he could promulgate it most safely, under the protection of Duke George; but even here, now, where so recently he had been hailed by the university as the champion of the Papacy, the students seized and insulted him, and he was glad to make his escape. He fled for his life to Erfurt; but here, too, the students attacked him, laid hold of the bull, and threw it into the river, saying, "It is a bubble — let it swim." These demonstrations were crowned by Luther's own daring act on the 10th of December (1520). Assembling the doctors, students, and citizens, at the Elster Gate of Wittenberg, on this memorable day, a fire of wood was kindled, and Luther, clad in his cowl, and with the papal bull and decretals in his hand, approached it, and cast them into the fire, saying, "As thou hast vexed the saints of God, so mayest thou be consumed in eternal fire." This irrevocable act severed Luther forever from the Papacy. There was no compromise — no truce even henceforth possible. The battle must be fought out.

With such high-hearted courage and clear trust in God on the part of the reformer, there was no doubt on whose side the victory would declare.

The moment of Luther's proudest triumph was now at hand. Charles V. had recently succeeded to the empire. He was only twenty years of age, inexperienced, and unconscious of all that was going on in Germany. "He understood neither its language nor its thoughts."¹ Naturally of a superstitious temper, his sacerdotal leanings were already manifest, and the papal party, with Alexander (the papal nuncio) at their head, failed in no efforts to influence him against the Reformation. They urged him to take some decided step—to cause the books of Luther to be burned throughout the empire, and so to declare his determination to uphold the cause of the church. The inclinations of Charles admit of no doubt; but he was too ignorant of the real meaning and magnitude of the movement, and hemmed in by too many practical difficulties, to be able to adopt and carry out a clear and uncompromising policy. Opposed to the zealots of the Papacy, the extreme national party approached him with the boldest suggestions. He was pressed to call the free national party, led by Hütten and Seckingen, to his aid. Hütten himself addressed him, offering to serve him day and night, without fee or reward, if only he would throw off the trammels of a foreign ecclesiasticism, and place himself at the head of the German people. Add to this that he was mainly indebted for his imperial dignity to Luther's friend, the Elector Frederick, and the complexities of his position may be imagined.

After being crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle on the 28th

¹ RANKE, vol. i. p. 519.

January 1521, Charles had proceeded to Worms, where he assembled his first Diet of the sovereigns and states of Germany. It was the great object of Aleander, Eck, and the rest of the papal leaders, to have Luther condemned unheard, and with this view Aleander made a lengthened speech at the Diet. They succeeded so far as to induce the emperor to issue an edict for the destruction of the reformer's books; but the Estates refused to publish it, unless Luther had first an opportunity of confronting his accusers under a safe-conduct, and answering, before the Diet, to the charges preferred against him. Nothing could be more congenial to the present temper of Luther. It was exactly what he most desired—to confess the truth before the assembled powers of Germany. He made up his mind at once to obey the summons, and wrote bravely to Spalatin (the Elector's secretary): I will be carried hither sick, if I cannot go sound. . . . Expect everything from me but flight or retraction."

Nothing can well be grander—more epical in its contrasts, more scenic in its adjuncts, and more impressive in its issues—than this passage in the history of the Reformation,—the journey of Luther, with its strange and mixed incidents—his appearance in Worms—his appearance before the Diet—his prayer beforehand—his fears—his triumph—the excitements that followed his triumph—his seizure on his return, and residence in the Wartburg. It would be difficult to find anywhere a nobler subject for a great poem.

He set out on his mission on the 2d of April, with the sympathy and good wishes of all the Wittenbergers. He travelled in a carriage provided for the occasion by the town council; and his friends of the university and others assembled to witness his departure. The imperial herald,

clad in the insignia of his office, rode first, his servant followed; Luther and his comrades brought up the rear. His progress resembled a triumph. As he passed towns and villages, the people came forth in numbers to greet him. At the hotels where he rested, crowds thronged to see him, and there were "drinking of healths, good cheer, and the delights of music."¹ As he left Nuremberg a priest sent after him a portrait of the Italian reformer, Savonarola, with a letter exhorting him "to be manful for the truth, and to stand by God, and God would stand by him." At Weimar the imperial messengers were seen posting on the walls an edict summoning all who were in possession of his books to deliver them up to the magistrates. The herald turned to inquire if he were moved by such a sign of danger: "I will go on," he said, "although they should kindle a fire between Wittenberg and Worms to reach to heaven. I will confess Christ in Behemoth's mouth, between his great teeth." At Erfurt he preached, and a crowd of tender associations rushed upon his mind as he gazed at the convent, the scene of his spiritual birth; and as he stood by the grave of one of his former companions, a brother monk, "How calmly he sleeps! and I" — was his remark to Jonas, while he leaned upon the gravestone, absorbed in thought, until warned of the lateness of the hour. At Eisenach, amidst the scenes of his boyhood, he was seized with a dangerous illness. His strength and spirits forsook him; but he went on in calm trust in God. At Heidelberg he held a public discussion; and, undeterred by the remonstrances which were now poured upon him even from his best friends — unswayed by the well-meant intentions of Seckingen and others to retain him in safety at his castle of Ehrenberg, he approached the imperial

¹ COCHLÆUS.

city. Even Spalatin was alarmed, and sought to stay him. "Carry back," was the answer, "that I am resolved to enter Worms in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, although as many devils should set at me as there are tiles on the house-tops."

It has been supposed by Audin, Luther's modern Romanist biographer, that it was on this occasion — as the old towers of Worms came in sight, and the full greatness of the crisis rushed upon him — that, rising in his carriage, he chanted his famous hymn, "Ein feste Burg ist, unser Gott," "the Marseillaise," Audin significantly adds, "of the Reformation." The story is not improbable, and adds a grandeur to the event. It has been commonly believed, however, that the hymn was not composed till nearly ten years later, at Coburg.

He entered Worms on the 16th of April, escorted by his friends and numbers of the Saxon noblemen, who had gone out to meet him. As he passed through the city, so great was the crowd that pressed to see him, that he had to be conducted through back courts to his inn. More than two thousand assembled at the Deutscher Hof, where he took up his abode, and till late at night his room was thronged by nobles and clergy who came to visit him. After his room was cleared, a different picture presented itself. The bold monk is seen prostrate in an agony of prayer. His voice was heard in snatches by his friends as it rose to heaven, and it is impossible to read anything more touching and awe-inspiring than the fragments of this prayer which have been preserved.¹ On the following day

¹ There seems to be some doubt as to whether it was on this evening or on the succeeding one, after his first appearance before the Diet, that he appealed so solemnly to Heaven. The following are parts of his prayer: — "My God, O thou my God! stand by me against all the world's reason and wisdom: thou

he received intimation to attend before the Diet the same afternoon, and amidst the dark frowns of Spanish warriors and ecclesiastics, and the whisperings of affectionate and courageous sympathy, he was ushered into the imperial presence.

The scene which presented itself to the monk was one well fitted to move him. The Emperor, elevated on his throne, with the three ecclesiastical Electors on the right, the three secular on the left, his brother Frederick on a chair of state below the throne, the nobles, knights, and delegates of free cities around, the papal nuncio in front. "The sun, verging to its setting, streamed full on the scene of worldly magnificence, strangely varied by every color and form of dress: the Spanish cloak of yellow silk, the velvet and ermine of the Electors, the red robes of cardinals, the violet robes of bishops, the plain sombre garb of deputies of towns and priests."¹ The solitary monk, with his head uncovered, pale with recent illness and hard study, with little or none as yet of the brave rotundity² of his

must do it—thou alone, for it is not my cause, but thine. I have nothing to do for mine own self; nothing to do with these great lords of the world. I would have good peaceable days, and be free from tumult. But it is thy cause, Lord! the true eternal cause. Stand by me, thou true eternal God! I trust in no man. It is vain and to no purpose all that is flesh, O God! my God! Hearest thou not, O my God! Art thou dead? No; thou canst not die. Thou only hidest thyself. Hast thou chosen me to this? I ask of thee that I may be assured thereof. I have not taken it upon myself, O God! Stand by me in the name of thy dear Son Jesu Christ; for the cause is right, and it is thine. I shall never be separated from thee. Be this determined in thy name. The world must leave my conscience unconstrained; and though it be full of devils, and my body, thy handiwork and creation, go to the ground and be rent to fragments and dust, it is but the body, for thy word is sure to me; and my soul is thine, and shall abide with thee to eternity. Amen. God help me. Amen."

¹ WORSLEY: *Life of Luther*, vol. i. p. 232.

² "Cares and studies had made him so thin," says Cochläus (Luther's

later age, a pale and slight figure “encircled by the dark flashing line of the mailed chivalry of Germany.” Little wonder that at first he seemed bewildered, and that his voice sounded feeble and hesitating. His old adversary Eck was the spokesman of his party, and loudly challenged the monk — first, as to whether he acknowledged the books before him as his writings; and, secondly, as to whether he would retract and recall them. To the first question he replied in the affirmative; in answer to the second, he demanded a day’s delay to consider and frame an answer. Many thought he was at length frightened, and would temporize; but on the following day they were abundantly undeceived. All signs of timidity and hesitation had then vanished; he had had time to meditate an adequate reply; and in a speech of two hours, first in German and then in Latin, he expressed his determination to abide by what he had written, and called upon the Emperor and the States to take into consideration the evil condition of the church, lest God should visit the empire and German nation with his judgments. Being pressed for a direct answer, yea or nay, whether he would retract, he answered finally in the memorable words: “Unless I be convinced by Scripture and reason, I neither can nor dare retract anything; for my conscience is a captive to God’s word, and it is neither safe nor right to go against conscience. Here I take my stand: I can do no otherwise. So help me God. Amen.”

The picture is barely half sketched; many strokes half humorous, half sublime, with a touching quaintness stamping them upon the memory, would be required to complete

contemporary Romanist biographer), “that one might count all the bones in his body.”

it. Sympathy with his position, and with his grand and simple daring, expressed itself in numerous incidents. The old warrior Freundsberg, the most gallant and renowned soldier of his day, greeted him as he entered the imperial presence. "My good monk, you are going a path such as I and our captains, in our hardest fight, have never trodden. But if you are sure of your cause, go in God's name: fear not; He will not leave you." On his return to his hotel, Eric, the aged Duke of Brunswick, sent him a silver can of Einbech beer, in token of his admiration and sympathy; and the weary monk, parched with thirst, raised it to his lips and took a long draught, saying, as he set it down, "As Duke Eric has remembered me this day, so may our Lord Christ remember him in his last struggle." Again Philip, the young Landgrave of Hesse, is seen riding into the courtyard of the inn, leaping from his horse, and as he rushed into Luther's room, greeting him with the words, "My dear Doctor, how do matters go with you?"—"My gracious lord, with God's help all will go well," was the reply. "They tell me," the Landgrave added, "that you teach that, if a woman be married to an old man, it is lawful for her to quit him for a husband that is younger."—"No, no! Your highness must not say so."—"Well, Doctor, if your cause is just, may God aid you." And seizing the reformer's hand, he shook it warmly, and disappeared as abruptly as he had come.

Luther tarried some days in Worms, and various attempts were made to bring him to a more submissive frame of mind, but all without success. Questioned at length as to whether any remedy remained for the unhappy dissensions which had sprung up: "I know not of any," he replied, "except the advice of Gamaliel; 'If this counsel or this work be of men, it will come to nought; but if it be of

God, ye cannot overthrow it.' Let the Emperor and the States write to the Pope that they are fully assured that, if the doctrines so much decried are not of God, they will perish by a natural death within two or three years." Strong in the confidence of the truth he taught, he fearlessly appealed to the future. He was at once courageous and humble, — courageous in the face of man, and humble before God, — the true spirit in which alone the world can ever be reformed.

He received instructions to depart from Worms and return home on the 25th of April. On the following day he set out. He appears himself to have been in high spirits, excited and braced by the conflict in which he had been engaged. A letter which he wrote from Frankfort to his friend Luke Cranach, gives a lively impression of his cheerfulness in the caricature which it presents of the proceedings of the Diet.¹ "My service, dear gossip Luke. I supposed that his imperial majesty would have assembled some fifteen doctors or so, and have overcome the monk by argument: but no, nothing of the sort. 'Are the books yours?'—'Yes.' 'Will you revoke or not?'—'No.' 'Get you gone then.' O, blind Germans! what children we are, to let the Roman apes scoff at and befool us in this way. Give my gossip, your dear wife, my greeting; and I trust she will keep well till I have the pleasure of seeing her again. . . . For a short time we must be silent and endure. A little time, and ye shall not see me; and again a little time, and ye shall see me. I hope it will prove so with us." These last expressions, as well as others still more explicit in the letter, show that he was cognizant of the design of his friends to seize and conceal him in some place of safety

¹ LUTHER'S *Briefe*. *De Wette*, vol. i. p. 588.

for a while; but how the design was to be carried out, or where he was to be placed, seems to have been but indistinctly communicated to him. He has himself narrated the circumstances of his seizure. As he left Eisenach, where he had preached and solaced himself for a single day in the company of his relatives, and was passing a narrow defile near the fortress of Altenstein, two armed horsemen, with armed attendants, rushed upon him and his friends. The wagoner was thrown to the ground. His brother, James Luther, who was of the party, fled and escaped, and Amsdorf was held fast while Luther was hurried away, mounted upon a horse; and after various turnings with the view of eluding all pursuit, he was safely lodged in the old castle of the Wartburg. The affair was made to assume the appearance of violence, for obvious reasons; but in reality Amsdorf was conscious of the intentions of Luther's friends, and he and the wagoner, of course, were quietly permitted to pursue their way after the horsemen had departed with their prisoner.

Luther's residence in the Wartburg forms a quiet and green resting-place in his life, which falls into two divisions exactly on the one side and the other of it. From the fair heights of the Wartburg and the pleasant repose of his stay there, we look back with him upon a period of struggle which was now completed, and forward upon a period scarcely less one of a struggle, but of a very different character. Hitherto all the interest of the movement is concentrated in his single figure. It is the monk at Erfurt, and then the preacher at Wittenberg, and then the reformer at Worms, that engage our view. In all these different aspects we see the progress of a great spiritual conflict, waged almost by a single arm against surrounding corruptions. There is scarcely a companion figure to distract our

attention. The purely religious impulse communicated by Staupitz is beheld strengthening into the earnest activity of the opponent of indulgences, and finally assuming logical consistency and expression against the whole hierarchical system which sought to extinguish it. The flame, kindled at the light of Scripture quietly read in the convent library, gradually burns into zeal, and at length blazes into triumphant defiance, in the face of Pope and Emperor. From this point of advance Luther now looked at once backwards and forwards, and felt that he had done enough. Never was man less of an iconoclast. He fought for certain great religious principles as he apprehended them, but he had little or no wish to destroy existing institutions. Mockery, indeed, in all its shapes, had become hateful to him, and he resolved to attack it still more definitely than he had done; but the old Catholic worship and system, so far as it was national and not obviously Roman, he had no intention of subverting. To such feelings we must trace, in great part, the marked change in his subsequent career. The principle of revolt had exhausted itself in him with his great stand at Worms, and his naturally conservative convictions began to reassert themselves. We find, accordingly, that his life on from this point presents a far more complex and inconsistent picture than that which we have been contemplating. While many, whom the spirit of the times had affected, were disposed to go forward in the path on which he had entered, others had already before this begun to turn back; and he is seen occupying a position of conflict both with the one and with the other. The Papacy on one side and his single figure on the other no longer fill up the scene; but other figures, some reàctionary, and others of an impatient and violent character, crowd

round, and he is beheld as merely one among the crowd, rather than any more controlling and guiding it.

His controversy with Carlstadt and then with Erasmus; the peasant war in 1525, and his marriage in the same year; the conference at Marburg with Zwingli in 1529; and the Diet at Augsburg and residence at Coburg in the following year, mark the most important epochs in this latter part of his life.

In the Wartburg he tarried for about a year, attired and living, in all outward appearance, as a knight. He let his beard grow, wore a sword, and went by the name of Younker George. He rambled among the hills, and hunted, notwithstanding that the ban of the empire was out against him. In the hunting-field, however, he was still the theologian, and thought of Satan and the Pope, with their impious troops of bishops and divines, hunting simple souls as he saw the hare pursued by the dogs. "I saved one poor leveret alive," he says, "and tied it in the sleeve of my coat, and removed to a little distance; but the dogs scented out their victim, sprang up at it, broke its leg, and throttled it. It is thus that Satan and the Pope rage."¹ Although grieved to be absent from the scene of conflict, he rejoiced to hear that it still went on; and the old walls rang with his laughter as some satirical pamphlet of Hütten or Luke Cranach reached him in his retreat. "I sit idle and full of meat and drink the whole day," he writes to Spalatin. "I read the Bible in Greek and Hebrew. I am writing a sermon in German on the liberty of auricular confession; and I shall proceed with my comments upon the Psalms and with the Bible as soon as ever I have received what I want from Wittenberg."² He began now his

¹ *Briefe*, vol. i. p. 44.

² *Ibid.*, p. 6.

greatest literary achievement — the translation of the Scriptures into his native language. He had few books with him ; but, by the indefatigable zeal and interest with which he worked, he completed his version of the whole of the New Testament, during the period of his confinement (nine months). Add to this three treatises, — on Private Confession, on the Abuse of Private Masses, and on Monastic Vows, — besides his commentaries and postils, and his accusation against himself of idleness will appear sufficiently strange.

In fact, sedentary habits and hard study began to tell upon his health. He heard noises, and seemed to see the devil in imaginary shapes, as he sat at night in his room, or as he lay in bed. A bag of hazelnuts which had been brought to him by two noble youths, who waited upon him with his food, was violently agitated by satanic power one night after he retired to rest.¹ They rolled and struck against one another with such force, that they made the beams of the room to shake, and the bed on which he was lying to rattle. The same night, although the steps leading to his solitary apartment were barred fast with iron chains, and an iron door, he was roused from his sleep by a tremendous rumbling up and down the steps, which he describes as though threescore casks were rolling up and down. Nothing doubting that it was the devil at work trying to molest him, he got up and walked to the stair's head, and called aloud, " Is it thou ? be it so, then ! I commend me to the Lord Christ, of whom it is written, in the eighth Psalm, ' Thou hast put all things under His feet.' " On another and still more memorable occasion, as he pored keenly over the pages of his Greek Testament, the enemy

¹ WORSLEY'S *Life*, vol. i. p. 281.

assailed him in the shape of a moth, buzzing round his ears, and disturbing him in his sacred task. His spirit was kindled in him by the envious pertinacity of the evil one, and, seizing his inkstand, he hurled it at the intruder. A hole of singularly apocryphal dimensions in the wall of the chamber which he inhabited, is pointed out to the traveller who can spare a long summer's day to visit the Wartburg and enjoy himself on its breezy slopes, as the mark made by the reformer's inkstand in this great encounter.

It is well for us to smile at such incidents; but Luther lived all his days in the most real and pervading belief of a personal and visible devil, haunting him in all his work, and never ceasing to disturb and hinder him. Once, in his monastery at Wittenberg, after he had celebrated matins and begun his studies, "the devil," he says, "came into his cell, and thrice made a noise behind the stove, just as though he were dragging some wooden measure along the floor" (a mouse, probably, as one has heard the little creature in the quiet night, with no other noise in the room, save the creaking of the ceaseless pen). "As I found he was going to begin again," he adds, "I gathered together my books, and got into bed." "Another time, in the night, I heard him above my cell, walking in the cloister; but, as I knew it was the devil, I paid no attention to him, and went to sleep." There is almost an affectionate familiarity in some of his expressions,—a gentleness of chiding and humorous badinage, mingling with the irony and insult, which he thinks are among the weapons for encountering his foe. "Early this morning, when I awoke, the fiend came and began disputing with me. 'Thou art a sinner,' said he. I replied, 'Canst thou not tell me something new, Satan?'" Again: "When the devil comes to me in the night, I say to him, 'Devil, I must now sleep; for it is

the command and ordinance of God that we labor by day and sleep by night.' If he goes on with the old story, accusing me of sin, I say to him, to vex him, '*Holy Spirit Satan, pray for me.*' 'Go,' I say to him, 'Physician, cure thyself.'" "The best way," he adds, "of getting rid of the devil, if you cannot do it with the words of holy Scripture, is to rail at him, and mock him; he cannot bear scorn." A very efficient plan, also, is "to turn your thoughts to some pleasant subject; to tell or hear jests or merry stories out of some facetious book. Music, too, is very good; for the devil is a saturnine spirit, and music is hateful to him, and drives him far away from it."

This sort of belief will appear superstitious in a different degree to different minds; but there are other expressions which the belief assumes not only to Luther, but to the more severe and sober mind of Calvin, so absolutely credulous and fanatical as to be matters of mere blind amazement to us now.¹ And yet, in truth, it is rather the form of credulity that is changed, than the spirit of it that can be said to be extinguished, after some things that we have seen in our own day bearing upon this very subject.

As Luther pursued his literary labors in the Wartburg, stimulating by his writings the spirit which his noble acts had kindled, unpleasant news reached his ears as to the progress of the Reformation in its home in Wittenberg. Carlstadt and some others, uncontrolled by his master-spirit, began to carry out to its natural consequences the mere spirit of negation involved in the Reformation.

¹ Luther's notions, for example, of devil-children, "called in Latin *Supposititi*, and by the Saxons *Kilkropff*."—MICHELET'S *Life*, p. 325 (Bohn's Translation); and Calvin's apparently firm belief of a sick person being raised from his bed and transported across the Rhone by satanic agency.—DYER'S *Life*, p. 205.

This was, to some extent, inevitable. It was impossible for the popular mind to be aroused to a sense of the deceptions which had been practised upon it for centuries, without breaking out into extreme forms of hostility against the old church system, in its forms, as well as its doctrines. Iconoclasm was only a natural development of the reformed movement. It is the gift of but few minds — and never the gift of the mere popular and logical mind — to separate the form and the spirit, and to recognize that all reformation of any worth is in the latter, and not in the former, which will by-and-by accommodate itself, without being violently cast down, to the improved and higher spirit. Carlstadt was merely a prominent expression of this popular and logical spirit. He was a species of German Puritan before that moral feeling had yet arisen, which, in its strength and intensity, was to become Puritanism. His projects were undoubtedly mistaken and out of place. Germany was then wholly unfitted for Puritanism, and never, in fact, has had any sympathy with it. Its higher minds, like Luther himself, were already beyond it, in the breadth and tenderness of sentiment, and the richness and diversity of natural feeling which animated them. The ignorant mind, again, was far below it, in the rudeness and lawlessness of its moral desires. Carlstadt, therefore, as the sequel sufficiently showed, could bring nothing but social disorder to Germany, and disgrace to the Reformation; and Luther knew this with his clear, upright, and comprehensive appreciation of the national temper. After he fairly saw, therefore, that the danger was real, he made up his mind to quit his shelter in the Wartburg, come what will, and resume the direction of affairs at his old post.

He reëntered Wittenberg on the 7th of March, 1522. In

the course of his journey thither, he tarried a night at Jena, and a very interesting account has been preserved of his interview with two students, on their way to Wittenberg to see him. The little parlor in the Black Bear, with the reformer, in his knightly disguise, — red mantle, trunk hose, doublet, and riding-whip, — seated at table, his right hand resting on the pommel of his sword, while his eye was directed intently to a book, which turned out to be the Hebrew Psalter; the respectful demeanor of the students before the supposed knight, and their gradually opening familiarity as he offered them seats at the table and a glass of beer; their communication to him of their intention to proceed to Wittenberg to see Martin Luther, and his pleasant fence with them on the subject; the entry of two merchants, and the free opinion which they express of Luther; the landlord's hints, and the disclosure, — all present a vivid sketch of the frank, manly bearing, genuine heartiness, and humorous, kindly ease of the great Augustine, that is worth a hundred descriptions.¹

He mounted the pulpit on the first Sunday after his return, and delivered his opinion on the principles which should guide them in the great religious changes through which they were passing; the reality of sin and salvation, the necessity of faith and love, — these were the main things to be concerned about, and not mere novelties or changes for their own sake. "All things are lawful, but all things are not expedient. Some things *must* be; others might or might not be. Faith must be; but in such things as might or might not be, regard must be paid to the profit of others."² On Monday he again preached, particularly on the subject of the Mass. "It was bad and detestable,

¹ WORSLEY'S *Life*, vol. i. pp. 341—345.

² *Ibid.*, p. 355.

especially as it had claimed to be a sacrifice, and to stand between the people and God. His wish was that all private masses throughout the world were abolished, and only the common evangelical mass celebrated. But love must reign in the matter. No one must draw or tear another away by the hair, but leave God to do his own work, for the plain reason that no man has in his hand the hearts of others, and no man can make his words pass deeper than the ear. The word of God must be freely preached, and this word must be left to work in the heart. Then, and not till then, should the work of abolition begin.”¹ In a similar spirit he handled the monastic life, and the subject of images, the sacrament in both kinds, and confession. Earnestness of principle, moderation in practice, was the key-note of all this remarkable series of sermons, listened to by crowded audiences, day after day. Carlstadt and his associates were awed for the time; such images as had not been destroyed were replaced; the Latin service continued to be used, with the omission of the words which designated it a sacrifice; and peace was restored. Luther himself earnestly desired further changes, and especially that the communion service should be in the German tongue; but he would not yield, as yet, to Carlstadt’s principle of this being essential. “This is carrying the thing too far,” he said; “always new laws — always laying down this as a necessity, and that as a sin.”² Thus the strictly puritanical spirit was wholly alien to him: he would have nothing of it.

We cannot trace the changing relations which henceforth ensued between Luther and Carlstadt, now in fierce opposition, and the latter again returning to Wittenberg, to

¹ WORSLEY’S *Life*, vol. i. p. 356.

² MICHELET’S *Life*, p. 137.

shelter himself behind the good-nature and the really tolerant temper of the reformer. The seeds of fanaticism, which he and the Zwickau preachers had sown, soon began to ripen, and to assume a serious expression. The people, ignorant, oppressed, and unhappy, caught the free doctrines of the new preachers, translated them into the most crude and practical application to their own circumstances, and then proceeded, by force of arms, to carry them out and assert their rights. The armed peasantry, with Munzer at their head, hold a definite relation to the Zwickau fanaticism and Carlstadt; and yet there were distinct features, of a purely political kind, in the peasant insurrection, which it would take a long time to unravel. Nothing strikes one more remarkably, in reading over the articles of complaint with which they began their movement, than the singularly moderate and sober spirit which characterizes them.¹ They move our sympathy now, and they moved Luther's sympathy at the time, notwithstanding all his strong feelings of the duty of submission, and of the horrors of insurrection. He is nowhere greater, indeed, than at the great crises in the history of the Reformation, in the manner in which he threw himself between the opposing parties, and, on the one hand, set before the nobles and princes of Germany the unchristian cruelty of many of their actions; and, on the other hand, warned the peasantry of the disgrace and disaster that would attend the armed assertion of their rights. No part of Luther's conduct was less understood or appreciated at the time. In England, by such men as Sir Thomas More, he was identified with the disorders against which he was struggling so nobly, and which, save for him, might have

¹ MICHELET'S *Life*, p. 161—165.

been tenfold more perilous to the national interests of Germany. Words of higher wisdom than those by which he sought to restrain the approaching violence, it is impossible to conceive;¹ and if, when he found them ineffectual, and the day of sanguinary disaster which he had predicted had come and gone, there is a harshness almost unchristian in the tone with which he speaks of the misguided wretches, we must remember that he felt most acutely the disgrace which their movement had brought upon the Reformation. He could not see the fair work of God so marred, — the religious revival, for which he wrought, thrust back and discredited before the world, — without being deeply moved and embittered.

While Luther was thus standing in the breach, in favor of social order, against the peasants, and feeling, in the odium he thereby incurred, that he was no longer the popular chieftain he had been a few years before, he was made, at the same time, somewhat painfully to feel that he was no longer in unison with the mere literary or humanistic party in the Reformation. Erasmus, the recognized head of this party, had long been showing signs of impatience at what he considered to be Luther's rudeness and violence. He could not sympathize in the intense earnestness of the Wittenberg reformer; the religious zeal, the depth of persuasion, and especially the polemical shape which the latter's convictions had assumed in his doctrine of grace, were all unintelligible, or positively displeasing to him. No two men could be more opposed at once in intellectual aspiration and in moral temper; — Luther, aiming at dogmatic certainty in all matters of faith, and filled with an overmastering feeling as to the importance of this

¹ MICHELET'S *Life*, p. 165—180.

certainly to the whole religious life; with the most vivid sense of the invisible world touching him at every point, and exciting him, now with superstitious fear, and now with the most hilarious confidence; — Erasmus, latitudinarian and philosophical in religious opinion; with a strong perception of both sides of any question; indifferent, or at least hopeless, as to exact truth, and with a consequently keen dislike of all dogmatic exaggerations, orthodox or otherwise; well informed in theology, but without any very living and powerful faith; cool, cautious, subtle, and refined; more anxious to expose a sophism, or point a barb at some folly, than to fight manfully against error and sin. It was impossible that any hearty harmony could long subsist between two men of such a different spirit, and having such different aims. To do Erasmus justice, it must be remembered that his opposition to the Papacy had never been dogmatic, but merely critical. He desired literary freedom, and a certain measure of religious freedom. He hated monkery; but he had no new opinions or “truths” for which to contend earnestly, as for life or death. He was content to accept the Catholic tradition, if it would not disturb him; and the Catholic system, with its historic memories and proud associations, was dear to his cultivated imagination and taste. It is needless to blame Erasmus for his moderation; we might as well blame him for not being Luther. He did his own work, just as Luther did his; and although we can never compare his character, in depth, and power, and reality of moral greatness, with that of the reformer’s, neither do we see in it the same exaggerations and intolerance that offend many in Luther.

Already, in 1524, Luther felt that there was a breach impending between him and the literary patriarch of the time. He was so far from courting it, however, that he

used careful means to avoid it. Nothing but a direct attack of Erasmus would draw him into conflict. He was disposed to overlook the sundry sharp side-blows and cuts which had already come from the keen armory of Basle, and to let alone for let alone, if the offence were not repeated and aggravated. He acknowledged the services of Erasmus in having contributed to the flourishing rise of letters and the right understanding of Scripture, and he did not expect any further assistance from him in the work of reform; for the Lord had meted out to him, in this respect, but limited gifts (so Luther said), and had not seen fit to bestow upon him the energy and direction of mind requisite to attack the monsters of the Papacy soundly and boldly. But if this was not the case, let him be entreated to remain at least a silent spectator of the tragedy. "Do not join your forces to our adversaries; publish no books against me, and I will publish none against you."¹ Such was the strain in which Luther addressed Erasmus, in a remarkable letter of this year. We cannot tell how he received the remonstrance. It does not seem particularly calculated, as a whole, to smooth his vanity or stay his hand. At the very moment he was busy with his treatise *De Libero Arbitrio*, and the complacent admonitions of the reformer were not likely to deaden any of the glancing thrusts that he was aiming at the Lutheran doctrine of grace. The treatise saw the light in the following year, and Luther, although still disinclined, saw no alternative but to come forward in defence of views which he considered to be identical with the truth of Scripture. In the course of the same year (1525) he published his counter-treatise, *De Servo Arbitrio*, on

¹ *Briefe, De Wette*, vol. ii. p. 500.

which he bestowed great pains, and which, along with his catechism, he afterwards regarded as among his greatest works.

It would be idle for us to enter into the merits of this controversy, and in truth its merits are no longer to us what they were to the combatants themselves. The course of opinion has altered this as well as many other points of dispute, so that under the same names we no longer really discuss the same things. There are probably none, with any competent knowledge of the subject, who would care any longer to defend the exact position either of Luther or of Erasmus. Both are right, and both are wrong. Man is free, and yet grace is needful; and the philosophic refinements of Erasmus, and the wild exaggerations of Luther, have become mere historic dust, which would only raise a cloud by being disturbed. Extinct polemics on such subjects are the deadest of all buried things of the past; and while we look for a living face in them, we find a mere empty skull—a hollow, logical bone-work, from which the spirit has fled long years ago. There is reason to think that the controversy was far from being satisfying to Luther. He gave his adversary, indeed, as good as he got; admitted his eloquence, but ridiculed his arguments,—comparing them to “pease-cods, or waste matter served up in vessels of gold and silver.” His heavy strokes would be felt beneath all the light indifference of the scholar; and he was strong in the conscious possession of a deep moral conviction, that lay nearer to the truth than any self-assertion of mere Pelagian subtlety. But, then, the torturing dilemmas of his dogmatic position, set in the clear light of common sense, and expounded by his adversary with a far more philosophic comprehension than he himself possessed, drove

him into untenable and even unmoral assertions¹—assertions which could scarcely have been satisfactory to his own mind at the time, and which, on cool reflection afterwards, must have appeared less and less so. He is said to have, consequently, never recalled with pleasure the results of the controversy, and never to have forgiven Erasmus for having forced him into it. He spoke of him afterwards as “that amphibolous being, sitting calmly and unmoved on the throne of amphibology, while he cheats and deludes us by his double meaning, covert phraseology, and claps his hands when he sees us involved in his insidious figures of speech, as a spider rejoices over a captured fly.” This bitter feeling seems to have sprung up towards Erasmus from the determination with which he pursued the subject, and drew out, in his cool and sinuous way, the moral perplexities involved in Luther’s bold statements. He replied in two treatises, under the name of Hyperaspistes, and sought to overwhelm the reformer by ingenious criticism, and exposures of his prolixity and misrepresentations. “That venomous serpent, Erasmus,” Luther

¹ As, for example, when speaking of free grace, he says, “It is not even accorded to the ardent zeal of those seeking and following after righteousness.”—*De Seruo Arbitrio, Opera*, vol. iii. p. 225. The whole of this paragraph, and many other expressions of Luther, amply bear out the statement of the text. He speaks, for example, of God by his own will making us *necessario damnabiles* (p. 171); and again, he compares the human will to a “pack-horse now mounted by God, and now mounted by the devil,” driven hither or thither by divine or by satanic agency, irrespective of all moral bias or character in itself (p. 172). This subject has been fully discussed in a recent polemic between two distinguished men, both, alas! now gone—Sir William Hamilton and Archdeacon Hare. Of the two, the Archdeacon shows by far the most true and profound appreciation of Luther as a whole; but in particular instances (as, for example, his paraphrase of one of the above passages) he has failed to defend him successfully against the accusations of Sir W. Hamilton.

says, in a letter to Spalatin, "has been once more writing against me." And again: "The treacherous Erasmus has brought forth two books against me, as full of cunning poison as a serpent." But perhaps the most remarkable evidence of the dislike which he henceforth cherished for his adversary is contained in a letter addressed to his son John: "Erasmus is an enemy to all religion, and a decided adversary to Christ—a counterpart to Epicurus and Lucian. This I, Martin Luther, have written to you, my dear son John, and through you to all my children and the holy Christian Church."¹

It was in the same year, and amidst these contentions, that Luther took that step in his life which, more than any other, except the affair of the Landgrave of Hesse, has exposed him to animadversion. On Trinity Sunday, the 11th of June (1525), he was married to Catherine Von Bora, one of nine nuns who had escaped two years previously from the convent of Nimptsch, and taken refuge in Wittenberg. His intention took his friends by surprise, and even alarmed Melancthon to the point of urgent remonstrance. But Luther had made up his mind, after various delays; and, although he was concerned at the disapprobation of his old friend, he was not to be moved from his purpose; and Melancthon, when he saw this, had the good sense to change his tone, and to write to Camerarius in apology of the step. Luther does not lead us to suppose that he was moved to marriage at this time by any strong affection for the object of his choice. "I am not on fire with love," he said, "but I esteem my wife." In point of fact, he had originally destined Catherine for some one else, and it was only after this project fell

¹ *Briefe, De Wette*, vol. iv, p. 497. The letter is without date.

through that he thought of marrying her himself.¹ It is difficult, perhaps, to explain all the reasons which influenced him. He more than once, in his letters, pleads the advice and desire of his father. He pleads also a sense of duty and obedience to the Divine command. "I am anxious," he writes to Amsdorf, "to be myself an example of what I have taught. It is the will of God I follow in this matter."² Melancthon, in his letter to Camerarius, to which we have alluded, says, somewhat vaguely, "It may seem strange that Luther should marry at such an unpropitious time, when Germany has especial need of his great and noble mind. But I think the case was as follows: You are aware that Luther is far from being one of those who hate men and fly their society; you know his daily habits, and so you may conjecture the rest. It is not to be wondered at that his generous and great soul was in some way softened."

It was a sufficiently startling step, no doubt, for a monk to marry a nun in the face of the world, — and this, too, when the cause of the Reformation was undergoing its first violent shock in connection with the outbreak of the Zwickau fanatics and the peasants' insurrection. But when we look at it apart from these incidents, which do not essentially touch the character of the act, however they may affect our judgment of its prudence, it seems as if a very unnecessary noise had been made about the

¹ The story represents Kate herself as rather a mover in the affair. She is said to have sought an interview with Amsdorf, and stated that "she knew Luther was intent on uniting her to Dr. Glatz of Orlamunde, but that she would never consent to marry him; she did not like him. She was quite ready to marry Amsdorf, or Luther himself, but she would have nothing to say to Dr. Glatz." — WORSLEY'S *Life*, vol. ii. p. 76. Mr. Worsley gives no authority for this story, and I have not met with it anywhere else.

² *Briefe*, vol. iii. p. 13.

marriage of the reformer. Even if it had been more obviously imprudent than it can be fairly said to be, I do not see how it should have invoked such harsh and invidious judgments as even Protestant writers, like Sir James Stephens, have passed upon it. If, in anything, a man is entitled to please himself, it is surely in taking a wife at such a mature age as that which Luther had now reached; and, while certain sacred conventionalisms were no doubt outraged by the step, no true and natural feelings were compromised. In so far as the act is to be judged by its consequences, it is well known that it proved of the happiest character. It is impossible to conceive a more simple and beautiful picture of domestic life than in the letters and table-talk of Luther henceforth. There is a richer charm and tenderness and pathos in his whole existence, — rather enhanced than otherwise by the slight glimpses we get of the fact that Catherine had a spirit and will of her own, and that, while she greatly loved and revered the doctor, she nevertheless took her own way in such things as seemed good to her. Some of the names under which he delights to address her seem to point to this little element of imperiousness, though in such a frank and merry way as to show that it was a well-understood subject of banter between them, and nothing more. "My Lord Kate," "My Emperor Kate," are some of his titles; and again, in a more circumlocutory humor, "for the hands of the rich dame of Zuhlsdorf, Doctress Catherine Luther;" sometimes simply and familiarly, "Kate my rib." Nowhere does his genial nature overflow more than in these letters, running riot in all sorts of freakish extravagance, yet everywhere touched with the deep mellow light of a healthy and happy affection. What a pleasant glimpse and sly humor in the following: "In the first year

of our marriage, my Catherine was wont to seat herself beside me whilst I was studying; and once, not having what else to say, she asked me, ‘Sir Doctor! in Russia, is not the *mâitre d’hôtel* the brother of the Margrave?’” And again, in the last year of his life, and when he is on that journey of friendliness and benevolence from which he is never to return to his dear household, the old spirit of wild fun and tender affection survives. He writes to his “heart-loved housewife, Catherine Lutherinn, Doctoress Zulsdorferess, Sow Marketress, and whatever more she may be, grace and peace in Christ, and my old poor love in the first place.”

Catherine is said by Erasmus to have been very beautiful.¹ Her portraits, taken by Luke Cranach, represent her with a round, full face, straight nose, and full, tender eyes. Luther himself was greatly taken by the likeness, and threatened to send it to the Council of Mantua, to see if it would not influence the holy fathers there assembled to determine in favor of the marriage rather than the celibacy of the clergy.

Of this marriage there were born six children to Luther, and his relations to his children open up still deeper veins of love and kindness than any we have contemplated. Especially his eldest son Johnny and his daughter Magdalen seem to have been dear to his heart; and there is nothing more pathetic in any life than his wild yet resigned

¹ “*Puellam mire venustam.*” If the engraving in Audin’s *Life of the Reformer*, vol. iii., is to be considered faithful, Catherine can scarcely be said to have deserved the appellation of Erasmus. Her beauty must, at least, have been of a very broad, blond, Teutonic cast—the beauty of round, full, and child-like features, rather than of graceful and winning intelligence. Likely enough, however, there is some caricature in the engraving,—so perverse is the dramatic caricature of Mr. Audin’s touch everywhere throughout his interesting but singularly untruthful history.

grief by the deathbed of the latter, who was taken from him in her fourteenth year. "I love her very dearly," he cried; "but, dear Lord, since it is thy will to take her from me, I shall gladly know her to be with thee." And as he saw her lying in her coffin, he said, "Thou darling Lena, how happy art thou now! Thou wilt arise again and shine as a star. I am joyful in the spirit, yet after the flesh I am very sad. How strange it is to know so surely that she is at peace and happy, and yet to be so sad." — "We have ever before us," again he says, "her features, her words, her gestures, her every action in life, and on her deathbed, my darling, my all-beautiful, all-obedient daughter. Even the death of Christ cannot tear her from my thoughts, as it ought to do."

The birth of his eldest son was an event of immense interest to the reformer. "I have received," he writes to Spalatin, "from my most excellent and dearest wife, a little Luther, by God's wonderful mercy. Pray for me, that Christ will preserve my child from Satan, who, I know, will try all that he can to harm me in him."¹ And then again, in answer to Spalatin's good wishes, and in reference to his own hopes of the same character: "John, my fawn, together with my doe, return their warm thanks for your kind benediction; and may your doe present you with just such another fawn, on whom I may ask God's blessing in turn. Amen."² As the little fellow grows, and is about a year old, he writes to Agricola: "My Johnny is lively and strong, and a voracious, bibacious little fellow."³

It was to this son that he wrote, when stationed at Coburg, during the Diet of Augsburg, that most beautiful and touching of all child-letters that ever was written.

¹ *Briefe*, vol. iii. p. 116.

² *Ibid.*, p. 119.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 173.

“Mercy and peace in Christ, my dear little son. I am glad to hear that you learn your lessons well and pray diligently. Go on doing so, my child. When I come home I will bring you a pretty fairing. I know a very pretty, pleasant garden, and in it there are a great many children, all dressed in little golden coats, picking up nice apples, and pears, and cherries, and plums, under the trees. And they sing, and jump about, and are very merry; and besides, they have got beautiful little horses, with golden bridles and silver saddles. Then I asked the man to whom the garden belonged, whose children they were, and he said, ‘These are children who love to pray and learn their lessons, and do as they are bid;’ then I said, ‘Dear sir, I have a little son called Johnny Luther; may he come into this garden too?’ And the man said, ‘If he loves to pray, and learn his lessons, and is good, he may; and Philip and Joe, too.’” And so on, in the same tender and beautiful strain, mixing the highest counsel and richest poetry with the most child-like interest. Only a very sound and healthy spirit could have preserved thus fresh and simple the flow of natural feeling, amid the hardening contests of the world, and the arid subtleties of theological controversy.

In the year 1527, two years after his marriage, Luther fell into a dangerous sickness and general depression of spirits, from the latter of which he was only fully aroused by the dangers besetting the German nation, and the very integrity of Christendom itself, by the threatened advance of the Turks. This was in the year 1529, — the same year in which, on the invitation of the Landgrave of Hesse, he engaged in his famous conference with Zwingli, Bucer, and Œcolampadius, at Marburg. The Landgrave, who, whatever may have been his personal failings, was always

one of the most warm and zealous, and withal energetic and intelligent supporters of the Reformation, was hopefully eager of establishing a union between the Swiss and German reformers. Zwingle and his party shared in his eagerness, and were willing to concede much to Luther, if only he would heartily extend to them the right hand of fellowship. In the matter of the sacrament of the Supper, however, Luther was not to be moved. His mind here remained shut against all argument; and although he is supposed to have admitted, under the name of Consubstantiation, a modification of the Catholic tradition, he adhered substantially to that tradition, in all its significance, to the last: he held to the literal reality of the Divine presence in the Eucharist, and would recognize nothing but rationalism, or, as he called it, mathematics, in the reasonings of Zwingle and his companions. When hard pressed by the latter, he exclaimed, "I will have nothing to do with your mathematics!—God is above mathematics!" Luther appears to us nowhere less admirable than in this famous conference; not, indeed, for the opinion which he defended, but for the spirit, at once irate, violent, and dogmatic, in which he defended it. He kept ever singing the same song, as Zwingle said, "This is my body." Nothing could be more unreasoning and arbitrary than his tone, and there is scarcely any absurdity that might not be based on Scripture, in the manner in which he used it, and considered it enough to use it, on this occasion.

There is something, moreover, painful and unworthy of him in the terms in which he characterized the Swiss divines, in his letters;¹ and in the unbending, unkindly

¹ *Briefe*, vol. iii. p. 216—513; vol. iv. pp. 28, 29.

temper in which he met the warmly-proffered friendship of Zwingle. The character of the latter — frank, gallant, fearless; a soldier-reformer, with his Greek Testament, and nothing else, in his hand — appears in a far higher light throughout the debate. But he and Luther never could understand one another; and when, in the end of this very year, the German heard of the death of the brave Swiss, on the sanguinary field of Cappel, fighting for the liberties of his country, there is no sympathy, but a grating harshness, in the tone in which he received the sad news. The Marburg Conference, however, was not without some friendly and conciliatory results, even in matters of doctrine, as the fourteen articles, which were at length signed on both sides, testify. It did not serve to unite Luther and the Swiss more cordially, for he continued to write with an increasing vehemence against them;¹ but it served to show, in all things save that of the Eucharist, a substantial unity of doctrine in the two great branches of the Reformation, meeting locally together at so many points.

In the following year, we find Luther at Coburg, during the memorable meeting of the Diet at Augsburg. As the imperial sentence against him had never been recalled, it was thought expedient that he should not make his appearance at the Diet, but leave the conduct of affairs in this great crisis to Melancthon, whose more courtly manner and cooler judgment were, in any case, supposed to be more fit for bringing the pending negotiations to some favorable termination. Luther, however, removed to Coburg, to be conveniently at hand for consultation; and,

¹ His well-known and often-quoted saying sufficiently shows the intense dislike with which he continued to regard them: "Happy is the man who has not been of the Council of the Sacramentarians — who has not walked in the ways of the Zwinglians."

secure in the strong fortress of the Elector there, he abandoned himself to a most joyful interest in nature, and a variety of literary studies, while the news of the Diet floated to his solitude; and, in return, he counselled, encouraged, and warned Melancthon. On the 22d of April, he writes: "I have at length arrived at my Sinai, dear Philip; but of this Sinai I will make a Sion: I will raise thereon three tabernacles — one to the Psalmist, one to the prophets, and one to Esop. It is truly a pleasant place, and most agreeable for study, unless your absence saddens me. . . . I reside in a vast abode which overlooks the castle; I have the key of all its apartments. There are about thirty persons together, of whom twelve are watchers by night, and two sentinels besides, who are constantly posted on the castle heights."¹ On the 29th of June, while matters are proceeding, and Melancthon writes complaining of his difficulties, he replies: "To-day your last news has reached me, in which you advise me of your labors, your dangers, your tears, as if I were ignorant of these things, or sat in a bed of roses, and bore no part of your cares. Would to God my cause were such as admitted of tears!"² When he hears of the Confession being read in open Diet, he is in great spirits; but the fears and anxieties of Melancthon, who desired not merely to maintain the reformed doctrines, but to effect a reconciliation with the Romanists, speedily brings disquiet to him. He fell back upon that in which he was always stronger than Melancthon — Faith. "Our cause is deposited," he said, "in a commonplace not to be found in your book, Philip; that commonplace is Faith." And in the same grand strain he wrote to the Chancellor Bruck: "I was

¹ *Briefe*, vol. iv. pp. 2, 3.

² *Ibid.*, p. 52.

lately looking out of my window, when I beheld two wonderful sights. First, I saw the stars, and God's fair, bright firmament, but nowhere any pillars on which the Master-builder had poised this lofty frame; yet the heavens did not fall in, and the firmament stood quite fast. But there are some who search for such pillars, and would anxiously grasp and feel them; and because they cannot do this, fear and tremble lest the heavens should fall. The other spectacle I saw was a great dense cloud floating over us, so charged and burdened that it might be likened to a mighty sea, and yet I could perceive nothing on which it rested, no coffer in which it was enclosed; and yet it fell not, but, greeting us with a black frown, passed on. When it had passed, a rainbow appeared—a weak, thin, and slight bow, which soon vanished into the clouds. Now, there are some who think more of the dense cloud than of the dim and slender bow, and are in terror lest the clouds should pour down an eternal deluge. . . . I write to your worship in this familiar, yet serious style, because I rejoice to hear that your courage has not failed. Our rainbow, indeed, appears a frail hope on which to rest, and their clouds are dark and lowering; but in the end it will be seen who will gain the victory.”¹ In this confident manner Luther encouraged his friends, and feared for himself no evil. It seems a grand and heroic spectacle—this solitary man, in the old fortress of Coburg, looking out upon nature and the world with such a calm, clear trust in God, interested in the proceedings at Augsburg, yet feeling, with the fulness of a living faith, how much greater was Providence than the negotiations of princes,—and with what mysterious safety the wheels of the world's

¹ *Briefe*, vol. iv. pp. 128, 129.

progress were revolving, whatever the poor pride of man might counsel or devise. The jackdaws and rooks, as they convened in circling crowds in front of his window, seemed to him not an unfitting emblem of the "magnanimous kings, dukes, and nobles," consulting over the affairs of the realm at Augsburg. As he watched their movements, and saw them "flap their wings, and strut with mimic majesty, not clad in royal attire, but glossy-black or dark-gray, having eyes of ashy paleness, and singing the same unvarying song, diversified only by the weaker tones or more discordant notes of the young or inexperienced," he thought of the great princes and lords amusing themselves with weak inconsequence over the movements of the world, which they vainly imagined within their control. What a fresh, living glance was that which looked from these high and lonely windows upon the heavens above and the joyous creatures of nature around, in comparison with those worn and beclouded eyes of statecraft and priestcraft, which sought to measure, from the limits of their own weak vision, the interests and destinies of man!

On from this point the life of Luther narrows greatly in incident, and we cannot pause over any special features it presents. The establishment of the Protestant Creed at Augsburg, in 1530, may be said to constitute the highest point of the German Reformation. The years after this are years of reactionary sorrow, more than anything else, with no abatement of activity, but with no further hearty and favorable advance. Luther himself had for some time ceased to entertain any further projects of reform; and after this period, his conservative tendencies gathered always greater force. The wild excitements of the period, and especially the terrifying invasion of the Turks, and the

dreadful excesses of the Anabaptists, which broke out afresh in the north, in the year 1526, under the leadership of John of Leyden, all tended to sadden and moderate his spirit. The imminence of war between the Emperor and the Protestant princes, bound together by the Smalkald League, was a further source of grief and anxiety to him; and, to crown the whole, the affair of the Landgrave of Hesse, in 1536, proved a humiliating and dark trial, which, though he bore it more cheerfully than Melancthon (whom it nearly killed), left, as his letters plainly show, its gloomy shadow upon his temper and the prospects of the cause so dear to him. "Who is not now ruffled by the folly of Luther?" he wrote, in bitterness of spirit, to a friend who asked him to be present at his marriage, while excusing his absence. Altogether, these last years were years of sadness, so far as the public aspects of the reformer's life were concerned. It was well for him that he had a dear home, and happy wife and children, in whose society he solaced himself, amidst all his troubles. "My little Magdalen, and my little John, too, pray for me," he says. "I love my Catherine—I love her more than I do myself; for I would die rather than any harm should happen to her or to her children." The light of his cheerful German hearth burned undimmed to the last, and rose only brighter amid the darkness of his outer life.

The circumstances of his death were befitting his noble life. On the 23d of January, 1546, he left his loved Wittenberg, on a mission of conciliation between the Counts of Mansfield, the lords of his native soil, who had long been at variance with one another, but had offered to submit their dispute to the reformer's arbitration. For some time previously, his mind had been filled with thoughts of death; and, on his journey, presentiments of his approach-

ing end haunted him. "When I come back from Eisleben I will lay me in my coffin; the world is weary of me, and I of the world; pray God that he will mercifully grant me a peaceful death." The prayer was granted. On the 14th of February, he wrote to his "dear Ketha" that his work of peace was all but concluded. Two days after, he was overheard in earnest prayer while standing, as he was wont to do, in the window. The next day he was unwell, and the idea of death again came vividly to his mind. "I was born and baptized here in Eisleben; what if I am likewise to die here?" He was still able, however, the same day to dine and sup with his friends, and somewhat enjoy himself. During the night his illness increased. He suffered from oppression of the chest and severe pains. He was joined by his friends, in alarm; a soothing draught was administered to him, and he murmured, "If I could fall asleep for half an hour, I think it would do me good." Sleep came for a little, but did not bring him relief. During the whole of the next day, his friends, and his two sons, who were with him, watched by his bedside as he gradually sank. "Do you die in the faith of Christ, and the doctrine you have preached?" he was asked, by Dr. Jones, as consciousness was departing. He answered "Yes," closed his eyes, and fell asleep; and at last, with one deep sigh, slept his last. By the command of the Elector, his body was brought in solemn procession from Eisleben to Wittenberg, and laid in the church whose walls had so often resounded with his eloquence. Melancthon pronounced an oration over his tomb; and sobs and tears from the congregated thousands,—men, women, and children,—who had loved the great monk, mingled with the words of his admiring and faithful friend.

The character of Luther, as presented in our rapid survey, is especially distinguished for its broad and massive manliness. Everywhere, and preëminently, Luther is a man with a heart alive to all true human feeling, and burning with the most earnest and passionate aspirations after human good. When we remember that he was trained a monk, and was in fact a monk till he was about forty-two years of age, — that books rather than men were his chief study during the most fresh and formative period of life, — it is truly wonderful to recognize in him such a breadth and intensity, such a variety and richness of human interest and affection. Scholastic in the spirit of his theology, sacerdotal to the last in many of his convictions, he was, of all the reformers, the least technical and narrow and ecclesiastical in feeling. His genial and vivifying humanity broke through all conventional bounds, brushed them aside, and, more than anything else, except the spiritual truth which he preached, brought him near to the heart of the German people. Had he been less of a man and more of a scholar, less animated by a common and popular sympathy, and more animated by mere intellectual impulse, he could never have achieved the work that he did. It is but a poor and one-sided criticism, therefore, which delights to expose Luther's intellectual inconsistencies, unscholarly temper, and unphilosophical spirit.¹ The truth is, that Luther was not characteristically a scholar, not even a divine, least of all a philosopher. He was a hero with work to do; and he did it. His powers were exactly fitted

¹ Hallam has perhaps given the tone to this criticism in England; although, in what he says of Luther, it is more the depreciatory spirit of his statements than their substantial injustice that is remarkable. They are cold and unsympathetic, and wholly inadequate to the subject; but, from his point of view, less unfair than to some they may appear.

to the task to which God called him. As it was of Titanic magnitude, he required to be a Titan in human strength, and in depth and power, and even violence of human passion, in order to accomplish it. The mere breadth and momentum of his humanity, by themselves, would not, indeed, have sufficed; but, inspired and swayed by Divine truth, they were irresistible. Both conditions were equally necessary to his success—the energy, vehemence, and pith of the man; the animation, control, and sway of the Divine Spirit. Had the instrument been less powerful and varied, less full-toned and responsive to all the rich wavering breath of human emotion, the Spirit might have breathed in vain, and the full chorus of resounding triumph from many gathering voices never have been raised. To initiate the reform movement, which was destined to renew the face of Europe, and to give a higher impulse, and nobler and more enduring life to all the Saxon nations, it required a strong and gigantic will, like that of Luther, which, instead of being crushed by opposition or frightened by hatred, only rose in the face of both into a prouder and grander attitude of daring. As he himself said: “To clear the air and to render the earth more fertile, it is not enough that the rain should water and penetrate its surface; there needs also the thunder and lightning.”¹ And he acknowledged himself to be the impersonation of the latter.

And yet, with all this manly energy and vehemence of character, Luther, we have already seen, was no radical in his reforms. His moderation was, at least, as conspicuous as his energy; and we shall greatly misapprehend both him and his work, if we do not perceive this. He was very little of a theorist. He fought for the truth, as God had re-

¹ *Briefe*, vol. iv. p. 149.

vealed it to him. But of all the reformers, except Latimer, none fought less for mere schemes or devices of his own to supplant the old fabric of the church. He would rather rebuild and purify it than supersede it. In his own language, "he was never for throwing away the old shoes till he had got new ones." Of a certain preacher who was flying high, and carrying things out in a violent spirit of innovation, he writes: "What good can result from all this precipitation? I myself preached nearly three years before I preached such questions, while these people think to settle the whole business in half an hour. I beg you will enjoin the preacher to observe more moderation in future, and to begin with making his people thoroughly understand Jesus Christ."¹ It was this spirit of moderation that set him resolutely against Carlstadt. Innovation for its own sake,—innovation for the sake of uniformity in different churches,—all that marks so intensely the later history of Protestantism in Geneva and elsewhere, was unintelligible, and would have been thoroughly uncongenial to him.

So far, and as a mere practical spirit, his moderation appears entirely commendable; but it is impossible to deny that he carried his moderation farther than this. He not only did not like changes, but he naturally shrank from new views. His mind as well as his practice was strongly conservative; the truth only reached him at first through a struggle and wrench of his whole being, so violent that he could not bear to repeat the process. After admitting one streaming flood of light, he shut himself closely against its farther ingress. He possessed none of that calmly speculative and inquiring spirit, which is ever going out in search

¹ *Briefe*, vol. ii. p. 423.

of truth in all directions, and unfolding itself more and more to the sunlight of discovery. He was both too logical and too practical, too dogmatic and too immediate in his judgments, to permit of such a consistent intellectual progress. His mind required to be girded by clear and strong convictions, within the sphere of which his activity knew no bounds ; but no soaring aspirations after a higher truth than that which had seized him, as it were, by divine violence, haunted him ; and he would have thought it mere idle vanity to dream of any such higher and more comprehensive truth. It is this which constitutes at once the disappointment of his later years, and his weakness and defects as a mere theologian. He would not advance with Carlstadt ; and so far he was right. He would have nothing to do with Zwingle and the Sacramentarians ; and so far he was honest. We respect his independence in both cases. But he would not only not advance with others — he would not advance at all. He would not open his mind to the free air of heaven as it breathed in Scripture ; and he was angry and violent with all who went beyond himself. He spoke with contemptuous dogmatism of the Swiss divines, and he had little patience even with Melanethon's cautious and well-balanced progress, and his more subtle and comprehensive insight into the dogmas of the Reformation. If we regard Luther, therefore, as a mere theologian, it is fair enough to object to his violence, his narrowness, his one-sidedness ; but it is far from fair to regard him merely or mainly in this point of view. As a theological thinker, he takes no high rank, and has left little or no impress upon human history. The very qualities, however, which made his weakness as a thinker, were so far from retarding, that they helped his work of reform. His impatience, his intensity, and crudeness of apprehension, and his coarseness

of handling, are but poor arms of reason; but they are manful and honest weapons in a struggle for life or death; and they carried him triumphantly through, when others of a less robust and hardy texture would have yielded and been overpowered.

If we add to this strong manliness the most simple and pure affectionateness, a rich and powerful humor, an exquisite tenderness of feeling under all his occasional coarseness of language, and the most vivid appreciation of life and nature, the outline of his character is only partially filled up. It is impossible to conceive any nature more frank, open, and genial, than that which the domestic history of the reformer discovers. He lays bare his heart, with the most guileless and winning simplicity; he has the most gay and jovial relish of all that is pure and good, however trivial, in life, — sharing in the amusements of his children, counselling with his wife how to reward an old servant, entering with the most earnest cordiality into the joys of his friends, and sharing his warm tears with them in their sorrows. None but a man of the most genuine kindness could have ever bound fast to him so many friends as Luther did, — old schoolfellows, such as Nicolas Emler and John Reinaeke; brother monks, such as John Lange, whom he made Prior of Erfurt; and all his more immediate fellow-laborers in Wittenberg, — Amsdorf, Justus Jonas, Bugenhagen, Luke Cranach, and Melancthon, — not to speak of the Elector Frederick and his secretary, Spalatin. It was no mere bond of interest or of accident that bound these brave men together, but, above all, the great heart and diffusive kindness of Luther, as the central figure around whom they gathered. How exquisite the kindly hilarity and tender-heartedness with which he wrote to Spalatin after his marriage! “If you will come

to me, you will see some monument of our old love and friendship. I have planted a garden and built a fountain, both with great success. Come, and you shall be crowned with lilies and roses."

Intimately allied with, and springing out of, both his affectionateness and manliness, was his humor, — the rich emollient softening all his asperities, and dropping like a pleasant balm in the midst of his harshest controversies. The difference between Erasmus and him is somewhat the difference between wit and humor, — not that the author of the Colloquies can be said to want humor, in his sly sallies at the follies of monkish superstition; yet that depth and richness of sympathy which is the most characteristic difference of humor from wit, is comparatively wanting in Erasmus. No contrast can be more marked than the covert and ingenious sarcasm, the subtle point and pungent dilemmas of the one, and the riotous attack, open-eyed gayety, and hilarious laughter of the other. In Luther's humor, powerful as it is, there mixes no bitterness. He is blunt, but never cynical. He dislikes intrusion, and laughs at ignorance, but never in a harsh way. A man once came from the Low Countries, to dispute with him about all sorts of things. He remarks: "When I saw what a poor ignorant creature he was, I said to him, 'Had n't we better dispute over a can or two of beer?'" His heart is not pained and fretted by the contrasts which touch his imagination. They sometimes weary, but seldom chafe or vex him; more frequently they only kindle in him a wild spirit of glee, which breaks forth in sparkles of laughter or shouts of defiant jollity. But, beneath all his uproarious fun, there lie depths of tenderness and sadness, a passionate unrest and "unnamable melancholy." The pathos, and distance, and gentleness of many of his

allusions, show that he had a saddened and shadowed heart, that felt unutterably the awful mystery of life and death. The thoughts of his daring and strange career would sometimes awaken this hidden chord of grief. As he and Catherine were walking in the garden, one evening, the stars shone with unusual brilliancy. "What a brilliant light!" said Luther, as he looked upward; "but it burns not for us."—"And why are we to be shut out from the kingdom of heaven?" asked Catherine. "Perhaps," said Luther, with a sigh, "because we left our convents."—"Shall we return, then?"—"No," he replied, "it is too late to do that."

The sights and sounds of nature all touch him, now with joy, and now with pathetic aspiration. Of all the reformers, we see in him alone this elevated susceptibility to natural grandeur and beauty. In the view of these, his poetic depth and richness of feeling come strongly into play. The flowers, the birds, the "bounteous thunder, shaking the earth and rousing it, that its fruits may come forth and spread a perfume;" the troubled sky, and the dark and heaving clouds poised overhead, and guided by the swift and invisible hand of God; the quiet loveliness of the harvest-fields, on his return home from Leipzig; the little bird perched at sunset in his garden, and folding its wings trustfully under the care of the Almighty Father; the first song of the nightingale,—all touch him with emotion, and awaken his tender or solemn interest. The sprouting branches of his garden trees, "strong and beautiful, and big with the fruit that they shall bring forth," make him think of the resurrection, and of the awakening of the soul after the wintry sleep of death. Luther was, in truth, a poet, gifted not only with the keen appreciation and life of feeling that constitute poetic sensibility, but,

moreover, with that mastery of melodious expression which makes the fulness of the "gift and faculty divine." His love of music, his love of nature and liberty, and, above all, his heroic faith, inspire his hymns with a rapture of lyrical feeling and excellence rarely reached. These beautiful and stirring utterances, escaping from him, as Heine says, "like a flower making its way between rough stones, or a moonbeam glittering amid dark clouds,"¹ appropriately grace the grand and rugged life of this man, and shed a joy of harmony over all its battling discords.

Upon the whole, we have before us a tender as well as energetic character — softness mingling with strength, sadness with humor, gentleness with power. History presents many more complete or symmetrical characters, — few greater, — none more rich in diverse elements of human feeling and moral aspiration. No selfishness, nor vanity, nor mere vulgar ambition, meet us, amid all his proud consciousness of power or most high-handed dogmatism ; but everywhere, even when we can least sympathize with him, we see an honest and magnanimous nature, swayed by a living faith and glowing earnestness — a great soul, moved by passionate conviction and sublined by a divine thought.

It remains for us to inquire concerning the main thought that moved Luther, and animated him in all his work. It requires but little penetration to discover that he was possessed by such a thought, — that a profound principle — a single inspiring spiritual idea — ran through the whole of

¹ *Revue des Deux Mondes*, March 1834.

this great movement, and, more than anything else, gave direction and strength and triumph to it.

Many other influences were no doubt at work. With the commencement of the sixteenth century, there was a dawning life of national feeling and of literary culture all through the southern and western nations of Europe. Germany was in a special manner moved and agitated by such influences; but none of these, nor all of them concurrently, can be held as adequately accounting for the Reformation. They prepared the soil, but nothing more. Erasmus turned the ploughshare of his sharp intelligence into it, and cast it up, and left it receptive; but he did not enrich it with any living germs of truth. Reuchlin and his Humanist coadjutors, in their famous conflict with the monks of Cologne, not only strengthened the labors of Erasmus, but, in a very clear and decisive manner, proved the hopeless ignorance and incapacity of their monkish opponents; and then the free secular, or war party, headed by Franz von Seckingen and Hütten, and afterwards by the Landgrave of Hesse, rallied to them a strong political feeling, bursting forth on all sides against the ecclesiastical reäctions and unnational bigotries of Rome. These literary and political powers may be all distinctly traced, working, at the time, in Germany, toward the same end. A satirical pen was the chosen weapon of the one, a sword the proferred weapon of the other; and the fearless and hapless Ulrich von Hütten is found equally ready with his pen or with his sword. He is a strange, restless, and gallant figure, this knight of the Reformation, the coöperator both of Humanists and Secularists, and, more than any one else, the bond of connection between both and Luther. Luther could not approve of his projects, but he liked his independence and courage; and he mourned

his early death, while the cold sarcasms of Erasmus cast bitter ashes over his grave.¹

Starting from the midst of these movements, stimulated and, no doubt, greatly aided by them, the Reformation had yet its real origin deeper below the surface than either Humanism or Nationalism. It was characteristically a spiritual revolt — an awakening of the individual conscience in the light of the old Gospel, for centuries imprisoned and obscured in the dim chambers of men's traditions, but now at length breaking forth with renewed radiance. This was the life and essence of Luther's own personal struggle, and this it was which formed the spring of all his labors, and gave them such a pervading and mighty energy. The principle of *moral individualism*, — of the free, responsible relation of every soul to God, — this it is which stamps the movement of Luther with its characteristic impress, and, more than any other thing, enables us to understand its power and success. It is nothing else than what we call, in theological language, *justification by faith alone*; but we prefer to apprehend it in this more general and ethical form of expression.

It was this element of individualism that had become especially corrupted, during many centuries of ecclesiastical bondage. Scholasticism on the one hand, and monkery on the other, had crushed it out of sight. A vast system of traditionalism, covering with its ample and penetrating folds every sphere of thought and every phase of

¹ Hütten was the chief author of the famous *Littere Obscurorum Virorum*, which have been recently reëdited, and attracted renewed notice. His life, also, has been recently written, with great fulness and skill, by Strauss. He died in 1523. In the same year appeared Erasmus's attack upon him, under the title of *Spongia*, &c. — provoked, no doubt, by Hütten's own virulence in his *Expostulatio cum Erasmo Rotterdamo*.

society, left no room for any fresh and healthy individual life. The shadow of an encompassing authority rested on all, and restrained all within its monotonous and rigid sway. Both scholasticism and monkery, indeed, on from the twelfth century, remain among the most marvellous monuments of human energy that the world has ever witnessed, — the one a gigantic structure of logical enthusiasm, and the other a picturesque and stirring drama of missionary adventure, of which we can scarcely be said to have any modern parallels. And yet there was, withal, no freedom of mental or spiritual movement. The vast energies of these centuries circulated entirely within artificial and prescribed limits. They operated with a power and results at which we wonder, but still only beneath an incubus of priestly tradition, which left the soul confined, and at a distance from God. The individual was nothing; the school, or the church, was everything; and during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries this moral stagnation had deadened into absolute corruption. Farther and farther the scholastic doctrine had separated itself from Scripture, and the monastic piety from the life of faith. The one, in such representatives as Eck and Emser, had degenerated into a dogmatism at once fierce and frivolous; the other, as in Luther's brother monks at Erfurt, into an asceticism at once pretentious and ridiculous. In various forms, the smouldering life of these centuries had continued to show itself; it had burst forth in the magnanimous intrepidity of Jerome and Huss, and the beautiful mysticism of Tauler and the *Theologia Germanica*; but now, at length, the fire of a strong individual conviction was kindled in the convent at Erfurt, which was destined to break forth into shining, and cover with its glory the face of Europe.

Luther had tried scholasticism and tried monkery, and

found both to be wanting. So far from bringing him near to God, they had hid God from him, and left him miserable in his weakness and sinfulness. The poor priest, thirsting for righteousness, found himself fed on "sentences." The great human heart of Luther, full of spiritual depths and sensibilities, could not nourish itself on the writings of the schoolmen; and his frequently expressed bitterness against Scotists and Thomists is not to be regarded as mere vehemence of temper, but as the strong reaction of his intellectual and spiritual character against the useless subtleties in which he had once sought satisfaction. Monkery, again, had failed even more signally in his experience. He had sought spiritual peace, through its most painful observances, with a single-hearted earnestness. Its distant heaven, spanned by a bridge of painful and sore travel, he had spared no toil or weariness to reach. His body and soul were reduced to the last extremity by fastings and penances, and the heaven of his desire seemed as far off as ever. Cherishing the most profound faith in the supposed spiritual guardianship of the church, he had passed within its pale an abject worshipper, craving salvation by the most humiliating submissions and earnest prayers, and yet he had not found it. "Sin was always too strong for him," as he said: he could not expel it by the most untiring vigils, or the most unrelenting mortifications. He was actually driven, therefore, to seek light and comfort elsewhere; and the words of Staupitz and of the aged monk came to him as a new truth. Gradually the words of Scripture revealed to him a new righteousness, and it became the one pervading and triumphant joy of his heart. He felt that the divine way of salvation was not as that of man. Works of the church, works even of piety, sunk out of sight before the overmastering and glad con-

viction of God's free grace to the soul — to the individual.

It is remarkable how completely Luther apprehended his new creed in this polemical form — how it shaped itself in his mind, doctrinally, as an opposing tenet to the "Aristotelic" principle with which he had been working, — which had expressed itself dominantly, at once in his scholastic training and his ascetic discipline, — the principle, viz., "that a man becomes just by doing just acts." "We must first be just," he said, in one of his earliest vindications of his favorite doctrine, "and then we shall do just actions." The heart must be changed — the result will follow. "Without faith in Christ, men may become Fabricii or Reguli, but can no more become holy than a crab-apple can become a fig." Righteousness, in short, is from within, not from without — a divinely implanted life of faith, and not a formal life of works. It springs directly out of the relation of the soul to God, and not out of any outward mortifications, or even tentative moral habits.

This bare assertion of individualism does not indeed exhaust the doctrine of Luther. It was poor comfort to him, — rather the most gloomy misery, — so long as he merely felt that all his penances were worthless, and that God could alone save him. He only got peace when at length he recognized, moreover, how God is in Christ a Saviour — when the forgiveness of sins became to him a living, divine fact, once for all expressed in Christ. Then he realized that righteousness not only could not begin from without, but not even from within, in any partial or selfish sense, but *from Christ within* — from the union of the divine and human, from the heart apprehended by Christ, and apprehending him as the source of all strength

and salvation. And this is the full doctrine of justification by faith, when the immediate responsibilities of the soul to God are met and consummated in Christ. Then only does the bondage of sin fall away from it, and the joy of a divine righteousness becomes its portion.

It was this reality of moral freedom in Christ — this undoing of the heavy burdens that had lain on the human conscience — that, more than all else, gave impulse and triumph to the Reformation. The hearts of men were weary with seeking salvation in the way of the priests; and as the voice of the monk of Wittenberg was heard crying, “No priest can save you! — no masses or indulgences can help you! But God has saved you! He himself, and no mediatory saints, no holy mother of God even, but God himself, the divine Son, has redeemed you!” — this, which in its fresh and living utterance was no mere dogma, — no dry didactic, which it so soon became, — but an articulate voice of “Help from Heaven,” seized the great heart of the German people, and mightily swayed it. Brushing by the faltering and unsteady steps of Humanism, this faith in a divine righteousness near to every soul, made for itself a living way among the nations, and carried with it, wherever it went, liberty and strength. It was this, and no mere destructive zeal, nor yet polemical logic, that “shook the ancient cathedrals to their inmost shrines,” and spread a moral renovation throughout Europe.

The spiritual principle is eternally divine and powerful. It is a very different thing when we turn to contemplate the dogmatic statements of Luther. So soon as Luther began to evolve his principle, and coin its living heart once more into dogma, he showed that he had not risen above the scholastic spirit which he aimed to destroy. It was truly impossible that he could do so. Not even the mas-

sive energy of Luther could pierce through those intellectual influences which had descended as a hoary heritage of ages to the sixteenth century. Like the mists cleared away by the morning sun, they had retired before the fresh outburst of the Sun of Righteousness, as the preaching of Luther kindled by its stirring words many lowly hearts looking upwards; but when the first glow of the warming sun had spent itself, the mists, which had only retreated, and not disappeared, were seen creeping backward, and although no longer obscuring, yet spreading confusion and dimness over the illumined scene. It was not enough for Luther to proclaim a free righteousness in Christ for all, but he must, as a theologian, lay down his distinctions, and enter into minute and arbitrary definitions of the divine fact of righteousness. Faith is not enough, but he further inclines to the assurance of faith, with its tendency to a rapid translation into mere barren self-confidence. Undeniably, there grew up in his mind a reaction against the popish tenet of works, so extreme as frequently to leave him, in his doctrinal statements, on the verge of Antinomianism. The harmony of spiritual truth is broken up, and one side of it—the opposite to that in which, as a monk, he had been educated—seized with such force and crudeness as seems to turn a free salvation scarcely less into a mechanism than the old doctrine of works. It is in vain for the most ardent admirers of Luther to deny this tendency to an unmoral view of the doctrine of grace in many of his expressions, although it is easy enough for them to prove against calumnious criticism, that this was not the substance, but the mere reactionary shadow of his doctrine, thrown over it by those very mists of scholasticism in which his intellectual life had been nursed.

The Reformation, in its theology, did not and could not

escape the deteriorating influences of the scholastic spirit; for that spirit survived it, and lived on in strength, although in a modified form, throughout the seventeenth century. In one important particular, indeed, the Scholastic and Protestant systems of theology entirely differed, — the latter began their systematizing from the very opposite extreme to that of the former — from the divine, and not from the human side of redemption — from God, and not from man. And this is a difference on the side of truth by no means to be overlooked. Still the spirit is the same, — the spirit which does not hesitate to break up the divine unity of the truth in Scripture into its own logical shreds and patches; which tries to discriminate what in its moral essence is inscrutable, and to trace in distinct dogmatic moulds the operation of the divine and human wills in salvation, — while the very condition of all salvation is the eternal mystery of their union in an act of mutual and inexpressible love. This spirit of ultra-definition — of essential rationalism — was the corrupting inheritance of the new from the old theology; and it is difficult to say, all things considered, as we trace the melancholy history of Protestant dogmas, whether its fruits have been worse in the latter or in the former instance. The mists, it is true, have never again so utterly obscured the truth; but their dimness, covering a fairer light, almost inspires the religious heart with a deeper sadness.

But there is a further principle which claims our consideration in connection with the Lutheran Reformation — a principle, indeed, which was by no means consistently expressed, but which still had its imperfect birth then. It was very far from Luther's intention, even after he had entered on his contest with the Church of Rome, to assert what has been called the *right of private judgment* in mat-

ters of religion. Even in the end he did not fully understand or admit the validity of this principle; and yet, so far, there was no other resting-ground for him. He was driven to claim for himself freedom of opinion in the light of Scripture, as the only position on which, with any consistency, he could stand. Accordingly, when pressed to retract his views at Worms, when it was clearly made manifest that authority — Catholic and Imperial — was against him, he boldly took his ground here, in magnanimous and always memorable words. For himself, he said, “Unless I be convinced by Scripture or by reason, I can and will retract nothing; for to act against my conscience is neither safe nor honest. Here I stand.” On Scripture and on reason he based his convictions, and would recognize the right of no mere external authority to control him. Not what the Emperor said, not what the Doctors said, not what the Church said, — but only what his own conscience owned to be true in the light of the Scripture, would he acknowledge to be the truth. Nothing else could move him — so help him God! It is impossible to conceive a more unqualified assertion of the right of private judgment — of the indefeasible privilege of the individual reason and conscience to know and judge the truth for itself; and the Reformation would have had no rational or consistent basis if it had not taken up this — if, for himself at least, Luther had not felt the force and sole conclusiveness of such a position.

It is too well known, however, that neither he nor any of his fellow-reformers recognized the full meaning and bearing of this position. They knew what their own necessities demanded; but that was all. They raised the ensign of a free Bible in the face of Rome, but they speedily refused to allow others to fight under this banner as well

as themselves. What Luther claimed for himself against Catholic authority, he refused to Carlstadt, and refused to Zwingle, in favor of their more liberal doctrinal views. He failed to see that their position was exactly his own, with a difference of result, — which, indeed, was all the difference in the world to him. Against them he appealed, not merely to Scripture, but to his own obstinate views of certain texts of Scripture; and gradually he erected a new authority, which to him, and still more to his followers, became absolute as Scripture itself. Scripture, as a witness, disappeared behind the Augsburg Confession as a standard; and so it happened, more or less, with all the reformers. They were consistent in displacing the Church of Rome from its position of assumed authority over the conscience, but they were equally consistent, all of them, in raising a dogmatic authority in its stead. In favor of their own views, they asserted the right of the private judgment to interpret and decide the meaning of Scripture, but they had nevertheless no idea of a really free interpretation of Scripture. Their orthodoxy everywhere appealed to Scripture, but it rested, in reality, upon an Augustinian commentary of Scripture. They displaced the medieval schoolmen, but only to elevate Augustine; and, having done this, they had no conception of any limits attaching to this new tribunal of heresy. Freedom of opinion, in the modern sense, was utterly unknown to them. There was not merely an absolute truth in Scripture, but they had settled, by the help of Augustine, what this truth was; and any variations from this standard were not to be tolerated. The idea of a free faith holding to very different dogmatic views, and yet equally Christian, — the idea of spiritual life and goodness apart from theoretical orthodoxy, — had not dawned in the sixteenth century,

nor long afterwards. Heresy was not a mere divergence of intellectual apprehension, but a moral obliquity, — a statutory offence, — to be punished by the magistrate, to be expiated by death. It is the strangest and most saddening of all spectacles to contemplate the slow and painful process by which the human mind has emancipated itself from the dark delusion that intellectual error is a subject of moral offence and punishment, — as if even the highest expressions of the most enlightened dogmatism were or could be anything more than the mere gropings after God's immeasurable truth, the mere pebbles by the shore of the unnavigable sea, the mere star-dust in the boundless heaven, pointing to a light inaccessible and full of glory, which no man hath seen, neither indeed can see. It required the lapse of many years to make men begin to feel — and it may still require the lapse of many more to make them fully feel — that they cannot absolutely fix in their feeble symbols the truth of God, — that it is ever bursting with its own free might the old bottles in which they would contain it; and that, consequently, according to that very law of progress by which all things live, it is impossible to bind the conscience by any bonds but those of God's own wisdom (Word) in Scripture, — a spiritual authority addressing a spiritual subject, — a teacher, not of "the letter which killeth, but of the Spirit which giveth life."

II.

CALVIN.

CALVIN.

THERE were almost from the beginning two very different classes of men engaged in the Reformation, — the men of movement and of action, and the men of organization and of policy. The former were, in the most radical sense, reformers, — those who broke through the old bonds of superstition, and, by a process of disturbance and disintegration, prepared the way for a new creative epoch in the relations of human society and the forms of religious life; the latter were characteristically theologians and ecclesiastics, as well as reformers, — those who, having accepted the principles of the reformed movement, sought to mould them into new expressions of Christian thought and life. The one were heroes heading a great insurrection in human history, which had not yet taken to itself a well-defined shape, but was moving onwards, rather under the sway of an irresistible spiritual impulse than of a clear regulative idea; the latter were thinkers and legislators, whose aim it was to impress again a dogmatic and constitutional character upon the disturbing elements that had been set in motion. As Luther is the greatest of the first class, so Calvin is, beyond all comparison, the greatest of the second class. In each case, however, there is a group of contrasted characters around the central figure — Melancthon, Camerarius, and others, around Luther; and Lefevre and Farel around Calvin.

When we turn our gaze from Germany to France, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, we find both of these last men actively at work in the cause of religious reform. Farel, particularly, is seen laboring with fiery zeal, and a self-sacrificing and heroic temper. Like the German reformer, the enthusiastic priest of Dauphiny only reached the truth after severe spiritual struggles, in the course of which he, too, had exhausted almost every device of sacerdotalism, with a determined self-devotion. With a powerful and restless energy, he gave himself, so soon as his own heart was quickened, to the kindling of a new religious spirit wherever he travelled — in Dauphiny, in Basle, in Geneva. He is beyond doubt the most notable of the early reformers of France; and even before Luther, in his famous theses, had sounded that note of war which soon awakened all Germany, and propagated itself to France and England, Farel had in Paris raised his voice against the papal authority, and entered upon his reforming mission. He wins our sympathy, too, from something of the same frank, bold, and careless character which distinguishes the great German, bearing on his front, like him, the impress of an ever-fresh enthusiasm, and the scars of many a hard conflict — all, however, at a great distance from the hero of Worms. There was in all Farel's fiery earnestness too little comprehension and firm persistence to have enabled him to carry out, in any great and enduring shape, the impulse which he himself communicated. It was necessary that some master-mind should arise within the sphere of the Gallic reform movement, in order to consolidate it into a distinctive spiritual power, and to impart to it a lasting social result.

Such a master-mind was Calvin, who represents to us most strikingly the converging influences of the Swiss and

the French Reformations. Both may be fairly regarded as summed up in him, in so far as they enunciated principles and entered as a controlling influence into the history of the world. In this sense, he is the most comprehensive representative of each and of both together; although he must yield the palm of priority and of active heroism, in the one case to Zwingli, and in the other case to Farel. Into their labors he entered in a somewhat similar way as Melancthon entered into the labors of Luther; and so far he takes his place beside Melancthon in the second class of reformers. His theological and didactic qualities and personal sympathies, moreover, ally him with the friend and supporter of Luther, rather than with Luther himself. But there are other and most important respects in which, as we shall see, he occupies a position not only above Melancthon, but above Luther—a position singular in moral grandeur, and in the vigorous and widely-extending influence which spread around from it.

The life of Calvin, in contrast with that of the German reformer, presents but a few dramatic aspects. In merely biographic interest, it is not nearly so rich, although there is a great consistency and purpose in its several parts, which invest it with a powerful charm to some minds.¹ It

¹ Calvin has been hitherto unfortunate in biographers, — there not being a single life of him, with which we are acquainted, at once adequate in its comprehension of the man and his work, fair and critical in its estimate, and interesting in its composition. The work of Dyer, published in this country some years ago, is sufficiently readable and well composed, but without the pretension of grasping the whole subject, and judging it from any comprehensive point of view. The work of Henry, in three massive German volumes, and translated, without the appendices, into two large English octavos by Dr. Stebbing, is, either in German or in English, a somewhat unreadable book, with certain glimpses of critical insight here and there, but without coherence or biographical finish. It is, however, the most adequate, as a whole, — being animated by a higher, although, in an opposite direction,

may be conveniently divided, for our purpose, into three periods of unequal duration: first, from his birth, in 1509, to his completion of the *Institutes* in their first known shape, in 1536. This, as with the corresponding period in Luther's life, may be called the period of his education; second, from his first appearance in Geneva, in the same year, 1536, on through his expulsion and residence at Strasburg, to September 1541, when he reëntered and finally settled in Geneva; third, from this latter date to his death in 1564. We can only insert, in each of these epochs, as we rapidly glance through them, such facts as are absolutely necessary to start before us some picture of the man, and to enable us to comprehend the meaning of the great aims for which he lived, and towards which he wrought.

Calvin was born at Noyon, in Picardy, on the 10th of July, 1509; he was thus twenty-six years the junior of Luther. His father, Gerard Cauvin, or Calvin, was Procureur-Fiscal of the district of Noyon, and Secretary of the Diocese. He was a man of ability, distinguished by success in his profession, and the favor and friendship of the influential families in his neighborhood.¹ His mother, Jane Lefranc, was a native of Cambray, and is reported

scarcely a fairer spirit than that of Dyer, and embodying, as it does, the main contents of the reformer's correspondence, — which happily remain to the student, the most instructive and complete sources of his history. Two volumes of Bonnet's complete edition of the correspondence, containing the French letters, have already appeared. Two volumes, containing a selection both from the French and Latin letters, translated into English, have been published by Mr. Constable, of Edinburgh. Besides a full edition of the letters, Bonnet has promised *Une etude sur Calvin, formant une histoire du Reformateur d'après les documents originaux et authentiques*, which, it is to be hoped, may at length form an adequate historical portrait of the reformer.

¹ "Erat is Gerardus," says Beza, "non pauci iudicii et consilii homo, ideoque nobilibus ejus plerisque carus." — *Calv. Vita*, Hanovix, 1597.

to have been beautiful, and of a strongly religious spirit. Calvin was one of six children, four sons and two daughters. One of his sisters, Mary, followed his faith and fortunes, and is occasionally mentioned in his letters. Of his brothers, the eldest was an ecclesiastic, the fourth died young, and the third, also bred an ecclesiastic, ultimately joined the reformer in Geneva. The position of the father is the natural explanation of so many of his sons entering into the church. While our reformer was still only twelve years of age, his father procured for him a chaplaincy in the cathedral church of Noyon, as a means of support during his education, — a practice not uncommon in the Gallican, as in all the other churches of the time.

Of Calvin's youth and earlier education we have but few particulars. We get no hearty glimpses of his home and school-days, as in the case of Luther. We only know that, in contrast with the rough and picturesque boyhood of the German, he was nurtured tenderly, and even in an aristocratic atmosphere. The noble family of Mommor, in the neighborhood, to some extent adopted the boy, and his studies were pursued in conjunction with those of the young members of this family. Beza narrates his precocity of mental power, and the grave severity of his manners, even at this early age. His companions, it is said, surnamed him the "Accusative."¹ Having received the rudiments of his education in his native town, he went, in his fourteenth year, to Paris, still in the company of the children of the Mommor family. There he was entered as a pupil in the College de la Marche, under the regency of Mathurin Cordier, — a name still familiar to boys entering upon their Latin studies, under its classical

¹ This is mentioned by d'Aubigné, vol. iii. p. 631, upon the evidence of Levasseur, a canon of Noyon.

form of Corderius. It was under this distinguished master that Calvin laid the foundation of his own wonderful mastery of the Latin language. From the College de la Marche he passed to the College Montagu, where he was initiated into the scholastic philosophy, under the guidance of a learned Spaniard. In his eighteenth year he was appointed to the living of Marteville, and this, too, while he had only as yet received the tonsure, and was not admitted to holy orders.¹

About this time his professional views underwent a change. The law appeared to his father, somewhat as to Luther's, to offer a more tempting worldly prospect than the church;² and he resolved, accordingly, to turn the studies of his son in the direction of the former profession. He sent him, with this view, to the university of Orleans, then adorned by Pierre de l'Etoile, one of the most famous jurists of his day, and afterwards President of the Parliament of Paris. In taking this step, however, Calvin did not resign his church living; and it appears to have been even after this, that, by the kind patronage of a member of the same family who had hitherto so befriended him, he effected the exchange of the living of Marteville for that of Pont l'Evêque, where he is said occasionally to have preached. It is a singular enough picture of the times, which is presented to us by this conduct, both of Calvin and his father. His justification in the case, if any such be needed, considering his youth, is the prevalence of the practice in an age in which the ecclesiastical office had become, too frequently, a mere material convenience, or transmitted guild.

¹ He never seems to have been ordained in the Romish Church, notwithstanding the several ecclesiastical positions he held. — BEZA, *Calv. Vita.*

² BEZA.

Of his life at Orleans, we know something more than of his previous life at Noyon or Paris, although it is still only very vague glimpses we get. Beza has told us, on the authority of some of Calvin's fellow-students, that his life was here marked by a rigorous temperance and devotion to study; that, after supping moderately, he would spend half the night in study, and devote the morning to meditation on what he had acquired,—thus laying the foundation of his solid learning, but, at the same time, of his future ill health. His talents were already so generally recognized, that, in the absence of some of the professors, he was called upon to do their duty. It was here that, for the first time, he became acquainted with the Scriptures, in the translation of a relative of his own, Pierre Robert Olivetan. Here, also, he formed the friendship of two young men, Francis Daniel, an advocate, and Nicholas du Chemin, a schoolmaster, who seem already to have imbibed the reformed opinions. His earliest extant letter, in which he details the illness and approaching death of his father, and which bears the date of 14th May, 1528, is addressed to the latter of these friends; and a brief series of letters, on to the year 1536, is addressed to the former. We cannot say, as yet, that Calvin's traditional opinions were unfixed, still less that he had embraced, with any decision, the Protestant views which were spreading everywhere. Beyond doubt, however, the first impulse to the new faith, which was soon to seize him, and mould his whole sentiments, was imparted at Orleans, under the influences and amid the companionships we have mentioned.

From Orleans he went, still in prosecution of his legal studies, to Bourges, where, for the first time, he acquired the knowledge of Greek, under the tuition of a learned

German, Melchior Wolmar, to whom he has recorded his obligations.¹ The spiritual impulse received at Orleans seems to have been confirmed and promoted by this distinguished teacher, to whose piety and admirable abilities Beza, also one of his pupils, bears tribute. His convictions became deepened and settled to such a degree that he now began openly to preach the reformed doctrines. Slowly, but surely, he passed over to the Protestant ranks, in a manner entirely contrasted with that of Luther, even as his mind and character were so wholly different. We trace no struggling steps of dogmatic conviction — no profound spiritual agitations — no crisis, as in the case of the German reformer. We only learn that, from being an apparently satisfied and devoted adherent of popery, he adopted, with a quiet, but steady and zealous faithfulness, the new opinions. He himself, indeed, in his preface, when commenting on the Psalms, speaks of his conversion being a sudden one; and, to his own reflection afterwards, it may have seemed that the clear light began to dawn upon him all at once; but the facts of his life seem rather to show it in the light in which we have presented it, as a gradual and consistent growth under the influences which surrounded him, first at Orleans, and then at Bourges.

In accordance with this new growth of spiritual conviction, he returned to the study of theology, or rather took it up, for the first time, with real earnestness. Not only so, but he soon became an instructor and authority in the reformed doctrine. “Not a year had passed over,” he says, in the same preface to the Psalms, “when all those who had any desire for pure learning came to me,

¹ Preface to *Commentary on Second Epistle to Corinthians*.

inexperienced as I was, to gain information. I was naturally bashful, and loved leisure and privacy; hence I sought retirement; but even my solitary place became like a public school."

He proceeded to Paris (1533), which already, under the teachings of Lefevre and Farel, and the influence of the Queen of Navarre, the sister of Francis I., had become a centre of the reformed faith. The university had become strongly infected with the "pure learning." There was great excitement and rising discontent with the old religion, at once, in the court, among the bishops,¹ and even in the Sorbonne. The presence of Calvin, whose great powers had already made him extensively known,² operated vigorously to increase this excitement. One Nicolas Cop, a physician, happened to be rector, and in this capacity had to deliver a discourse on the festival of All Saints, for the composition of which he is said to have been indebted to Calvin. Instead of the usual traditionary orthodoxy on such an occasion, the discourse boldly entered upon the subject of religion, and advocated the doctrine of justification by faith. The attack was too obvious to pass unnoticed; the ancient spirit of the Sorbonne revived, and Cop was summoned to answer for the heresy. Aware of his peril, he fled to Basle, and Calvin, whose share in the offence became speedily known, also fled. There are various stories as to his flight — as, for example, that he was let down from his window by means of his sheets, and escaped in the habit of a vine-dresser,

¹ See D'Aubigné's interesting narrative of the struggles, aims, and fall of Briçonnet, bishop of Meaux, vol. iii.

² As an evidence of the fame for abilities and learning he had already discovered, it deserves to be mentioned that he was one of the Continental divines consulted about Henry VIII.'s divorce.

an acquaintance, to whose house he had repaired. Beza simply states that when the officers went to seize him, he was not to be found,¹ and that the Queen of Navarre subsequently interposed in his behalf.

Repairing to Noyon after this event, he is now said to have resigned his ecclesiastical offices; and henceforth, for a year or two, he seems to have led a wandering life. We find him first at Saintonge, then at Nerac, the residence of the Queen of Navarre, where, for the first time, he made the personal acquaintance of Lefevre, who is said to have recognized in the pale young student the future apostle of the Reformation in France. Subsequently, he spent some time in retirement, at Angou'ême, with his friend, Louis Tillet; his letters to whom, afterwards, when Tillet felt himself impelled to rejoin the Roman Church, are among the most interesting of his early correspondence, marked as they are by an unusual freedom and affectionateness of feeling. It was during this retirement that he is supposed to have made the first sketch of his *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Again, in 1533, we find him, for a brief while, at Paris, expecting strangely a meeting with Servetus, who had expressed a desire to see and confer with him. He did not, however, keep his appointment. Not yet were they destined to meet — the stern reformer and the enthusiastic speculator! Had they done so now, in the warmth of comparative youth, and while the dogmatism of the one and the other was as yet unhardened, we may please ourselves with the imagination that their later and darker meeting might have been avoided, and a great crime have been spared to the progress of the Reformation.

¹ "Quo forte domi non reperto."—*Calv. Vita*, etc.

Persecution now raged fiercely against the adherents of the Reformation in France. The agitation of the Anabaptist insurrection in Germany had spread across the Rhine, and even into England. There was alarm and excitement everywhere. All reformers were confounded as disturbers of social order. Calvin felt that he was no longer safe in Paris, nor even in France, and he prepared to take refuge at Basle. Previously, however, he published, at Orleans, a treatise against one of the peculiar tenets of the Anabaptists, as to the sleep of the soul, under the title of *Psychopannychia*. This was his second literary labor. Two years before, he had first appeared as an author, in a commentary on Seneca's treatise *De Clementia*. What is chiefly remarkable about these works, is their scholarly and intellectual character. They are—even the treatise against the Anabaptists—more like the exertions of a student, than the productions of a mind strongly moved by religious, reforming zeal.

Arrived at Basle in 1535, the spirit of the reformer may be said to have awakened in him, for the first time, in full strength. The famous preface to the Institutes, it is certain, was written here in this year. It bears the date of Basle, August 1, 1535. The concentrated vigor of this address—its intensity of feeling, rising into indignant remonstrance, and, at times, a pathetic and powerful eloquence—make it one of the most memorable documents in connection with the Reformation. It shows the vehement struggle that there was in Calvin's mind, no less than in Luther's, to exonerate the religious movement from the social excesses that had sprung up in its progress—to prove that the latter had, in reality, no connection with the former, whose legitimate tendency was everywhere to strengthen the moral stability of society, and to

increase dutifulness and loyalty in subjects. It is, throughout, a noble defence of the righteous character of the reformed doctrines, and their support alike in Scripture and in history. The energetic decisiveness and moral zeal of the future teacher and legislator of Geneva, speak in every page of it.

A dispute exists as to whether there was any corresponding edition of the Institutes in 1535. On the one hand, the presumption is strong that there must have been such an edition, and Beza distinctly states that they first appeared in that year; but, on the other hand, all research has failed to discover any edition before 1536. Dr. Henry's conjecture is, that the edition of both the work and preface, in the earlier year, was in French; but this, again, is contradicted by certain expressions, in a letter of Calvin to Francis Daniel, of date 15th October, 1536, which lead us to suppose that he was then busy, for the first time, with the French version of his work. The dispute is not really important, save in a bibliographical point of view. At this period — whether in 1535, or the beginning of 1536 — Calvin completed, at Basle, the first sketch of his great dogmatic scheme — a mere sketch, indeed, of the future complete work. Now, before he had entered at all upon his special career as a reformer, the great lines of thought were laid down, and the principles, both dogmatical and ecclesiastical, enunciated, which were to guide and stamp all his labors. He now put forth, as it were, the charter of the great movement, to which he was destined to give theological consistency and moral triumph. He showed himself, already, the master-spirit who was chiefly capable of guiding and consolidating the agitated elements of religious thought and life around him.

After his residence at Basle, and completion of the

Institutes, Calvin made a short visit to Italy, to Renée, the Duchess of Ferrara, of which we know very little. He then once more is found at Noyon, settling the paternal estate, which had fallen to him on the death of his eldest brother; and, finally, bidding it adieu, in company with his younger brother Anthony and his sister Mary. His intention appears to have been to proceed to Strasburg; but, the direct way being rendered dangerous by the armies of Charles V., which had penetrated into France, he sought a circuitous route, through Savoy and Geneva.

He arrived at Geneva late in the summer of 1536. He meant merely to sojourn a single night in the city, and then advance on his journey. He had no thoughts of anything but of some quiet refuge, in which to pursue his studies. "I was wholly given up to my own intense thoughts and private studies," he afterwards said. But his old friend, Tillet, now in Geneva, discovered him, and apprised Farel of his discovery. Situated as Farel then was, almost alone, with the Reformation but partially accomplished, and the elements of disturbance smouldering around him, the advent of Calvin seemed to him an interposition of Divine Providence. He hastened to see him, and set before him his claims for assistance, and the work of God so obviously awaiting him. But Calvin was slow to move. He urged his desire to study, and be serviceable to all churches, rather than to attach himself to any one church in particular. He would fain have yielded to the intellectual bias so strong in him, and did not yet acknowledge to himself the still stronger instinct for practical government that lay behind his intellectual devotion. By some strange insight, however, Farel penetrated to the higher fitness of the young stranger who

stood before him, and he ventured, in the spirit of that daring enthusiasm which characterized him, to lay the curse of God upon him and his studies, if he refused his aid to the church in her time of need. This, which seemed to Calvin a divine menace, had the desired effect. "It was," he said, "as if God had seized me by his awful hand from heaven." He abandoned his intention of pursuing his journey, and joined eagerly with Farel in the work of reformation.

In order to understand this work, it is necessary to understand something of the previous history of Geneva. Without this knowledge, it is impossible to apprehend, and still more impossible to estimate, the part which Calvin now acted. Geneva was nominally a free city of the empire, but had, in reality, been governed, for some centuries, by its own bishop, associated with a committee of lay assessors, and controlled by the general body of the citizens, in whose hands the ultimate power of taxation, and of election of the magistrates, and regulation of the police, rested. The prince-bishop did not exercise his temporal jurisdiction directly, but through an officer called the Vidomme (vice-dominus), whose rights had, in the fifteenth century, become hereditary in the dukes of Savoy. These rights appear to have been exercised without any considerable attempt at encroachment, till the beginning of the following century, when Charles III. (1504) succeeded to the ducal crown. To his ambition, the bishop, John, a weak and willing tool of the Savoy family, to which he was nearly allied, ceded everything; and the result was a tyrannical attempt to destroy the liberties of the Genevese. The Assembly of the citizens rose in arms; a bitter and sanguinary contest ensued between the *Eidgenossen*, or Patriot party, on the one side,

and the *Mamlukes*, or Monarchical party, on the other side. By the help of the free Helvetician states, particularly Berne and Friburg, the Patriots triumphed, the friends of Savoy were banished, the Vidommate abolished, and its power transferred to a board of magistrates.

The conduct of the bishops in this conflict — not only of John, but of his successor, Peter de la Baume, who to his misgovernment added gross personal profligacy — helped greatly, as may be imagined, to shake the old hierarchical authority in Geneva; and when, in 1532, Farel first made his appearance in the city, he found a party not indisposed to join him in his eager and zealous projects of reform. He had a hard fight for it, however, and was at first obliged to yield, and leave the city for a time; and it was not till August, 1535, that he and Viret and Froment succeeded in abolishing the mass, and establishing the Protestant faith. During the year's interval, he had prosecuted his work without ceasing, amidst many difficulties, and Calvin's arrival found him still struggling with the popish priests in the neighboring villages, and aiming to lay a broader foundation for the Reformed Church.

Calvin was immediately elected Teacher of Theology. In the following year he assumed the office of preacher, — which at first, apparently, he had declined, — and produced such an impression by his first sermon, that, it is said, multitudes followed him home, to testify their enthusiasm. In conjunction with Farel, he drew up a Confession of Faith, in twenty-one articles, which was submitted to the Council of Two Hundred, — the lowest of the representative governing boards of the city,¹ — and by them ordered to

¹ Political power rested ultimately, as we have stated in the text, in the whole body of the citizens, who were entitled to meet in general assembly. A representative body of this council, however, composed of sixty members,

be printed, and proclaimed in the cathedral church of St. Peter's, as binding on the whole body of the citizens. One of the articles related to the right of excommunication claimed by the ministers; and this, along with the general conduct of Farel and Calvin, and the severity with which they reprov'd the vices of all classes of the community, soon awoke a storm of opposition. Calvin, however, was firm; he threatened to leave the city, unless the powers which he supposed necessary to his work were yielded to him; and for the present he prevailed.

A marvellous change, in the course of a short time, was wrought upon the outward aspect of Geneva. A gay and pleasure-loving people, devoted to music and dancing, the evening wine-shop, and card-playing, found themselves suddenly arrested in their usual pastimes. Not only were the darker vices of debauchery, which greatly prevailed, punished by severe penalties, but the lighter follies and amusements of society were laid under imperious ban. All holidays were abolished, except Sunday; the innocent gayeties of weddings, and the fashionable caprices of dress, were made subjects of legislation; a bride was not to adorn herself with floating tresses,¹ and her welcome home was not to be noisy with feasting and revelry. The convent bells, which had rung their sweet chimes for ages across the blue waters of the Rhone, and become associ-

was constituted in 1457, in order to avoid the turbulence arising out of too frequent meetings of all the burgesses, or citizens. In 1526, after the alliance of Friburg and Berne, a more extended representative council of Two Hundred was appointed, in imitation of the constitution of these cities. There was, besides, an ordinary executive council, who, in conjunction with the four magistrates, or syndics of the year, practically administered the government of the city.

¹ *Registres de la Répub.*, 20 Mai 1537 — quoted by Henry, Dyer, &c.

ated with many evening memories of love and song, had been previously destroyed, and cast into cannon.¹ It was impossible that a change so sudden and severe as this could be lasting, all at once. A strong opposition, partly composed of political malcontents, and of the lovers of a more free and social life, was gradually formed; and, after various struggles, they succeeded in their resistance to the clergy, and banished them the city.

It is difficult to characterize the party which now temporarily prevailed against the Calvinistic discipline in Geneva, and finally, in a later and memorable struggle, was thwarted and crushed by the influence of the great reformer. It has descended to us under the name of the Libertines; but this was in reality its nickname, given to it by its enemies, and, beyond doubt, it serves greatly to misrepresent it. The Libertines, rightly so called, were a spiritual sect which sprang up in the course of the Reformation—a kind of offshoot of Anabaptism. It is not pretended by any that the anti-Calvinist party in Geneva were mainly, or even to any considerable extent, composed of the adherents of this spiritual libertinism, although some of its leaders may have shared in certain tenets of the sect, and even been in alliance with it. This was probably the position of some of the Favre family, afterwards so signally associated with the anti-Calvinist reaction. There seems good reason to believe, however, that the main nucleus of the party was the *Eidgenossen*, or band of really liberal patriots, who had formerly rescued their native city from a foreign yoke, and who now, and afterwards, were animated, as we shall find, by very strong

¹ This event in reality took place before the arrival of Calvin in 1534. — *Registres*, 17 Juillet 1534.

feelings, but by very mixed and indefinite views, in the part which they acted.

On his expulsion from Geneva, Calvin proceeded with Farel to Berne, where a series of negotiations were set on foot, with a view to the conciliation of the Genevese, and the return of the reformers. Previously, while the disputes were still going on, the Bernese had taken a friendly part in them, and it was hoped that, by their present mediation, they might be still accommodated. But their efforts, thwarted by the bitter dislike of some of the Bernese ministers to Calvin, and by the obstinacy of the Genevese, were fruitless. The decree of banishment was confirmed, and the reformers driven to seek some other sphere for their labors. Calvin repaired first to Basle, his old place of refuge, and then to Strasburg, by the invitation of Bucer. Here he settled, in the end of 1538, and became the pastor of a congregation of French refugees, who were exiles, like himself, from his native country, on account of their faith.

Here Calvin spent the next three years, amongst the happiest, or at least the quietest and most honorable, of his life. At no time does he appear more admirable than during those years of exile. His magnanimity and single-minded earnestness come out strongly tempered by a certain patience, moderation, and sadness, that we seem to miss elsewhere. Relieved from power, he was also relieved from its wounding irritations, which were apt to chafe his keen spirit; and we see only the simple grandeur, wonderful capacity, and truthful feeling of the man. They were years of busy interest and activity, political, domestic, and theological.

We find him engaged in the three great conferences at Frankfort, Worms, and Ratisbon,—coöperating with

Bucer, and counselling with Melancthon. Not less anxious than either for a comprehensive peace which should embrace all the churches, he yet saw, with a clearer eye than they did, the difficulties in the way of union. His various letters on the subject to Farel are full of sound wisdom and sense — moderate and conciliatory, yet clear-sighted and earnest for the truth. We see him farther the centre of a private series of negotiations, in connection with Caroli, a singular impostor of the time, who is strangely mixed up with the history of the Reformation. This person had previously rendered himself notorious for his enmity to Calvin and Farel, both of whom he had accused of Arianism; and afterwards, when he failed to establish his reputation at their expense, he had rejoined the church of Rome. He now sought a reconciliation with the reformers, and seems to have imposed upon the good nature of Farel. Calvin, however, was not so easily moved; and his letters to Farel, in which he takes him to task for his softness in the matter, especially one of 8th October, 1539, gives a curious, self-unveiled glimpse of the reformer's vehemence of temper.¹

1 "They appointed a meeting with me together at the house of Mathias, when I might explain fully what it was that distressed me. There I sinned grievously in not having been able to keep within bounds; for so had the bile taken entire possession of my mind, that I poured out bitterness on all sides. There was certainly some cause for indignation, if moderation had only been observed in the expression of it. . . . In the conclusion of my speech, I stated my resolution rather to die than to subscribe this. Thereupon there was so much fervor on both sides, that I could not have been more rude to Caroli himself, had he been present. At length I forced myself out of the supper-room, Bucer following, who, after he had soothed me by his fair speeches, brought me back to the test. I said that I wished to consider the matter more fully before making any further reply. When I got home I was seized with an extraordinary paroxysm, nor did I find any other solace than in sighs and tears."—*Letters*, vol. i. p. 136.

In the midst of these negotiations, public and private, he was induced to think of marriage. "I am so much at my ease," he says, in a spirit approaching to jocularity, "as to have the audacity to think of taking a wife."¹ He had, in fact, a year before, written to Farel on the subject, and various projects of union were, in the meantime, set on foot by his friends; which, however, came to nothing. The truth is, that he was himself but a reluctant suitor, and if it had not been for the urgency of Bucer particularly, he would probably never have taken any step in the matter. "I am none of those insane lovers," he says, "who embrace also the vices of those they are in love with, when they are smitten at first sight with a fine figure. This only is the beauty that allures me,—if she is chaste, if not too nice or fastidious, if economical, if patient, if there is hope that she will be interested about my health."² There is a *naïveté* amusing, if it were not so cold, in the manner in which he narrates to Farel how **one** matrimonial project failed, and another was vigorously taken up by him. "A certain damsel, of noble rank, has been proposed to me, and with a fortune above my condition. Two considerations deterred me from that connection—because she did not understand our language, and because I feared she might be too mindful of her family and education. Her brother, a very devout person, urged the connection; his wife also, with a like partiality; so that I would have been prevailed to submit, with a good grace, unless the Lord had otherwise appointed. When I replied that I could not engage myself, unless the maiden would undertake to apply her mind to the learning of our language, she requested time for deliberation.

¹ Letter to Farel, Sept. 1540, vol. i. p. 149.

² *Ib.*, p. 117.

Thereupon, without further parley, I sent my brother to escort here another, who, if she answers her repute, will bring a dowry large enough, without any money at all."¹

The person here referred to — undowried, save in character and reputation — was Idelette de Bures, the widow of an Anabaptist whom he had converted; and to her he was married on the following August (1540). We learn but little of her. Calvin never unveils his domestic life as Luther does. We never catch the warm firelight of his family hearth kindling in any of his letters; no touches of playful portraiture relieve their gravity; and Idelette de Bures remains, consequently, but a dim personality beside Catherine Von Bora. All that we know of Calvin's wife, however, points to a somewhat elevated, if not very interesting character. He himself speaks of her as "a woman of rare qualities;" and the account which he has given of her death-bed (their union only lasted nine years), is deeply touching in the picture of simple affection, and absorbed, if somewhat unmoved, piety, which it presents.² No breath of unhappiness seems to have rested on a union which, if uninspired by passion, was, at the same time, free from all sordidness. She was mother of several children by her previous husband; to Calvin she had only one child, whose early loss was a profound grief to the reformer. "My wife," he writes to Farel, "sends her best thanks for your friendly and holy consolations. The Lord has indeed inflicted a grievous and a bitter wound in the death of our little son."³

The most remarkable of his theological labors, at this time, was his elaboration of the Institutes into the ex-

¹ Letter to Farel, Sept. 1540, vol. i. p. 150.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 320.

² *Letters*, vol. ii. pp. 203, 204.

tended edition which is familiar to us, and which appeared at Strasburg in 1539. There were improvements and further extensions in subsequent editions, even to the last, issued from the press of Robert Stephens, at Geneva, in 1559; but the work remained substantially the same after this. Among the most marked additions of the Strasburg edition, was the detailed exhibition of his ecclesiastical system. His thoughts had been naturally turned to this subject by his experience in Geneva; and, consistently with the bent of his intellectual character, he was led not to modify his views, but to work them out into a more thorough and consistent shape. A scarcely less important contribution to theological literature was furnished by him, in the same year, in his Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, — the first of that noble series of exegetical works which, apart from all other claims to distinction, would have placed his name in the highest rank of Christian authors.

3 In the meantime, during these years, the state of things at Geneva had greatly altered. After the first outburst of their triumph, and the most riotous manifestation of their hostility to the expelled reformers, the party of the Libertines soon began to feel the inherent weakness springing out of the want of any fixity or determination in their principles and aims. Some had sought political, some only personal liberty, and not a few had joined in the movement from mere negative motives — dislike of Calvin and of the French, and of all effective moral or civil restraints. In such a party, there were no elements of a continued constructive opposition to the ecclesiastical rule and discipline which they had overthrown. The hand of authority was relaxed, and license worse than that of the old Catholic times returned. Two of the syndics who had taken a

lead in the expulsion of the ministers, perished by a violent death, and two were exiled for the miscarriage of some embassy in which they engaged. The new reforming clergy were destitute of any ability or energy of character to meet the disorders that sprang up on all sides, and left the city a prey to the weakness at once of faction and of immorality. In these circumstances, it is not to be wondered at that the friends of the reformers should have gradually gathered something of their former influence, and that, in the course of two years' experience of an unsettled and disorderly civic condition, a very different spirit should have begun to manifest itself towards the exiled clergy. The conduct of Calvin, moreover, helped greatly to quicken this returning feeling. Although the Genevese had driven him with ignominy from their city, he did not cease to cherish a warm interest in its welfare; and when Sadolet, bishop of Dauphiny, — a man of acknowledged merits, who had recently received a cardinal's hat from Rome, — turned his attention to Geneva, and thought to improve the opportunity of its dissensions to the advantage of his church, by addressing a letter to the Council and burgesses, inviting them to return within its bosom, Calvin took up the pen against him, and powerfully vindicated the religious interests of his former fellow-citizens. The result of all was, that before the end of 1540, the Council and new syndics sent a letter to the reformer, imploring him to return, and reassume his old position of authority. The letter is very interesting, as showing the complete revulsion of feeling that had occurred in the city, and how naturally all eyes turned to Calvin in the circumstances. "On the part," it bears, "of our lesser great and general (which hereupon have strongly admonished us), we pray you earnestly that you

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would transfer yourself hitherward to us, and return to your old place and former ministry; and we hope, with the help of God, that this shall be a great benefit, and fruitful for the increase of the holy evangel, seeing that our people greatly desire you among us, and will conduct themselves towards you in such sort that you shall have occasion to rest content."¹

Calvin, however, did not return to Geneva till the 13th of September, 1541. He was in no hurry to respond to the call made to him, not from any motives of pique or affectation, but from the double reason that he could not all at once quit his pastoral engagements at Strasburg, and that he needed some evidence of the sincere willingness of the Genevese to submit to the reëstablishment of the reformed discipline. Convinced at length, he embraced their invitation, and reëntered upon his old duties. With a steadier comprehension and increased vigor, he began again the great work of practical reformation which had been rudely interrupted three years before, and never henceforth swerved or yielded in it.

We shall afterwards consider at length the merits of Calvin's ecclesiastical discipline; but we must here sketch the machinery by which he established and worked it, and, to some extent, the character of the results which followed it.

Calvin's general views of church government, as expounded in the fourth book of the Institutes, are sufficiently well known. In no respect, perhaps, are they more remarkable than in a certain comprehensiveness and *catholicity* of tone, which to many will appear strangely associated with his name. But Calvin was far too enlightened

¹ *Letters*, vol. i. p. 190.

not to recognize the grandeur of the Catholic idea, which had descended through so many ages; this idea had, in truth, for such a mind as his, special attractions, and his own system, we shall find, mainly sought to give to the same idea a new and higher form. The narrowness and intolerance of his ecclesiastical rule did not so much spring out of the general principles laid down in the Institutes, as from his special interpretation and application of these principles.

The Calvinistic plan of church government is represented by doctors and pastors, and certain assessors, under the name of Elders. These are merely office-bearers for the general Christian community or church, which is composed alike of laity and clergy, with no radical or hereditary distinction of priesthood. The doctor is the learned interpreter of Scripture and teacher of theology. The function of the pastor is not merely to preach, but, by the practical administration of discipline, in conjunction with the elders, to reprove, warn, and punish. The civil power is recognized as distinct from the ecclesiastical, but as bound to support the latter, in carrying out its authority, in the repression of vice and offences against religion, such as idolatry and blasphemy. There is some conception of the right general principle here, as elsewhere; but in practice, it was utterly confused and misapplied, and could not help being so, in conjunction with the notions which then universally prevailed, as to the moral jurisdiction of the magistrate.

This mode of church government expressed itself in two main courts in Geneva, as follows:

1. There was a college of pastors and doctors, under the name of "The Venerable Company." This college was composed of all the clergy of the state, both those of the

city and of the rural parishes, with the teachers of theology, and to it belonged the general supervision of church affairs, especially of all connected with the education, qualification, and appointment of persons to the ministry. It selected and determined, in the *first place*, as to all candidates, and the fitness of their ordination to special charges, and the people were finally invited to sanction the nomination, or "if there be any one who is aware of aught to object to in the life or doctrine of the person nominated, to come and declare it to one of the syndics, before the next following Sunday, on which day, also, it may be presented, to the end that no one be inducted to the ministry, except with the common consent of the whole church." A sufficiently fair and seemly order!—the rights of authority, on the one hand, asserted, and the rights of the people, on the other hand, recognized; but there seems to have been no adequate provision for a conciliating adjustment of the conflicting rights so soon as actual collision should arise. The future difficulties of presbytery were thus implied in its very origin.

2. There was a consistorial court of discipline, of far more practical and living authority than the general college of pastors and doctors. This court was constituted by the five pastors of the city parishes, and twelve elders. These elders were selected from the two representative councils of the city,—two from the Council of Sixty, and the remainder from the Council of Two Hundred. Their nomination lay with the ordinary council, in conjunction with the Company. The consistory was thus chiefly composed of lay members; but the influence of the clergy, although, numerically reckoned, it appears small, was, in reality, strongly secured in the mode of appointment of the elders, which was annual, besides being so far under

the direct control of the clergy. The clerical element was comparatively fixed, the lay constituency varied from year to year.

This consistorial court became the great engine of Calvin's power. He is supposed by-and-by to have assumed the permanent presidency of it,¹ although this constitutionally belonged to one of the syndics. It extended its jurisdiction over all social usages, as well as offences against morality and religion. It was a court of practical ethics, in the widest sense — the church in that repressive, disciplinary aspect, which had such a charm for Calvin's mind, and in which it alone seemed to him to rise to its right character and use. Its only direct weapon of authority was excommunication; but where this proved unavailing or inadequate, the culprit was transferred to the council, which inflicted on him any measure of civil punishment, even to death.

The great code² of ecclesiastical and moral legislation, which guided both the consistory and council, was the production of Calvin. It was sworn to by the whole of the people, in a great assembly in St. Peter's, on the 20th of November, 1541. It not only laid down general rules, but entered, with the most rigorous control, into all the affairs of private life. "From his cradle to his grave," "the Genevese citizen was pursued by its inquisitorial eye."³ Ornaments for the person, the shape and length of the hair, the modes of dress, the very number of dishes

¹ The evidence is an entry in the Registers of Geneva, sixteen years after his death, which the reader may consult in Henry's Life, vol. i. p. 469. — Geneva.

² *Ordonnances Ecclesiastiques de l'Eglise* — Geneva, 1577.

³ See an admirable article, "Calvin in Geneva," *West. Rev.*, July 1858.

for dinner,¹ were subjected to special regulation. Wedding presents are only permitted within limits; and at betrothals, marriages, or baptisms, bouquets must not be encircled with gold or jewelled with pearls, or other precious stones. “Est défendu de donner aus dites fiancailles, nopces, ou baptisailles des bouquets liés d’or ou canetilles; ou garnis de grénats, perles, et autres pierres.”

The registers of Geneva remain to show with what abundant rigor these regulations were carried out. It is a strange and mournful record, with ludicrous lights crossing it here and there. A man, hearing an ass bray, and saying, jestingly, “Il chante un beau psalme,” is sentenced to temporary banishment from the city. A young girl, in church, singing the words of a song to a psalm-tune, is ordered to be whipped by her parents. Three children are punished because, during the sermon, instead of going to church, they remained outside to eat cakes. A man, for swearing by the “body and blood of Christ,” is condemned to be fined, and to sit in the public square, in the stocks. Light reading, in the shape of *Amadis de Gaul*, — as dear to the lovers of romance then as the treasures of the circulating library are to the modern reader, — is peremp-

¹ “Item, que nul faisant nopces, banquets ou festins n’ait à faire au service d’iceux plus haut d’une venue ou mise de chairs ou de poisson et de cinq plats au plus, honnestes et raisonnables en ce non compenries les memes entrées, et huit plat de tout dessert et q’au dit dessert q’uait pastisserie, ou pièce de four, sinon une tourt seulement, et cela en chacune table de dix personnes.” It is a singular and instructive fact, that, amid the long-continued decay of religious Protestantism in Geneva, the memory of the rigor of Calvin’s sumptuary laws remains a kind of popular tradition, at once ludicrous and melancholy. An old man, who pointed out to the writer the supposed resting-place of the reformer, seemed to have little other idea of Calvin than as the man who limited the number of dishes at dinner!

torily forbidden, and the book ordered to be destroyed.¹ And there are darker colors far in the picture, at which we shrink, as their shadow still falls across three centuries upon us. A child, for having struck her parents, was beheaded in 1568. Another lad of sixteen, for having only threatened to strike his mother, was condemned to death.² If we think of what even mothers, alas! sometimes are, and how temporary and trivial are often the worst of such domestic collisions, — momentary bursts of childish passion, without moral instinct of any kind, — it makes one's blood run chill to think of an arbitrary death, inflicted for such offences.

A system of such a character could only maintain itself on an absolute divine right, — a right nowhere, indeed, formally set forth by Calvin, yet distinctly asserted in all the spirit and practice of his ecclesiastical legislation. The consistorial discipline, for example, when the Favres began to rebel against it, is declared to be “the yoke of Christ.”³ The ordinances and laws of Geneva, and the whole system of polity of which Calvin himself remained the centre, is carried back to Scripture, and presumed to rest upon express divine command. This was the only valid plea and justification of a system which applied itself in so direct and authoritative manner to the regulation of human life. It could only stand as a special embodiment of the Divine will — as a declared Theocracy.

Henceforth Calvin's life in Geneva does not present

¹ *Registres*, Mars 1559.

² HENRY, vol. i. p. 361; English. Henry seems only to see in these examples “great beauty in the earnestness with which parental authority was defended.” They strongly show the judicial spirit of Calvin, and his confusion of the temporary legalism of the Old Economy with the spirit and requirements of the New.

³ *Letters*, vol. ii. p. 49.

any very varied course of incident. It is mainly a succession of earnest labors in defence of the truth, and of earnest struggles against its enemies. His activity was indefatigable, and his keen spirit knew scarcely what it was to rest day by day. His ordinary duties are thus described by Beza: "During the week, he preached every alternate, and lectured every third day; on Thursday he met with the presbytery, and on Friday attended the ordinary Scripture meeting called 'the congregation,' where he had his full share of the duty." His Commentaries, on which he now continued to work regularly, and his unceasing correspondence, filled up a measure of industry which we contemplate with astonishment. No man certainly was ever less self-indulgent, and if he was severe in his exactions from others, he was no less unsparing with himself. Viret continued temporarily associated with him at Geneva; but he was soon left to bear the main burden of ecclesiastical rule himself, as his permanent colleagues enjoyed comparatively little esteem.

More than anything else, the subsequent tenor of the reformer's life is marked by the successive controversies in which he was engaged. Caroli again appears for a brief space upon the scene, but disappears finally in deserved obscurity and disgrace — closing a life of scandalous imposture by a death of infamy in a Roman hospital. Then in succession the names of Pighius, Castellio, Bolsee, and, farther on, Westphal and Heshusius, besides the well-known names of Servetus and Amy Perrin at the head of the Libertines, are among the most prominent that mark the controversial epochs into which his history now runs. We shall advance by a slight glance at the successive points of interest and conflict which these names suggest, in one or two instances touching only in

the most cursory way what by itself might lead into wide discussion.

Pighius was a zealous Papist of the Cologne school, a pupil of Adrian, and tutor of Charles V. He published, about the time Calvin returned to Geneva, an elaborate treatise on the old subject of Free Will and Predestination, in opposition to the views of the reformers. Calvin, so soon as the first press of his labors permitted, replied, in a volume which he dedicated to Melancthon. He discusses the arguments of Pighius in detail, and vindicates the reasoning of Luther, while he admits the hyperbolical character of his language in certain cases. What is particularly remarkable, is his generous appreciation of Luther's character and talents, as indeed this appears elsewhere in his Letters.¹ So far as the merits of the controversy are concerned, it cannot be said that he is any more successful than the German reformer. He is here and everywhere more simple and cautious in his statements; but his cold reiterations and evasions really no more touch the obvious difficulties than Luther's heated paradoxes. A point of interest connected with the dispute is the tradition that Calvin's work was successful in converting Pighius to predestinarian views. This seems to rest on so slender a foundation, however, that it is contended, on the other hand, that Pighius was dead before Calvin's work appeared. He is said to have died in December, 1542, while the reply of the reformer was not published till the following year. Calvin himself says, somewhat summarily, that "Pighius died a little after my book was published; wherefore, not to insult a dead dog, I applied myself to other lucubrations."

¹ *Letters* (to Bullinger especially), vol. i. p. 409.

The dispute with Sebastian Castellio was of a more painful and prolonged character. Calvin had become acquainted with Castellio at Strasburg. They seem at first to have warmly attracted one another, and Calvin was, beyond all doubt, for some time very zealous in his friendliness to the poor scholar, whose ingenious spirit and classical acquirements had won his regard. On his return to Geneva, he invited him thither, and procured for him the appointment of regent, or tutor, in the gymnasium of the city. In reality, however, there were but few points of sympathy between the two men. Castellio's learning was intensely humanistic; his classical tastes and somewhat arbitrary criticism moulded all that he did; and, especially as he aspired to be a theologian, and to carry this spirit into his Scriptural studies, he soon came into conflict with Calvin. The first indications of disagreement between them are to be found in a letter of Calvin's to Farel, in September, 1542, in which he speaks of the freaks of "our friend Sebastian, which may both raise your bile and your laughter at the same time."¹ These freaks relate to Castellio's notions of Scriptural translation, and his refusal of Calvin's offer to revise his version, while offering to come and read it to him. Then, subsequently, in February, 1544, there appears, in a further letter to Farel, and in the Council Registers, evidence that Castellio had desired to enter into the ministry, but that Calvin had advised the Council that this was not expedient, on account of *some peculiar opinions which he held*. These were certain rationalistic views as to the authenticity and character of the Song of Solomon, the descent of Christ into hell, and also about election. Still, at this

¹ *Letters*, vol. i. p. 326.

date Calvin speaks kindly of him, and recommends him strongly to the patronage of Farel. He seems to have left Geneva, at this time, for Lausanne, but to have returned shortly; and, irritated probably by disappointment, he now vehemently attacked Calvin. After a violent scene in church, which is painted, perhaps, with some exaggeration by the reformer,¹ he was forced to leave the city. The two old friends, now declared enemies, did not spare each other henceforth. Castellio retired to Basle, and, among his other employments, busied himself with the free criticism of the Calvinistic doctrines; and particularly, nearly ten years after this, a tract appeared on the death of Servetus, and the subject of toleration, which was at once imputed to him by Calvin and Beza. Both replied in no measured terms. Later still, an anonymous publication, attacking with keen logic and covert and ingenious sarcasm the Genevan theology, was supposed to proceed from his pen; and the reformers, in their answer in the preface to their version of the *New Testament*, stigmatize him as a "deceiver and vessel of Satan." It is but a melancholy spectacle of polemical hatred on both sides; but the truculence of the theologians, it must be confessed, bears off the palm. Castellio was no match for them in strength of argument or firm consistency of purpose. He lived on in great poverty at Basle, cultivating his garden with his own hand, and without the means of fuel, as he sat up at night to finish his translation of the Scriptures. He died in want, in 1563, the same year as Calvin; and Montaigne² has given vent to his expressions of shame for his age, that one so distinguished should have been left to die so miserably. A regretful memory

¹ Letter to Farel, vol. i. p. 396.

² *Essais*, lib. i. c. 34.

lingers around his blameless scholarly life, pinching poverty, and sad death, and especially the incident, so touching in its simplicity, of his going, during the night, to the banks of the Rhine, to pick up pieces of drift-wood for his scanty fire, — a story which was only elicited from him in answer to Calvin's charge of his having stolen the wood, — a fact sufficient to prove the disgraceful spirit in which these controversies were conducted, and how deservedly they are consigned to oblivion.

The controversy with Bolsec carries us on to 1551, and, both in its special subject, and in the character of the man, presents a marked contrast to the preceding. Bolsec was originally a Carmelite monk, but he had thrown aside the habit, and betaken himself to the practice of medicine. He came to Geneva in the above year, and settled as a physician. There is no reason to doubt the integrity of his character, although Beza has thrown out insinuations against it. What were his previous relations to Calvin, we are not informed; but he began to question his great doctrine of predestination. He made it the subject of discussion and attack among his friends. This no sooner reached Calvin's ears than he called him to account, — summoned him first to a private interview, then before the consistory, and made him understand that he was not at liberty to question the Genevan doctrine. In a letter to Christopher Libertet, Calvin has given a description of the manner in which Bolsec sought to vindicate himself, and how he was dealt with by himself and the other clergy. The picture is not a very amiable one, and the poor heretic excites our sympathy, even in the narrative of his great adversary. "He was called before our Assembly, when, in spite of his cavils, I dragged him from his hiding-place into the light. Besides the fifteen ministers, other

competent witnesses were present; and all know that, if he had had a single drop of modesty, he would have been immediately convicted. At first he used trifling and puerile cavils; but, being more closely pressed, he threw aside all shame. Sometimes he denied what he had twice or thrice conceded, and then admitted what he had questioned; he not only vacillated, but entirely abandoned his principles, and kept working in the same circle, without measure or aid." ¹ No wonder! — to be baited by fifteen ministers, with Calvin at their head, must have been more than enough to disturb the consistency and weaken the resolution even of the boldest heretic. The matter did not end here. On the occasion of a sermon in St. Peter's, on the subject of predestination, Bolsec was so foolish as to step forth, and take up the argument against the preacher, a certain John de St. André. Calvin had entered the church unobserved, during Bolsec's address, and suddenly presenting himself before the heretic, overwhelmed him with quotations from Scripture and Augustine. Farel joined in the discussion, and the police terminated it by apprehending Bolsec for abuse of the clergy and disturbance of the public peace. It became a somewhat serious question, how to deal with so daring an offender. Negotiations were entered into with the Bernese and French ministers on the subject, the moderation of whose councils do not seem to have been particularly pleasing to the reformer. It has been insinuated, but on a very slender foundation, that he would not have been disinclined to proceed to the last extremity against one so hardened. There was no warrant, however, for any extreme procedure. The churches all advised moderation in the view of

¹ *Epis. Beza*, ed. Hanov., 1597, p. 166.

the abstruseness and darkness of the subject of controversy; and Bolsec was merely sentenced to banishment from the city whose doctrinal quietude he had disturbed. He afterwards revenged himself, in a somewhat dastardly way, by writing a life of Calvin, in a spirit of slanderous detraction which effectually destroys all sympathy with him, or interest in his sufferings.

The Sacramentarian controversies with Westphal and Heshusius, extend to the very close of Calvin's life. No feature in the internal history of the Reformation is at once more painful and perplexing than that which is unfolded in these controversies; the subtlety, and, in truth, unintelligibility, of the distinctions contended for, the sacredness of the topic, and the fierce violence of the contention—all make a picture which even the polemic theologian of modern times can scarcely delight to contemplate, and which is apt to inspire the historical student with mere weariness and disgust. We have already, in our former sketch, seen with what vehemence Luther maintained his ground on this subject, against the Swiss divines at Marburg. He never got reconciled to them, and to the last his language was that of uncompromising and disrespectful opposition to their supposed doctrine. Melancthon, on the other hand, so soon as he was brought into personal contact with Calvin, especially at the Diet of Ratisbon, began to incline to his opinion of the Eucharist, which, denying the reality of a *local* presence, as asserted by the Lutherans, maintained the reality of a spiritual presence in the elements, and a true participation of the very body and blood of Christ *by the faithful*. Through the influence of Calvin, mainly, an agreement or "consensus" of sacramental doctrine was established at Zurich, in the close of 1549. It was fondly hoped that

the result of this might be to promote a general harmony on the subject, not only in all the reformed churches, but, moreover, between them and the Lutheran Church, or at least to open up the way for such a comprehensive union. Never was hope more utterly disappointed. The abated zeal of Luther, as the sadness of those last years was fast bearing him to the grave, was taken up with increased bitterness and a yet more narrow intolerance by some of his followers. Without the excuse of those traditionary associations which clung to his great mind, and from which he could never set himself free, the men — such as Flacius and Osiander, on the one hand, and Westphal and Heshusius, on the other — who embraced what they supposed to be the strict type of Lutheran doctrine, carried into controversy a spirit equally violent and mean, which at once hardened the excesses of the reformer's dogmatism, and covered it with the contempt of their own weakness. There is not anywhere in theological history a set of men more factious in spirit, less amiable in character, or even less respectable in strength, than the Lutheran divines who now occupy the field, and darken and confuse it with their polemic din. Well might Melancthon say that "he lived as in a wasp's nest," and pray to be delivered from the "rabies theologorum." They embittered his last moments by their furious and unmeaning contests, and made him sigh for a rest above, undisturbed by controversial clamor. Well might Calvin say, "Ah, would that Luther were still alive! These people have none of his virtues; but they think to prove themselves his disciples by their cries."

Westphal, a pastor at Hamburg, takes his rank among the most violent of these Lutheran divines. In the hands of this man, the sacramental "concordat" of Zurich be-

came a nucleus of more embittered controversy than ever. Instead of "being softened to concord"¹ "by that temperate simplicity of doctrine, he seized upon the very name of agreement as a kind of furies' torch to rekindle the flame,"—a flame which continued to burn in the Lutheran Church till it ate all the heart of Christian life out of it, and which, by the antagonistic spirit it provoked, became a source of weakness and disgrace to the Protestant cause in general.² Calvin, first of all, replied with some mildness to this "foolish fellow," refusing to name him, or to enter into personal conflict with him. But when, instead of being silenced, "he flamed forth with much greater impetuosity," it became necessary, he says, "to repress his insolence;" and he wrote and published, with incredible haste, in 1556, his "Second Defence of the Sacraments, in Answer to the Calumnies of Westphal." The heat and rapidity with which he composed this treatise may be held in some degree to excuse the vehemence of its expressions, as he himself urges to Bullinger. Moreover, the conduct of Westphal, in his cruel treatment of John A'Lasco and a company of reformed brethren, who, having been driven from England, on the accession of Mary, sought refuge in Denmark, had justly kindled the keen sensitiveness and warm feelings which Calvin ever showed towards the oppressed. Yet, making every allowance, it must be admitted that here, as too often, Calvin "answered a fool according to his folly." Invective, contempt, and scorn he pours upon him as from a full vial, overwhelming him at once with logic and abuse. "If

¹ Preface to *Second Defence of the Sacraments*.

² As Calvin himself said, "The enemies of Jesus Christ are delighted at seeing us fighting together, as if it were a kind of cock-fight."—*Preface to "Exposition of Zurich Consensus,"* 1544.

I have used, in some cases, too strong expressions," he says, in the preface addressed to "all honest ministers of Christ," "you must consider, according to your wisdom, how he has goaded me to this. His book appears written with no other object than that of casting us down to hell, and overwhelming us with curses. What could I do otherwise than act according to the proverb, 'The bad ass must have a bad driver,' to prevent him indulging too complacently in his savage temper?" Westphal retorted, complaining that Calvin had treated him worse than the Anabaptists, Libertines, and Papists; and Calvin replied, in a "last admonition to Joachim Westphal."

In the meantime, many still smaller names had entered the field — "petulant, dishonest, and rabid men, as if they had conspired together" to make the reformer "the special object of their virulence" — "a foul apostate of the name of Staphylus," one named Nicolas le Coq, and lastly, Telemann Heshusius; and finally, in one more publication,¹ on the "True Partaking of the Flesh and Blood of Christ," the reformer made a rejoinder to these attacks. His old strength is not abated, but there is mingling with traces of the former violence a nobler spirit of aspiration for peace from the weary contentions which now, in 1560, were fast wearing him out. This gathers around the name of Melancthon, just departed, in an affectionate and touching appeal, wherein we can read a depth of tender warmth amid all his proud and flaming zeal. "O Philip Melancthon, for I appeal to thee who art now living in the bosom of God, where thou waitest for us, till we be gathered together with thee to a holy rest! A hundred times hast

¹ Beza, accustomed to service of this kind, took up the cause when his friend dropped it.

thou said, when, wearied with labor and oppressed with sadness, thou didst lay thyself familiarly on my breast, 'Would that I could die on this breast!' Since then I have a thousand times wished that it had been our lot to be together."

Well might Calvin be weary of controversy! And yet we have still to notice the two most memorable struggles in which he was engaged, viz., his final contest with the Libertines, with Amy Perrin at their head, and the sad affair of Servetus.

The renewed contest with the Libertines was protracted during a long period, and was, beyond doubt, the central contest of Calvin's existence — waged hand to hand, and for life or death, through many strange turns and changes. It did not terminate till about two years after the death of Servetus — and the latter event is in some degree mixed up with it; but it will be more convenient to complete our view of it, before passing to consider the circumstances connected with the trial and execution of Servetus. It is only its most general outline that we can trace; and, indeed, amid the confusion in which, to some extent, the subject has been left by all the historians of Geneva, as well as the biographers of Calvin, it is not easy to describe the various influences under which it was so long prolonged, now in Calvin's favor, and now in favor of his opponents, while yet terminating in what appears a contemptible *emeute*, leaving Calvin victor of the field.

Amy Perrin had at first been a friend of Calvin, — one of those who solicited his return, and to whom, in conjunction with the reformer, had been committed the preparation of the ecclesiastical ordinances. Ambitious himself, however, and united to a family both the male and female members of which seem to have cherished a natural

dislike to the reformer, he soon began to chafe under the pride and rigor of the Calvinistic rule, and gradually attached himself to the mixed liberal party, whose principle of fusion was mainly hostility to Calvin. Personal causes served to embitter the animosity — scandals too dark and wretched for us to rake from their forgotten hiding-places. The picture which the Reformer has drawn of the whole Favre family in his letters is colored with a grim harshness, and vivid with touches of the most biting sarcasm.* The intensity of his temper — sparing no folly, and exposing, with a kind of zest, all the details of their disgrace — comes out strongly. He fixes their several features by some ludicrous or opprobrious epithet, concentrating at once his scorn and their absurdity or baseness. Speaking, for example, of a marriage in the family, which had been conducted, in his view, with a flagrant mockery of religion, and the consequences of which were deservedly humiliating, he writes to Viret:¹ “Proserpine (supposed to be wife of Francis Favre, the head of the family), the day before they received the spouse with such honors, beat the mother-in-law in such a manner that she bled profusely; her whole countenance was disfigured with wounds, and her head covered with dirt. You know the old woman’s temper; she was heard through the whole street calling on God and man to assist her. We cited her before the consistory, but she escaped to her sisters. Penthesilea (Perrin’s wife) will certainly have to be reprimanded stoutly; she patronizes the worst causes, and defends herself furiously; in short, her very word and deed betray her utter want of modesty.” Another marriage at the house of a widow was celebrated with dancing, at

¹ *Ep. Beza*, Es. 69.

which the same Penthesilea had distinguished herself, and the opportunity of reprimanding her could not be passed over. She seems, however, to have been almost a match for Calvin; for, according to his own confession, she "abused him roundly," while he answered her as she deserved. "I inquired," he continues, "whether their house was inviolably sacred, — whether it owed no subjection to the laws? We already detained her father in prison, being convicted of one act of adultery; the proof of a second was close at hand; there was a strong report of a third; her brother had openly contemned and derided the Senate and us. Finally," I added, "that if they were not content to submit to us here under the yoke of Christ, they must build another city for themselves; for that so long as they remained at Geneva, they would strive in vain to elude the laws, and that if each person's head in the house of Favre wore a diadem, it should not prevent the Lord from being superior."¹

All this occurred at an early period of the struggle in 1546. The execution, in the year following, of Gruet, a leader among the spiritual Libertines, whose opinions are represented as of an impious and flagrant character, increased the bitterness of the factions. Calvin stretched his power to the utmost. Slashed breeches, in which the young Libertines had delighted as a symbol of their party, were prohibited, "not that we cared about the thing itself," he says, "but because we saw that, through the clinks of those breeches, a door would be opened to all sorts of profusion and luxury." The Libertines, in their turn, carried their license to the extent of publicly insulting Calvin, and threatening to cast him into the Rhone. He professed to

¹ *Letters*, vol. ii. p. 39.

laugh at their threats as only "the froth of the pride of Moab, whose ferocity must at length fall with a crash." Things continued in this state through various alternations, Perrin being now imprisoned, with his wife and father-in-law, and now again, through a change of fortune, not only elevated to the magistracy, but made chief syndic. This took place in 1549, and Calvin ridicules unsparingly his attempts at statesmanship, calling him now the "Comic Cæsar," and the "Tragic Cæsar."

The execution of Servetus in 1553, gradually drew the contest on to a *denouement*. The deep feeling which in various quarters was excited by this event, and the vehemence with which it was directed against Calvin, seemed to encourage the Libertine party to action. One Berthelier tried to wrest from the consistory its right of excommunication, and to force admission to the Lord's Supper, from which he had been excluded. But Calvin's firmness baffled him, and even awed Perrin. In the beginning of 1554, there was a sudden truce, and things assumed a quieter look. But there was no sincerity of reconciliation on either side, and the contention soon broke out more fiercely than ever. Calvin's power seemed to totter in his hands. He wrote to an old friend, whose name is not given, "If you knew but a tenth part of the abuse with which I am wounded, feelings of humanity would make you groan at sufferings to which I am myself grown callous. Dogs bark at me on all sides." At length, in 1555, the crisis came — a confused and disorderly affair, the account of which reads more like a street riot than anything else. Perrin with his fellow-leaders Berthelier and Peter Vandel, had probably planned a regular rising of the populace, which was to be directed against the French in the city, for the cries heard in the tumult took something of this shape. Their own

confusion, however, or the apathy of the citizens, converted it into a ridiculous failure. They then tried to make light of the affair; but the Council of Two Hundred assembled, and took a very different view of it; and, apprehensive for their safety, the agitators fled from the city. Sentence was pronounced against them in absence. They were condemned to lose their heads and be quartered, and special tortures were to be inflicted on Perrin. The sentence was executed in effigy; and the city permanently delivered from commotion.

Thus terminated the long struggle with the Libertines; in which, whatever be our judgment of particular points of Calvin's conduct, we must admire his heroism, and moreover rejoice in his triumph. For it was undoubtedly the triumph of moral order against a liberalism which, resting on no basis of principle, and conserved by no bonds of moral feeling, must have speedily dissolved in its own success, and left Geneva a sure prey to internal factions and weakness. As it was, Geneva became, strange as it may seem, the stern cradle of liberty, an asylum of Protestant independence against the gathering storms of despotism on all sides. Freedom of thought and action were indeed crushed, for the time, under an iron sway; but in behalf of a moral spirit which, nursed by such rough discipline, was to grow into potency till it became more than a match for Jesuitical state-craft in many lands, and — from the very limitations of its infancy — only expanded into higher and healthier forms of development.

In the meantime, it must be confessed, as we turn to gaze upon the picture presented to us in the trial and death of Servetus, it is difficult to trace the germs of liberty in the Genevan theocracy. We shall not attempt to enter into the endless polemic that surrounds this affair. The

main facts are palpable, and not only not denied, but gloried in by Calvin and the other reformers; for they all share almost equally with him the undying disgrace which, under all explanations, must forever attach to the event. The wise Bullinger defends it,¹ and even the gentle Melancthon could only see cause for gratitude in the hideous tragedy. The special blame of Calvin in the whole matter is very much dependent upon the view we take of his previous relation to the accusation and trial of Servetus by the Inquisition at Vienne. If the evidence, of which Dyer has made the most, were perfectly conclusive, that the reformer, through a creature of his own of the name of Trie, was really the instigator from the beginning of the proceedings against Servetus, — that from Geneva, in short, he schemed with deep-laid purpose the ruin of the latter, who was then quietly prosecuting his profession at Vienne, — and, from MSS. that had privately come into his possession, furnished the Inquisition with evidence of the heretic's opinions; — if we are compelled to believe all this, then the atrocity of Calvin's conduct would stand unrelieved by the sympathy of his fellow-reformers, and would not only not admit of defence, but would present one of the blackest pictures of treachery that even the history of religion discloses. The evidence does not seem satisfactory, although it is not without certain features of suspicion. There can be no doubt, however, that Calvin was so far privy, through Trie, to the proceedings of the Inquisition, and that he heartily approved of them. Nor is there further any reason to doubt that he contemplated from the first the death of Servetus as a stern necessity, should he ever come to Geneva, as he had offered to do.

¹ *Original Letters*, Parkes Society, part ii. p. 742.

In the well-known letter on the subject, which is not printed in Beza's collection, but has since been published, he tells Farel that he was unwilling that Servetus should trust to him; for, he adds, "If he should come, and my authority be of any avail, I will never suffer him to depart alive."¹

Having escaped from Vienne,² before the completion of

¹ "Sed nolo fidem meam interponere. Nam si venerit, modo valeat mea autoritas, vivum exire nunquam patiar."—*Letters*, vol. ii. p. 19.

² Servetus had led a wandering kind of life. Born in 1509, the same year as Calvin, at Villeneuve in Arragon, he had passed into France; and in this respect too, like his great adversary, had first devoted himself to the study of the civil law at Toulouse. He appears to have here taken to the study of the Scriptures, and imbibed his peculiar notions of the Trinity. Excited by the movement of the Reformation, he set out for Germany, and sought interviews with Ecolampadius at Basle, and Bucer and Capito at Strasburg. About this time, viz. in 1531, he prepared and published his first book, entitled *De Trinitatis Erroribus libri septem*. In the following year he published a further volume on the same subject, *Dialogorum de Trinitate libri duo*, in which he reviews, and to some extent retracts, his previous opinions—not as false, but as imperfect. It was not till more than twenty years after this that his more elaborate work, which formed the ostensible ground of his condemnation, appeared at Vienne anonymously, under the title of *Christianismi Restitutio*. In the interval, he had corresponded with Calvin, and furnished him with various statements of his views, and even offered to come to Geneva.

It is difficult to give any intelligible account of his peculiar views. While an anti-Trinitarian, he cannot be regarded in any modern sense as a mere Humanitarian or Unitarian. The following exposition by Emile Saisset (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, Mars 1848) may interest, but can scarcely enlighten the reader. "God, indivisible in Himself, divides Himself in ideas; ideas divide themselves in things. God is the absolute unity which creates all—the pure essence which essentiate all. Essence and unity descend from God to ideas, and from ideas to everything else. He is an eternal ocean of existence, of which ideas are the currents and things the waves. Ideas, regarded in their entire essence, are the uncreated light, or the Word of God. So they all emanate from one general and superior type, which is the type of human nature, the primitive model of all beings. This central idea in which all ideas unite, this sun of the world of ideas, this superior and primi-

his trial, about the 7th of April, Servetus is found in Geneva about four months later. His intention appears to have been to proceed to Italy, although Calvin represents him as having come from Italy, — a fact, which he himself denied in the course of his examination. In any case, it seems to have been something like infatuation on the part of the heretic to put himself in the way of Calvin, of whose disposition towards him he could scarcely be ignorant. The reformer seemed to recognize a sort of judicial blindness in his conduct. "I know not what to say of him," he remarked, "except that he was seized by a fatal madness to precipitate himself on destruction."

It is a deeply pathetic picture, as we look back and try to realize it, — that of the homeless and persecuted man entering the theocratic city on foot and alone, in the middle summer of 1553, taking up his residence in a small inn by the side of the lake, and entering into frank and humorous talk with his host, more like a man of the world than a speculative enthusiast; and finally, after he had dined, wandering into the church where his great adversary was preaching, — a fatal audacity, which led to his discovery. Some one recognized and immediately reported the fact to Calvin; and just as the wanderer had made his arrangements to leave for Zurich, and hired a boat to carry him across the lake, he was arrested, and conveyed to prison.¹

tive type, this eternal model of human nature, is Christ;" — a kind of German transcendentalism born out of time, rather than any mere phase of Trinitarian heresy.

¹ These are the undoubted *features* of the story. The particular circumstances and dates are involved in some obscurity. The common statement, given both by Henry and Dyer, is that he arrived in Geneva in the middle of July, and remained nearly a month incognito. Mr. Gordon, in his ingenious, and, upon the whole, very fair pamphlet, on "Calvin and Channing," London, 1854, shows that there is good reason to doubt this. The point is

Calvin takes to himself all the merit of this step, and the character and circumstances of the trial were mainly arranged by him.

The particulars are full of interest. At first a young man,¹ Calvin's secretary, undertook the office of accuser, and prepared an indictment against him of thirty-eight articles, enumerating various forms of heresy and of insulting offences against the reformers, and especially Calvin. It was found that the young champion of orthodoxy was no match for the veteran polemic who had vexed his brain so long with every species of theological subtlety; and Calvin himself, and the other clergy, then entered the lists personally against him. Encouraged, probably, by some feeling that there was a party in Geneva prepared to back him, Servetus gave way at first to great insolence of manner, and dared his adversaries in a very contemptuous way. In reference to some charge about contradicting Moses' account of the Holy Land, in his notes on Ptolemy, which he considered very paltry, he wiped his mouth and said, "Let us go on,"—a proceeding which deeply offended Calvin. The most violent and abusive language was used on both sides. Servetus addressed the reformer as a "piti-

not of much consequence, but the single contemporary statement quoted by Mr. Gordon, and to which we have already referred, is quite decisive ("Postea se vinculis clam elapsus esset venit Geneviam, et eodem die, videlicet Dominico, an livit concionem post prandium"), while neither Henry nor Dyer furnish any evidence for the story of the incognito during a month. As to Calvin's statement of his wanderings in Italy for four months (per Italiam erravit fere quatuor menses), which would, of course, carry on his arrival in Geneva from July to August, I do not think that much can be made of this, as Calvin appears to have been in error about his visit to Italy altogether. Upon the whole, the probability is against the story of the incognito for a month, or for any considerable time. The fact whether he went to church, has also been disputed. — See *Impartial Hist. of Servetus*, p. 82.

¹ Nicolas de la Fontaine.

ful wretch," a "disciple of Simon Magus," a "liar," and even a "murderer." Calvin retorted on him as an "obscene dog," and "perfidious villain," and publicly devoted him to eternal fire. The trial, nevertheless, proceeded in a regular and formal manner, on through August and September. The advice of the churches of Zurich and Berne was asked, while the unhappy prisoner, complaining bitterly of the hardships of his confinement,¹ begged to have his case appealed from the ordinary Council to that of the Two Hundred. In this Amy Perrin supported him, with the view more of turning the event to his own advantage, against Calvin, than from any pity to the heretic. There is no evidence that the reformer urged the Council to any summary violence, or that his influence swayed with them, especially in the judgment to which they came. They seem to have taken the course of proceedings very much into their own hands. But there is just as little doubt of the conclusion to which Calvin's advice and movements pointed all along, and — confirmed in their own feelings by his authority, and that of Bullinger, Farel, and others — they passed sentence on Servetus on the 26th of October, condemning him to death by fire. To do Calvin justice, he appears to have used his exertions to have the mode of the heretic's death alleviated, but without success.

On the very next morning after the sentence was pronounced, Servetus was led out of the city to his dreadful doom. The spot where he suffered is an extended eminence of the name of Chaupel, — about two miles off, — from which the eye can trace the encircling ridges of the Jura,

¹ His language on this subject is very pitiable, and, if entirely to be credited, reflects infinite disgrace on his persecutors. "Les poulx me manquent tout vif, mes chauses sont descirées, et nay de quoy changer, ni perpoint ni chamise, que une mechante."—*Impartial History of Servetus*, p. 120.

as they rise like frowning battlements around the scene, and the clear windings of the Arve as it pours its "snow-gray" waters into the bright azure stream of the Rhone. There the wretched man was fastened to a stake, surrounded by heaps of oak wood and leaves, with his condemned book and the MS. he had sent to Calvin attached to his girdle; and, while with choked utterance he could only say, "O God! O God!" the fire was kindled. The wood was green, and did not burn readily. Some persons ran and fetched dry faggots, while his piercing shrieks rent the air; and, exclaiming finally (in words which, with a strange perversity, have been supposed to indicate his persistence in heresy to the last), "Jesus, thou Son of the eternal God, have mercy upon me!"—he passed from the doom of earth to a higher and fairer tribunal.

It is needless to indulge in reflective commonplace on this memorable crime. To the reformers, on the principles they avowed and advocated, it scarcely needed any apology. To us, looking back upon it from this point of time, it can receive no palliation, and they are but poor and unfaithful sons of Protestantism, who have sought for a moment to defend it. Whatever apology it may admit of from the spirit of the age, and the supposed (blasphemous) character of the charge, it can admit of no apology on any intelligibly Protestant ground. In so far as the reformers were concerned in it, they were simply untrue to their own position, and ignorant of their own only rational weapon of defence. To the benefit of this inconsistency and ignorance they are entitled, but to nothing more. The act must bear its own doom and disgrace forever; and if it stirs the heart more with pity for the long darkness of human mistake than with indignation for the harshness of human cruelty, this may be a less scandalous, but it is scarcely a less mournful view of the matter.

After the expulsion of the Libertines in 1555, Calvin's power in Geneva was thoroughly consolidated. He had still his controversies, indeed, with Westphal and others, but the life-and-death struggle at his door had ceased, and none any more sought to question his supremacy as the master-spirit and governor of the city. Beza — a lively, meddlesome, serviceable, but by no means a great man — became his active coadjutor in the last years of his life, and in his faithful reverence for his master's traditions, and ardent and affectionate admiration of his genius, was a man after Calvin's own heart. The great struggle that was proceeding in France during these years, between the hierarchical party, with the Guises at their head, and the Protestants led by Condé and Coligny, deeply interested both. In the somewhat unintelligible conspiracy of Amboise, in 1560, the aim of which was to wrest the power from the hands of the Guises and bring them to trial, Calvin was supposed to have been implicated. He has himself confessed that he knew about it, but that he disapproved of it, and did all he could to hinder its execution. This is a more likely version of the fact, for Calvin's political opinions were never of an active and violent character. He had no love for political revolution of any kind, and was not likely to have advised it.

About 1561, Calvin's long-continued bad health greatly increased. Abstemious to an unnatural degree, and overwrought by his many labors, he was, towards the close of this year, seized with gout. Unable to walk, he was transported to church in a chair to continue his preaching, from which he would not desist. His sufferings became aggravated during the next three years. Not one but numerous disorders, bred by his unhealthy habits of study, laid waste his frame. On the 6th of February, 1564, he preached his

last sermon. He was henceforth only able, when carried occasionally to church, to say a few words to the people. He is said to have been very uncomplaining, — only the cry would sometimes come from him, “How long, O Lord?” On the 2d April, Easter-day, he was for the last time carried to church, and received the sacrament from the hands of Beza; but after this was still able to address a long discourse to the members of the council who came to his house. On the 28th he received the clergy, and boldly encouraged them to persevere in the great work which he had begun. Farel, himself tottering to the grave, came from Neufchatel to visit him,¹ and the old fellow-laborers, after one more conference, parted to meet only in a less disturbed state of existence. He lingered on during May, and had even another meeting of the clergy in his house. Then, on the 27th of the month, as summer was flushing over those bright scenes amidst which he had lived untouched by their beauty, he peacefully fell asleep. Beza had quitted him only for a moment, and on his return the reformer lay calm in death. “At the same time with the setting sun,” says his admiring friend, “was this great luminary withdrawn.”

He was buried without ostentation, but amidst the pro-

¹ Farel was now in his eightieth year, and in very feeble health. He sent beforehand intimation of his visit; and the brief letter in which Calvin sought to dissuade him from his intention, the last probably he ever wrote, is very touching: — “Farewell, my best and most right-hearted brother, and since God is pleased that you should survive me in this world, live mindful of our friendship, of which, as it was useful to the church of God, the fruit still awaits us in heaven. I would not have you fatigue yourself on my account. I draw my breath with difficulty, and am daily waiting till I altogether cease to breathe. It is enough that to Christ I live and die; to His people He is gain in life and death. Farewell again, not forgetting the brethren. At Geneva, 11th May, 1564.” — BEZA, *Vita Calv.*

found regret of the citizens, in the common cemetery of Plein Palais outside of the city, on the banks of the Rhone. He had especially enjoined that no nonument should mark his resting-place. His severe simplicity turned away from all such honors. His biographer¹ accordingly says that his grave continues unknown. In point of fact, however, a plain stone, with the letters "J. C." upon it, is now pointed out to the stranger as marking it, although, on what authority we do not know. Whether his remains lie in that particular spot, or elsewhere, the simple and rude stone, as the meditative visitant stands beside it and looks round upon many imposing tablets raised over comparatively unmemorable dust, seems no unfitting memorial of the man — starting by its very nakedness associations all the more sublime.

Thus lived and died Calvin — a great, intense, and energetic character, who, more than any other even of that great age, has left his impress upon the history of Protestantism. Nothing, perhaps, more strikes us than the contrast between the single naked energy which his character presents, and of which his name has become symbolical, and the grand issues which have gone forth from it. Scarcely anywhere else can we trace such an imperious potency of intellectual and moral influence emanating from so narrow a centre.

There is in almost every respect a singular dissimilarity between the Genevan and the Wittenberg reformer. In personal, moral, and intellectual features, they stand contrasted, — Luther with his massive frame and full, big face, and deep melancholy eyes; Calvin, of moderate stature,

¹ HENRY.

pale and dark complexion, and sparkling eyes, that burned nearly to the moment of his death.¹ Luther, fond and jovial, relishing his beer and hearty family repasts with his wife and children; Calvin, spare and frugal, for many years only taking one meal a day, and scarcely needing sleep.² In the one, we see a rich and complex and buoyant and affectionate nature, touching humanity at every point; in the other, a stern and grave unity of moral feature. Both were naturally of a somewhat proud and imperious temper, but the violence of Luther is warm and boisterous, that of Calvin is keen and zealous. It might have been a very uncomfortable thing, as Melancthon felt,³ to be exposed to Luther's occasional storms; but, after the storm was over, it was pleasant to be folded once more to the great heart that was sorry for its excesses. To be the object of Calvin's dislike and anger, was something to fill one with dread, not only for the moment, but long afterwards, and at a distance, as poor Castellio felt when he gathered the pieces of drift-wood on the banks of the Rhine at Basle.

In intellect, as in personal features, the one was grand, massive, and powerful, through depth and comprehension of feeling, a profound but exaggerated insight, and a soaring eloquence; the other was no less grand and powerful, through clearness and correctness of judgment, rigor and consistency of reasoning, and "weightiness" of expression. Both are alike memorable in the service which they rendered to their native tongue, in the increased compass and more flexible and felicitous mastery which they imparted

¹ BEZA, *Calv. Vita*.

² *Ibid.*

³ See note, *Calvin's Letters*, vol. i. p. 409, and the expression quoted by Hallam from *Epis. Melancthon*, p. 21 — of the harshness of which, however, too much must not be made. — *Lit. of Europe*, vol. i. p. 492.

to it. The Latin works of Calvin are greatly superior in elegance of style, symmetry of method, and proportionate vigor of argument; he maintains an academic elevation of tone even amidst the vehement impulses which animate him, while Luther, as Mr. Hallam has it, sometimes descends to mere "bellowing in bad Latin." Yet there is a coldness in the elevation of Calvin, and in his correct and well-balanced sentences, for which we should like ill to exchange the kindling though rugged paradoxes of Luther. The German had the more rich and teeming, the Genevan the harder, more serviceable, and enduring mind. When interrupted in dictating for several hours, Beza tells us that he could return and commence at once where he had left off; and that, amidst all the multiplicity of his engagements, he never forgot what he required to know for the performance of any duty.

As preachers, Calvin seems to have commanded a scarcely less powerful success than Luther, although of a different character,—the one stimulating and rousing, "boiling over in every direction;" the other, instructive and enlightening, filling the minds of his hearers with weighty sentiments.¹ Luther flashed forth his feelings at the moment, never being able to compose what might be called a regular sermon, but seizing the principal subject, and turning all his attention to that alone. Calvin was elaborate and careful in his sermons, as in everything else. The one thundered and lightened, filling the souls of his hearers now with shadowy awe, and now with an intense glow of spiritual excitement;² the other, like the broad daylight,

¹ BEZA, *Vita Cale.*

² The description which Beza has given of Farel's preaching seems to indicate a resemblance in this as in other respects between the fiery Dauphinese and the great German. "Farel," he says, "excelled in a certain sublimity

filled them with a more diffusive though less exhilarating clearness.

Altogether, it is sufficiently easy to fix the varying characteristics, however difficult it may be to measure the relative greatness of the two chief reformers: moral and intellectual power assumes in the one an intense, concentrated, and severe outline; in the other, a broad, irregular, and massive, yet child-like expression. The one may suggest a Doric column, chaste, grand, and sublime in the very simplicity and inflexibility of its mouldings; the other, a Gothic dome, with its fertile contrasts and ample space, here shadowy in lurking gloom, and there riant in spots of sunshine, filled through all its amplitude with a dim, religious awe, and yet, as we leisurely pause and survey it, traced here and there with grotesque and capricious imagery, — the riotous freaks, as it were, of a strength which could be at once lofty and low, spiritually grand, yet with marks of its earth-birth everywhere.

Simplicity is, beyond doubt, the main feature of Calvin's character; yet it is not the simplicity of nature, but of an even and orderly spiritual development. Earnest from the first, looking upon life as a great and stern reality, a hard yet noble discipline, his moral purpose is everywhere clear and definite — to live a life of duty, to shape circumstances to such divine ends as he apprehended, and in whatever sphere he might be placed to work out the glory of God. Protestantism changed the direction of his efforts,

of mind, so that nobody could either hear his thunders without trembling, or listen to his most fervent prayers without feeling as it were almost carried up to heaven." He adds, "Viret possessed such winning eloquence that his entranced audience hung upon his lips. Calvin never spoke without filling the mind of the hearer with most weighty sentiments. I have often thought that a preacher compounded of the three would have been absolutely perfect."—*Vita Calv.*

but probably very little the principle of them. As Romanist or Protestant, he must have equally led a life of intense devotion and spiritual work. For there were no elements of lawless affection in him, no excesses of youthful passion, and, moreover, no impulses of mere selfish desire that could have ever drawn him aside to the service of the flesh or the world. He was naturally fitted as well as divinely trained for the special work which he had to do. He found his career, or rather it found him, with a singular felicity, amid the exciting strifes into which he was born. Before his arrival in Geneva, he appeared very much the mere scholar and theologian. Intellectual study seemed not unlikely to divert and absorb his energies. But so soon as he settled there, his great practical and administrative qualities were drawn forth, and intellectual interest became henceforth subservient to that which he felt to be his peculiar mission, — the reorganization of the divine kingdom in the world, as he saw and believed in it.

Combined with this strict simplicity of aim in Calvin, there is a wonderful grandeur of endurance and power. Nowhere lovely, he is everywhere strong. Strength looks upon us with a naked glance from every feature of his life and work. He is stern and arbitrary and cruel, when it suits him, but never weak. He seldom mistakes, and as seldom fails. Confident in his own conclusions, and inflexible in his resolutions, he never goes back upon his practical policy, nor upon his theological views,¹ for revisal or modification, but always forward in expansive and consistent development. There is no wavering and no scruples in him. In all his pained and worn countenance you can-

¹ Beza has noticed this, *Vita Calv.* "In the doctrine which he delivered at the first, he persisted steadily to the last, scarcely making any change."

not trace a quivering of feebleness, scarce a spark of sensitiveness, only the forward and steady gaze of resolved and imperious duty, whatever it might cost him.

As to the more social aspects of his character, it becomes a very difficult task to be at once just and critical. On the one hand, even in the face of his acknowledged harshness in many cases, it is impossible to adopt the representations of some, and regard him as destitute of all warmth of affection. Many of his letters, on the contrary, are marked by an affectionate interest, which, if not very warm or tender, is yet considerate and kindly. Then his relations with Farel, and Viret, and Bucer, and still more Melancthon, from whom in many points he differed, sufficiently show that there was something in him lovable and capable of love, fitted both to engage sincere and deep regard, and to respond with an affectionate faithfulness to the friendly emotions which he excited. We have seen how his weary spirit clung to that of Melancthon, removed beyond the contentions of theological strife; and there is something peculiarly affecting in his long and sometimes very trying and delicate relations with Farel, consummated by that last kind and tender memorial which he sent him from his death-bed. On the other hand, it appears to us a misinterpretation of character altogether to read these tokens of friendly sympathy as being what have been called "the overflowings of a heart filled with the deepest and most acute sensibility."¹ Overflowing of any kind is exactly what you never find in Calvin, even in his most familiar letters. His strongest expressions of affection are always calm and measured. When he condoles with Viret and Knox, for example, on the death of their wives, there is no

¹ Preface to *Letters* — Constable.

impulsive trembling or sensitive fulness in his tones, but only a becoming and regulated expression of grief.¹ Then it cannot be forgotten that there are some of his letters full of fierce expressions of hatred and anger, which one can only read now with pity and sorrow.² Affectionate and even hearty to his friends, let us admit him to have been, and capable of unbending so far as to play with the syndics at *the game of the key* (whatever that may have been), on a quiet evening; but Calvin was certainly not in the least a man of genial and overflowing sensibility. His temper was repressive and not expansive, concentrated and not sympathetic, and his heart burned more keenly with the fires of polemic indignation, than it ever glowed with the warmth of kindly or tender emotion.

There are nowhere in all his letters any joyous or pathetic exaggerations of sentiment — any of that play of feeling or of language which in Luther's letters make us so love the man. All this he would have thought mere waste of breath — mere idleness, for which he had no time. The intensity of his purpose, the solemnity of his work, prevented him from ever looking around or relaxing himself in a free, happy, and outgoing communion with nature or life. Living as he did amid the most divine aspects of nature, you could not tell from his correspondence that they ever touched him — that morning with its golden glories, or evening with its softened splendors, as day rose and set amid such transporting scenes, ever inspired him. The murmuring rush of the Rhone, the frown-

¹ His words to Knox, quoted by M'Crie, are : "Viduitas tua mihi *ut debet*, tristis et acerba est. Uxorem nactus eras cui non reperiuntur passim similes." His letters to Viret indicate perhaps more warmth of feeling (vol. ii. p. 22—24).

² See especially a brief letter to Madame de Cany, vol. ii. p. 323.

ing outlines of the Jura, the snowy grandeur of Mont Blanc, might as well not have been, for all that they seemed to have affected him. No vestige of poetical feeling, no touch of descriptive color, ever rewards the patient reader. All that exquisitely conscious sympathy with nature, and wavering responsiveness to its unuttered lessons, which brighten with an ever-recurring freshness the long pages of Luther's letters, and which have wrought themselves as a very common-place into modern literature, is unknown, and would have been unintelligible to him. And no less all that fertile interest in life merely for its own sake — its own joys and sorrows — brightness and sadness; the mystery, pathos, tenderness, and exuberance of mere human affection, which enrich the character of the great German — there is nothing of all this in Calvin; no such yearning or sentimental aspirations ever touched him. Luther, in all things greater as a man, is infinitely greater here. And in truth this element of modern feeling and culture is Teutonic rather than Celtic in its growth. It springs out of the comparatively rich and genial soil of the Saxon mind, — deeper in its sensibilities, and more exuberant in its products.

On the whole, simplicity, grandeur, and consistency of purpose mark out Calvin from his fellows, and constitute the main elements of his greatness and influence. The same kind of consistency which we shall meet with in his system appears in his character — a consistency not of manifold adaptation, but of stern comprehension. As the complexities of Christian doctrine in his theology are not merely evolved and laid side by side, but crushed into a unity, so his life is unique and symmetrical at the expense of richness and interest, and a whole and hearty humanity. Both can alone be truly judged in reference to the exigen-

cies amidst which they were prepared and the work that they accomplished. Human progress needed both of them assuredly, although it is a melancholy and saddening reflection that it did so. It was a hard and bad world that needed Calvin as a reformer. And when we think of the Institutes in comparison with the Gospels, we cannot help acknowledging how far man was then, alas! is still, below his blessings — how infinitely higher is the reach of divine truth than the response of human desire, or any capacity of human understanding.

An impression of majesty, and yet of sadness, must ever linger around the name of Calvin. He was great, and we admire him. The world needed him, and we honor him; but we cannot love him. He repels our affections while he extorts our admiration; and while we recognize the worth, and the divine necessity, of his life and work, we are thankful to survey them at a distance, and to believe that there are also other modes of divinity governing the world, and advancing the kingdom of righteousness and truth.

According to what we have already said, the great distinction of Calvin, as we see him appearing within the sphere of the Reformation, is that in him the movement found its genius of order. He is from the outset of his career not at all, like Luther, the head of an onward struggle, but the representative of a new organization of the disturbing forces, spiritual and social, that were spreading all around in France and Switzerland. While, therefore, Luther is characteristically the hero, he is characteristically the legislator. He feels that the insurrectionary movement, which has been proceeding vigorously and fiercely for a quarter of a century, needs a guide — some one, not

indeed to beat back and check it, but to rein it in,¹ to impress upon it a definite constitution, and to bring it under discipline. Unless some such one should arise, the movement seemed likely to spend itself, on the one hand, in the most extravagant forms of social disturbance, through the spread of Anabaptism and other forms of pseudo-Christian Communism; or, on the other hand, in intellectual unbelief, like that of Servetus and others. With a view to what seemed the probable development of such tendencies, Calvin was just as much the master of the occasion as Luther was of a very different occasion: or, to speak in other language, the instrumentality of Divine Providence was manifested equally in the rise of the Genevan as in that of the German reformer. The elements of religious thought and social liberty let loose by Luther, and within more limited spheres by Zwingli and Farel, and which required, as eminently in the case of Luther they found, an heroic impulsion of character and a strength of popular and enthusiastic zeal to represent and carry them forward to triumph, — now in 1536 demanded the influence of a quite different character, and a strength of intellectual and moral, rather than of popular earnestness — an aristocratic, in short, rather than a democratic power, to direct and control them.

Calvin was the impersonation of this spirit of order in the surging movement of the sixteenth century. He was so in two distinct and important respects, closely connected with one another, but separately so important that it is difficult to say in which point of view he appears most as a genius and master. He was so, first, as the great *theologian*

¹ This is the very light in which, Beza tells us, he himself saw his work. "He saw how needful bridles were to be put in the jaws of the Genevese."

of the Reformation; and secondly, as the *founder of a new religion and social organization*,—a *new order of church polity*,—which did more than anything else to consolidate the dissipating forces of Protestantism, and to oppose, if not a triumphant, yet an effectual front to the old Catholic organization, now beginning to gather life again after its first rude shocks. His influence in both these respects not only survived himself, but from the small centre of Geneva was propagated through France and Holland and Scotland, and to a large extent England, in a manner which, as we look back upon it, exalts him to the highest rank of great minds, who, by the concentration and intensity of their thought and will, have ever swayed the destinies of their race. Limited, as compared with Luther, in his personal influence, apparently less the man of the hour in a great crisis of human progress, he towers far above Luther in the general influence over the world of thought and the course of history, which a mighty intellect, inflexible in its convictions and constructive in its genius, never fails to exercise.

In briefly speaking of Calvin as a theologian, we shall not attempt to enter into any details of his religious opinions. This would be altogether foreign to the purpose of these sketches. We shall only try to seize the spirit and general character of his dogmatic system, as they serve to explain his historical position, and as they came in contact with the spiritual tendencies then most active, not only in France, but in other countries.

When Calvin turned his keen glance upon the spiritual atmosphere around him, which he was born into at its full stir rather than produced, he saw at once the necessity, not so much of charging it with any new impulses, as of introducing clearness, intelligibility, and arrangement into

those already in operation. This was the task that he essayed; and he brought to this task no new spirit or principles, but simply learning, faith, and vigor of mental conception. Novelty of purpose or of doctrine was as far as possible from his thought. The famous preface of the Institutes is mainly a powerful protest against any such view. What he really contemplated, and what he accomplished in the Institutes, first in a comparatively slight, and then in a more elaborate and definite form, was to reconstruct, on a professed biblical basis, those doctrinal ideas which, disengaged from the old Catholic tradition by the powerful preaching of the earlier reformers, had not yet assumed, at least to the Gallic mind, any consistent expression. The primitive Christian character of these ideas is the great point which he tries to force upon the attention of Francis I., in view of the calumnies which the enemies of the Reformation had widely spread abroad. Novelty, or even originality in doctrinal conception, would have been repelled by him as a shameful accusation, and in fact was so, when, under the misrepresentation of Caroli and others, he was accused of Arianism. Nothing in his early career moved him more, or gave him more pain. In the very face of all such views, it was his single aim to set anew in a Scriptural framework the old truth—to rebuild in its purity and completeness the old dogmatic edifice which had been overlaid and disfigured by the corruptions of Popery.

It arose from the very nature of the case, that this could only be done in the abstract and systematic spirit in which he attempted it. It was necessary to meet system with system, theory by theory. The old Catholic tradition, notwithstanding all that happened, and the vigorous rents that had been made in it by the attacks of the reformers, had a

power not merely of resistance, but of successful reaction to the "new" opinions, in the mere coherence and apparent unity which it seemed to present in contrast with the latter, so long as these could at all be regarded as the mere opinions of individual teachers. To show, in a systematic method, that they could not rightly be so regarded, but that they were in reality the revival of the primitive Christian teaching, — to raise thus a coherent front of Scriptural dogmatism in opposition to the old ecclesiastical dogmatism, and thereby at once save the principles of the Reformation from license, and strengthen and consolidate them against Popery, — such was Calvin's great work as a theologian.¹

In an historical point of view we cannot think that any will deny the distinguished success with which he accomplished this work. Never did man, perhaps, more truly measure his powers to the exact task for which they were fitted, and then bring them to bear with a more steady and adequate energy upon the achievement of that task. Seizing with a powerful and comprehensive grasp the whole scheme of Christian doctrine, he analyzed and exhibited it, step by step, in all its parts, and set it forth in an order most imposing and effective. Melancthon had previously systematized the reformed tenets, but without the same confident grasp and mastery of logic. The German theologian possessed a more delicate perception, and a more subtle insight into many points; but this very fineness of spiritual texture unfitted him for the more bold and compact dogmatic handiwork that was then required: it gave indecision and apparent feebleness to many of his views. Calvin did not even know the meaning of dogmatic inde-

¹ See his own description of his design, in his address to the reader from the edition of 1559 — THOLUCK'S edit., p. 24.

cision. His intellectual penetration and directness over-matched all scruples and doubts, and enabled him at almost every point to maintain a firm footing — to show his readers, as he himself says, “how to pursue and hold without wandering the good and right way.” And this mere strength of intellectual consistency, traversing the whole ground of Christian truth, — mapping it out, and arranging it territory to territory, so as to present a great whole, — was the primary, as it was among the most powerful, means of giving to his work the influence which it secured; it met so exactly one of the most urgent wants of the Reformation.

When we bring into view the prominent Scriptural ground on which this consistency was made to rest, we recognize a further important element of Calvin’s success. It was not merely the coherence of a great logical method which was presented in the Institutes, but the method seemed to identify itself at every point with Scripture, and appropriately express its truth. “He who makes himself master of the method which I have pursued,” he says, “will surely understand what he should seek for in Scripture.” The logical framework, in all its well-ordered parts, was clothed with the living garment of the Divine Word. Even now it is difficult to disentangle the two; for Calvin, with all the theologians of his century, and of the succeeding century as well, does not quote Scripture merely in support of his view, so that you can see the view distinctly, and then the Scriptural warrant for it, but he everywhere blends undistinguishably his own reasoning and Scripture, so that it is often very difficult indeed to say where you have the human reasoner, and where the Divine Teacher. He applies biblical language, moreover, as all his compeers did, with comparatively little regard to its historical connection, taking a statement at random from any book of

the Old, or from any book of the New Testament, as bearing with equally conclusive force upon his argument. The result of this is to exhibit the outline of his system as representing, in all its successive evolutions, a strikingly Scriptural aspect. The argument at every point, even in the first book, "De Recognitione Dei Creatoris," takes up Scriptural phrase, and drapes itself in it as a sure vesture fitted to it closely, and with great skill. This prominence of biblical statement, worked into every phase of his dogmatic scheme, and disguising its mere abstract propositions, constituted, and constitutes to this day with many minds, the greatest success of Calvin's work. The philosopher seems hidden in the divine, the dogmatist in the scripturist.

But it was a still farther characteristic of Calvin's system that may be said to have completed its triumph. He not merely apprehended the Christian scheme as a whole, and set it forth with the rare logical and Scriptural consistency we have described, but he apprehended it with clear and firm vision, in the view of a great central truth, which shed light, darkened indeed, but intense in its very darkness, upon all its relations. The great moving-spring of the Reformation, we formerly saw, was the principle of individual religion — the assertion of the immediate relation of the soul to God expressed in the doctrine of justification by faith alone. Calvin seized this great truth with the same clearness, if not with the same intensity, as Luther. He saw with an equal force that God is the only source of all good in man, — that human righteousness can only spring out of the free act and communication of the Divine grace, and that therefore the supposed merit of any human work, even of the noblest piety, as recognized by the Catholic tradition, was a mere delusion, ensnaring to the soul. He laid down this as a distinctive article of faith with his usual lucidity and coher-

ence, bringing out the Scriptural proportions of his own view against what he considered to be the perversion of an eminent Lutheran teacher, Osiander.¹ But beyond this special aspect of the principle of the free and immediate relation of the soul to God in the doctrine of Justification, Calvin saw a still higher and more comprehensive aspect of it in the doctrine of Predestination. If there be no veil between the soul and God, so that the former finds all its life and righteousness only in the latter, — the human in the Divine Personality, — it is but a mere step from this to apprehend the Divine Being as not only freely but sovereignly, “of his mere good pleasure,” bestowing life and righteousness. Not only is justification of God alone, but an act of the Divine sovereignty, definite, immutable, irrefragable, has determined from all eternity the objects of justification. Only then do we fully recognize free grace in all its grandeur, when we recognize it in this shape as the eternal election of God — when we acknowledge the Divine act of clemency: and not merely so, but, moreover, the Divine act of reprobation, as eternally consummated in certain persons without any reference to their conduct. The whole of human life and of human history, the good and evil that are in them, are gathered up by Calvin into a single point in the abyss of eternity, from which all their complicated threads go forth in a double series of undeviating demarcation. The Divine is apprehended not only on its positive but on its negative side, as working out not only a progressive kingdom of righteousness, but also a retrogressive kingdom of evil, and in each case equally for its own glory. And this moral dualism is applied with a fearless and untrembling hand. It is in no

sense a mere theory, the mere blank category of a transcendental philosophy, but a living principle, which he brings to bear without flinching upon all the mysteries of human existence. He confesses, indeed, that it is a "horrible decree;"¹ but its clear and undeniable proof seems to him to lie in the simple statement which follows up this confession: "God must have foreseen the special destiny of each individual before he created him, and he only foresaw this as having ordained it."² This was the highest triumph of his system. Even a logic such as Calvin's could go no farther than this.

In what degree this confident audacity in carrying out the great principle of the Reformation helped to give permanence to its general doctrines, and to make them dominant not only over the learned but over the popular minds that came within its sway, is a question far too wide and important to take up here. But none can doubt, looking merely at the most obvious facts, that it had a very powerful influence, not only in virtue of its own logical vigor, and the craving there then was, in all minds astir upon religious truth, for some great theory or absolute idea into which to fit and harmonize their floating conceptions; but especially in virtue of the profound spiritual instinct out of which the theory sprang, and which it long continued and even continues to express to many deeply religious minds. The feeling of direct and devout dependence upon God,—of tracing all to him, and finding all in him,—of emptying the creaturely will wholly in the Creative will,—of bending low before the Majesty of heaven, and rejoicing that

¹ "Decretum quidem horribile fateor."—Third Book, chap. xxiii.

² Infeciari tamen nemo poterit quia præsciveret Deus, quem exitum esset habiturus homo, antiquam esse conderit et ideo præsciverit, quia decreto suo sic ordonavit.

our very weakness and misery are its strength and glory, — this deep instinct of humility appeared to many merely sublimed in the doctrine of Predestination, and apart from its own argumentative consistency and hardihood, it thus carried with it the energy and triumph of a lofty spirituality.

As we look back, therefore, upon this great system in conjunction with the spirit not only of the century which produced it, but of that which followed, we can well understand the success with which it maintained its ground, and the conquest which it won against rival systems. Viewed as systems, as exhaustive logical generalizations of Christian truth, Calvinism is the natural victor of Arminianism in this very thoroughness and higher consistency of system which it presents; in its greater Scriptural earnestness, and in the superior boldness and directness with which it carried out the great fundamental principle of the Reformation. Arminianism — no less infected than Calvinism by a mere logical zeal, having no more than the latter any apprehension of a higher method than that of argumentative definition even in the highest region of spiritual truth — yet paltered and sophisticated in its logic everywhere. It had neither the courage to lay aside logic and confess its weakness, nor yet the vigor to carry it out. And so it patched at every point, and covered the last mystery, into which Calvinism rushed with daring footing, with its thin glosses, — glosses so feebly transparent now when we examine them, that it seems strange they should have ever satisfied any minds, and least of all minds of such acuteness as some of those that professed to rest on them.

The higher Scriptural congruity of Calvinism was especially apparent on the merely dogmatical principle of inter-

pretation then common. It mirrored far more profoundly the spiritual depths of the epistles, and took up more naturally and directly the great key-notes of their language. It was more true, in short, as a whole, to the vast and shadowy outlines of thought which meet us everywhere on the surface of Scripture, and especially concentrate themselves in certain deep utterances of the letters of St. Paul, over which criticism has long hung with a puzzled stare.

While thus claiming for Calvinism a higher Scriptural character, it would yet be too much to say that Calvinism, any more than Lutheranism, or latterly Arminianism, was primarily the result of a fresh and living study of Scripture. Calvin, no doubt, went to Scripture. He is the greatest biblical commentator, as he is the greatest biblical dogmatist, of his age; but his dogmas, for the most part, were not primarily suggested by Scripture; and as to his distinguishing dogma, this is eminently the case. Like Luther, he had been trained in the scholastic philosophy, and been fed on Augustine; and it was no more possible for the one than for the other to get beyond the scholastic spirit or the Augustinian doctrine. An attentive study of the Institutes reveals the presence of Augustine everywhere; and great even as Calvin is in exegesis, his exegesis is mainly controlled by Augustinian dogmatic theory. As to the question of predestination, — so apt to be originally identified with his name in theology, — Calvin is not merely indebted to Augustine, but he verbally reproduces him at great length; and it is a favorite plan with him, when hard pushed by the dilemmas which his own acuteness or the representations of opponents suggest, to retreat behind the arguments of his great prototype, and to suppose himself strong within the cover of assertions not less

startling and inadmissible, though more venerable than his own. In fixing anew, therefore, this keystone in the Christian arch, he was merely repeating, even more prominently than elsewhere, an old work ; and strangely enough, as is so often the case in all such reäctions, the chief weapon which he employed against the degraded scholasticism of his day, was tempered in the very forge which it was meant to extinguish.

This appeal to an earlier Catholicity on the part of the Reformed theologies—this support in Augustine—beyond doubt greatly contributed to their success in their day. For few then ventured to doubt the authority of Augustinianism, and the theological spirit of the sixteenth century hardly at any point got beyond it. It was a natural source of triumph to the great Protestant confessions against the unsettled unbelief or more superficial theologies which they encountered, that they wielded so bold and consistent a weapon of logic, and appealed so largely to an authoritative Scriptural interpretation. Calvinism *could not but* triumph on any such modes of reasoning or of biblical exegesis as then prevailed ; and so long as it continued to be merely a question of systems, and logic had it all its way, this triumph was secure. But, now that the question is changed, and logic is no longer mistress of the field ; now, when a spirit of interpreting Scripture, which could have hardly been intelligible to Calvin, generally asserts itself,—a spirit which recognizes a progress in Scripture itself—a diverse literature and moral growth in its component elements,—and which, at once looking backward with reverence, and forward with faith, has learned a new audacity, or a new modesty, as we shall call it, according to our predilections ; and while it accepts with awe the mysteries of life and of death, refuses to submit them arbitrarily to the

dictation of any mere logical principle; now that the whole sphere of religious credence is differently apprehended, and the provinces of faith and of logical deduction are recognized as not merely incommensurate, but as radically distinguished, — the whole case as to the triumphant position of Calvinism, or, indeed, any other theological system, is altered. An able writer in our day,¹ has shown with convincing power what are the inevitably contradictory results of carrying the reasoning faculty with determining sway into the department of religious truth. The conclusions of that writer, sufficiently crushing as directed by him against all rationalistic systems, are to the full as conclusive against the *competency* of all theological systems whatever. The weapon of logical destructiveness which he has used with such energy, is a weapon of offence really against all religious dogmatism. What between the torture of criticism, and the slow but sure advance of moral idea, this dogmatism is losing all hold of the most living and earnest intelligence everywhere. And it seems no longer possible, under any new polemic form, to revive it. Men are weary of heterodoxy and of orthodoxy alike, and of the former in any arbitrary and dogmatic shape, still more intolerably than the latter. The old *Institutio Christiana Religionis* no longer satisfies, and a new *Institutio* can never replace it. A second Calvin in theology is impossible. Men thirst not less for spiritual truth, but they no longer believe in the capacity of *system* to embrace and contain that truth, as in a reservoir, for successive generations. They must seek for it themselves afresh in the pages of Scripture and the ever-dawning light of spiritual life, or they will simply neglect and put it past as

¹ Mansel in his *Bampton Lectures*.

an old story. It may be a melancholy condition to have come to; but to deny that it is an existent and continually more prevailing condition, is simply to shut our eyes, and then, because *we* cannot see, to fancy that the world is blind.

In the endless conflict of systems, and the mutual destructiveness of their opposing principles, there is a lesson to be learned, but it does not seem to be exactly the lesson which the Bampton lecturer draws. The uncertainty of reason in all religious matters, and the contradictoriness of its vaulting theories, should teach us a greater trust in revelation, but a trust in it in its simplicity and the gathered unity of its sacred spirit, rather than in any complacently assumed traditionary meaning. If the intellect be a helpless arbiter in religious questions, and everywhere starts more difficulties than it suggests solutions, our appeal must be to Scripture, and we thank God for it; but to Scripture not according to any arbitrarily asserted idea and meaning, but in its variety and fulness, in its historical relations and critical and literary conditions, — to the *Divine Spirit*, in short, that speaks in Scripture under the necessary limitations of human language, and a progressive development of moral thought.¹

¹ It appears to me singular, I confess, that a writer of the acuteness and power of Mr. Mansel, should find any satisfaction in the positions which he has laid down in his last Lecture. The views there propounded of the overbearing authority of what he calls *moral miracles*, and of the absolute dogmatic virtue of all parts of Scripture alike, supposing the student to have satisfied himself on the subject of the external evidences, seem alike untenable and destructive, — ignoring, as they do, the most obvious conditions of historical criticism, and by leaving the individual judgment helpless before *confessed* difficulties, simply casting it into the arms of the first authority, dogmatic or Catholic, to which it may incline. The very idea of a moral miracle is a preconception of the worst kind, and could only be reluctantly

We have still to consider Calvin in what appears to us his most creative capacity, as an ecclesiastical legislator; and in order to do this, we must understand yet more fully the historical necessities of his position, and of the Reformation as represented by him.

After the first spiritual impulse of the Reformation had spent itself, great difficulties and dangers arose on all sides. Not only did the unsettled elements of Christian doctrine require a master-mind to mould and reconstruct them into an authoritative shape, but the same process of reconstruction was still more urgently demanded in the sphere of social life. With the overthrow of the old Catholic polity and discipline, there was left a great opening for moral laxity, and the dissolution of the bonds of society. Corrupt as that polity was in its deeper springs, it had yet remained a highly conservative machinery of social and national existence. Intolerable in its unspirituality and oppressiveness, it operated as a vast social and political agency, touching life everywhere, and binding it together in all its relations. Gradually it had grown to this. Augustine's grand idea of a *civitas Dei*—of a Divine commonwealth—had developed itself till it covered the whole of the western world, and not merely placed itself in contact

admitted after the application of every fair principle of interpretation still left a demand for it; and Mr. Mansel cannot be ignorant that there are many Christian critics who would not allow that any such demand is left. According to any adequate historical idea of Scripture, it is about the last thing one would wish to be obliged to do, to defend the Bible on any grounds or presumptions of moral miracle.

Mr. Mansel's notions of *regulative moral*, as well as *regulative speculative* ideas, seem an excess of the Kantian principle, neither likely to be fruitful in ethics nor useful in exegesis. The ability and eloquence of the *Bampton Lectures* I admire, with many others; but I heartily wish that they had been sometimes less clever, and more helpful to the student.

with human activity at every point, but directly held within its embrace all the intricacies of personal, family, and national relation. Starting as the most individual of all religions, and seizing, by its primary influence, not on man's outward condition, but on his deepest inward sensibilities, Christianity had, with the decay of the old Roman Empire, taken its place, and become a *religion* in the strictest sense—a great system of political as well as moral government. Slowly pushing its way in conflict with the immoralities of paganism, and the spurious ethics alike of Gnostical and Epicurean philosophy, it at length permeated and overflowed all aspects of human feeling and interest throughout the western nations, mastered and moved them, and ultimately, by a sure process of development, took them all under its definite and careful protection. Thus Christianity grew into the church, spiritual individualism into Catholic traditionalism. Augustine stood on the verge of this great change, recognized it, gloried in it, and by his great work helped to forward it.

This second phase of Christianity had now worked itself out. The radical Christian spirit was not and could not be extinguished under all the compression of the Catholic system; and it had now, after many partial and ineffectual efforts, risen up against it in might. For a thousand years had the system dominated over all expressions of individual energy, fitting itself into human history, and in truth mainly constituting that history in its successive manifestations. Now, however, it was broken up. The warm breath of a living gospel had dissolved it, and men were cast loose from the bonds which had so long controlled them. The old spirit of individualism, which in primitive Christianity had gone forth with triumphant success into pagan society, had once more awakened as from a long

slumber, and rent with sundering force the repressive machinery which had bound without destroying it.

Such an awakening as this, in the very nature of the case, soon began to run into many extravagant issues. In the first feeling of liberty men did not know how to use it temperately; and Anabaptism in Germany, and Libertinism in France, testified to the moral confusion and social license that everywhere sprang up in the wake of the Reformation. We can now but faintly realize how ominous all this seemed to the prospects of Protestantism. It appeared to many minds as if it would terminate in mere anarchy. The religious revival seemed likely to become mere social disorder. At the very best, this revival was everywhere apt to be obscured and confounded by the disorder spreading alongside of it, and pursuing it as its baneful shadow.¹

Then to add to the exigency thus arising out of the circumstances of the Reformation itself, there were signs now at length (1536) showing themselves in all directions of a reviving strength in Romanism. With that singular vitality which it had so often previously, and has so often since displayed, it now, after the first shattering shock of the Reformation, took a new and more powerful start than in any of its preceding developments. Jesuitism arose as the formidable and well-matched opponent of Protestantism; the highest craft, subtlety, and energy, the most consummate

¹ Sir William Hamilton, in his notes about Luther (*Discussions*, p. 499 *et seq.*), has indicated a very strong opinion as to the dissolution of manners following the Reformation in Germany. There is, however, considerable arbitrariness in his assertions, without any clear and definite background of evidence exhibited. It were well if his notes about Luther and the history of Lutheranism, of which he is understood to have had a large collection, were in some shape given to the public.

immorality and persistent cruelty of the system, received in this marvellous agency a fresh and vigorous birth; and it is only when we apprehend and bring clearly into view its peculiar working and influence, that the later century of the Reformation becomes intelligible.

This, then, was the historical position which Calvin occupied. He surveyed and realized it as no other mind of his time did. He naturally hated every species of disorder. His whole character and mind were constructive and legislative. Protestant by religious conviction, he was conservative and Catholic by natural instinct; and accordingly he was no sooner within the reformed movement, than he aimed to fix it. Especially did the great idea, which had been originally expressed in the Catholic Church, but had become degraded into an unspiritual hierarchy — the idea of a *Divine state* — hold possession of his mind. There was a completeness in it, a unity and consistency, which in all things charmed Calvin. He felt, moreover, that it was only by the resurrection of this idea in some new form that the reactionary strength of the Catholic polity could be met and withstood. He saw clearly that unless the moral intensity which had broken forth in the Reformation, and separated itself from the old ecclesiastical forms, should be turned into some new disciplinary institution, it would spend itself and disappear. It was not in the nature of things that it should propagate itself merely by its own force. It was obvious already in Germany that it was not doing so. A controversial interest was there fast beginning to swallow up the spiritual life out of which the Reformation had sprung; and with all his own strong polemic tendencies, Calvin sufficiently discerned the evil that would come from such a spirit — the mere negation and deadness to which it would give rise. He was himself too practically earnest,

and he had far too deep a feeling of the wants of human nature and the divine education through which alone it can be trained to strength and goodness, not to aim at something higher than the mere settlement of controversial dogma. Argumentative as he is, he is yet everywhere more the legislator than the dialectician; and it is an institutional instinct and capacity, still more than any dogmatic or polemic interest, that prompts and directs all his activity. His mind, therefore, could not rest short of a new church organization and polity, — of a new order of moral discipline, which, planting itself in the heart of Protestantism, should at once conserve its life, and enable it to confront the re-collecting forces and still powerfully repressive energy of the Roman hierarchy. Strongly impressed by its necessity, he aimed to impart to Protestantism a new social, as well as doctrinal expression — to reconstitute, in short, the divine commonwealth, the *civitas Dei*.

There are two distinct views that may be taken of this part of Calvin's work. It presents itself, on the one hand, as a moral influence, — a conservative, spiritual discipline suited to the time, as it was called forth by it; and, on the other hand, as a new theory, or definite reconstitution of the church. In the first point of view, it is almost wholly admirable; in the second, it will be found unable to maintain itself any more than the Catholic theory which it so far displaced.

The general principle of Calvin's polity was simply the reassertion of a divine order amid the confused activities of the time — of the majesty, right, and only peacefulness of divine law. That there is a kingdom of God in the world; that man is God's creature and subject, and that there is only life for human society, and happiness for the human race, in recognizing and acting upon this idea; the

consequent obligation of self-sacrifice, and the duty of subordination and combination among all the members of a common State, — these were the old truths applied by Calvin to the reconstruction of the Christian community. Any one who reads the opening chapter of the fourth book of the Institutes will at once see how deeply he was struck and penetrated with the idea of the church visible, as well as invisible, and with the necessity of a due and becoming relation of authority among its various constituents. His consistorial scheme of government was to him the appropriate expression of this authority; and whatever may be our critical judgment of this scheme, we are not to forget, in reference even to some of most extreme and misdirected efforts, the absolute lawlessness with which it came in contact. Such an order, even of the most stern and repressive kind, was better than no order; and, in truth, we may well believe, that it was only through such a system of iron repression — a system which, in the nature of the case, and in all the circumstances of the period, sometimes confounded mere liberty with wrong, and mere folly with crime, and cast its restraining presence into the very heart of the family as well as the bosom of the church — that the moral life of the Reformation could have been saved, or, at any rate, strengthened and hardened as it was, for the fearful contest that was before it. The more any one studies the facts of this great crisis, the more will he be forced to see that no more æsthetic spirit of freedom could have then maintained its ground against the dark perjuries and malice of the réactionary interest. It required a moral spirit nurtured in hardness, and made strong-limbed by strenuous and daring exercise, to encounter the supple deceit and Satanic persistence of the Jesuit faction, spread into every land, and working by the most dexterous and disguised communications.

And when we contemplate for a moment the actual results of Calvin's discipline, all this most strongly appears. It was the spirit bred by this discipline which, spreading into France and Holland and Scotland, maintained by its single strength the cause of a free Protestantism in all these lands. It was the same spirit which inspired the early, and lived on in the later Puritans,— which animated such men as Owen and Baxter and Milton,— which armed the Parliament of England with might against Charles I., and stirred the great soul of Cromwell in its proudest triumphs,— which made the solitary Knox, as he stood in the antechamber of Mary, a greater power than the queen that he withstood,— which thus fed every source of political liberty in the Old World, and burned undimmed in the gallant crew of the "Mayflower"— the Pilgrim Fathers — who first planted the seed of civilization in the great continent of the West. A stern and unyielding reverence for law and duty, combined with a high resistance to the encroachments of mere selfish tyranny; an intense love of the Bible, and an undoubting and indiscriminating application of its examples to the business of life and the affairs of state,— all that moral heroism in Puritanism which awes us by its grandeur, though it may fail to win our sympathy or enlist our love,— had its well-spring in Geneva, and reflects a lineal glory on the name of Calvin. Linked not only spiritually but formally with the Genevan polity, it was from thence it received the great theocratic idea which it prominently embodied, and launched forth once more with such triumph into the history of the world. That man, as the creature of God, is near to God, and under the control and sanctity of the divine influence, not only in some, but in all expressions of his manifold activity; that he is bound in all by a relation to the divine will; that as there

is no individual goodness, so there can be no social blessing, and no real civil grandeur apart from God; that the *civitas Dei*, therefore, is no dream of mere enthusiasm or of sacerdotal ambition, but a true idea resting on the everlasting relations of things, and all other ideas of the nation or society rather the dreams and shows of which this is the reality, — all this, of which Puritanism was conspicuously the renewed powerful expression, was germinated in the small state of Geneva, and from this narrow centre went forth to mingle in the increase, and to add moral stability to the ambition, of the highest form of human civilization that the world has yet seen. Saving from this new and grand development given to Protestantism, in which Germany had no share, it would have fared ill with it in the great crisis through which it had to pass; for it was only this profound belief in a divine society and state, of a kingdom of truth and righteousness in the world, that was able to encounter the falsehoods of state-craft and the immoralities of mere arbitrary power. It was only Puritanism that proved a match for Jesuitism, and held it in check; and while other phases of Protestantism were shrinking into mere formality, or dying out in weakness, this was not merely holding its own in a stern struggle with Romish intrigue, but through many strange aberrations and internal contradictions was working out in a higher form the principles both of religious and of civil liberty.

It is a very different subject that is before us when we turn to contemplate the theocracy of Calvin, in its formal expression and basis as a new and definite outline of church government. In this respect he made more an apparent than a real advance upon the old Catholic theocracy. He took up the old principle from a different and higher basis, but in a scarcely less arbitrary and external manner,

There is a kingdom of divine truth and righteousness, he said, and Scripture, not the priesthood, is its basis. The Divine Word, and not Roman tradition, is the foundation of the spiritual commonwealth. So far, all right; so far, Calvin had got hold of a powerful truth against the corrupt historical pretensions of Popery. But he at once went much farther than this, and said, not tentatively, or in a spirit of rational freedom, but dogmatically, and in a spirit of arbitrariness tainted with the very falsehood from whose thralldom he sought to deliver men, "*This is the form of the Divine kingdom presented in Scripture.*" Not the presence of certain spiritual qualities, but the presence of certain external conditions, which I have fixed and determined, constitute the church. Scripture absolutely demands this, and forbids that, in reference to the organization and order of the Christian society. This idea of going back to Scripture not merely as an historical starting-point, but *de novo* and entirely, for all the elements of an ecclesiastical polity, was one peculiar to Calvin, and all who more or less embraced or were influenced by his principles. It was not only unacknowledged by Luther, but strongly distasteful to his concrete and historical sympathies. He sought rather to preserve the inherited Catholic machinery in every respect so far as it was not plainly opposed to Scripture. He wished merely to amend and rectify its obviously unchristian abuses. Abolition and reinstitution beyond this, on any pretence of Scriptural simplicity, he strenuously resisted against the pseudo-Puritanism of Carlstadt. The old Catholic usages were not to be wantonly touched, but under all their corruptions, and when stripped from these, remained at once dear to his affection and beautiful to his imagination. But Calvin felt no such ties to the past, and could never understand the influence of them on others. It

was his constant complaint against the Lutherans that they preserved so many ceremonies, and his contempt for the *tolerabiles ineptias*¹ of English Protestantism is well known. With no imagination, and but cold feelings, and a meagre sympathy with traditional associations, — with a sphere, moreover, singularly cleared for his activity in the small state of Geneva, — he was led to indulge to the full his legislative bias, and to plan and reárrange, according to his own arbitrary convictions, a “religious constitution.”

The vigor of this religious constitution sufficiently showed itself in the approbation which it commanded, and the manner in which it spread itself wherever the popular will had scope in moulding the progress of the Reformation. Presbyterianism became the peculiar church order of a free Protestantism, carrying with it everywhere, singularly enough, as one of the very agencies of its free moral influence, an inquisitorial authority resembling that of the Calvinistic consistory. It rested, beyond doubt, on a true divine order, else it never could have attained this historical success. But it also involved from the beginning a corrupting stain in the very way in which it put forth its divine warrant. It not merely asserted itself to be wise and conformable to Scripture, and therefore divine, but it claimed the direct impress of a divine right for all its details and applications. This gave it strength and influence in a rude and uncritical age, but it planted in it from the first an element of corruption. The great conception which it embodied was impaired at the root by being fixed in a stagnant and inflexible system, which became identified with the conception as not only equally, but specially divine. The ritual thus once more preceded the moral;

¹ *Letters*, vol. ii. pp. 341, 342.

the accidental, the essential; external uniformity, moral unity: and Calvin himself, seduced by this radical mistake, sought by the mere rigor of the consistory, and the most trivial details of over-legislation, to touch the heart of life, and mould it to a holy and peaceful order. Never was there a greater mistake. All the richest qualities and most genuine aspirations of life forbid the attempt. However temporarily strengthened, they cannot healthily grow under such a system. The kingdom of righteousness can alone flourish in an atmosphere of perfect freedom; it is never helped, but only injured, by any species of external compulsion. Divine society is only held together by inner bonds; it lives along lines of spiritual communication, and not of legal enactment; in its essence, in short, it is not "of this world," while yet necessarily taking to itself, according to circumstances, some definite outward shape. In so far as Presbyterian Puritanism came short of all this,—nay, in many respects contradicted it,—it failed to realize the only divine principle of moral government; and the theocratic idea accordingly, in its renewed assertion, fell back once more into its old mistake and confusion. The garments of Judaism still clung to it; the idea had not yet worked itself clear from the beggarly elements that haunt it as its shadow, and are everywhere ready to supplant and degrade it.

But were not these "elements," some will say, really biblical?—did not Calvin establish his church polity and church discipline upon Scripture?—and is not this a warrantable course? Assuredly not, in the spirit in which he did it. The fundamental source of the mistake is here: The Christian Scriptures are a revelation of divine truth, and not a revelation of church polity. They not only do not lay down the outline of such a polity, but they do not even

give the adequate and conclusive hints of one. And for the best of all reasons, that it would have been entirely contrary to the spirit of Christianity to have done so ; and because, in point of fact, the conditions of human progress do not admit of the imposition of any unvarying system of government, ecclesiastical or civil. The system adapts itself to the life, everywhere expands with it, or narrows with it, but is nowhere in any particular form the absolute condition of life. A definite outline of church polity, therefore, or a definite code of social ethics, is nowhere given in the New Testament ; and the spirit of it is entirely hostile to the absolute assertion of either the one or the other. Calvin, in truth, must have felt this sufficiently in his constant appeal to the spirit and details of the Old Testament legislation. The historical confusion, in this respect, in which he and all his age shared, was a source of fruitful error, here or elsewhere.

But what of the church, then, and church authority ? Do they not disappear altogether in such a view as we have suggested ? No ; not in the least. They appear, on the contrary, in their only true and divine light, as resting on Scripture, but not as absolutely contained and defined in it. There is, and ought to be in both, a rightful conformity with Scripture, as with the growth of the Christian reason in history. The church is everywhere a positive divine institution resting on these two bases,—on the latter not less than the former, as constituting no less, really and practically, a *jus divinum*. For the renewed assertion of the positive character and educational necessity of the church, and for the fresh element of strength thus imparted to Protestantism, we are indebted to Calvin ; but his special theory of the church is no more exclusive than any other theory. Neither his church, nor any church, is necessarily

and absolutely the divine institution. Turn some arbitrary ritual element in front, whether Romanistic or Calvinistic, and make *it* the divine, and you invert the truly divine method. This always turns the moral elements in front,—the rights of faith, the rights of reason and of charity; and the ritual follows as a fitting and shifting vestment. The spirit, in short, dominates, the form serves; and it was Calvin's great error—and is, alas! by no means an extinct error of Protestantism—to forget this fundamental law of the divine, which we can ever only alter at our peril.

While claiming this divine freedom, without which truth can nowhere live, it becomes us at the same time to remember that the highest freedom is always bound fast in moral law. This, the essential spirit of Puritanism, is eternal, whatever may be the temporary character of its dogmatical or ecclesiastical machinery. These may perish, as they seem in many of their forms decaying; but the earnestness, righteousness, purity, and resoluteness, which were the highest meaning of Puritanism, and the really valuable growth of Calvinism, can never decay without moral and social ruin. Amid all the expansions and refinements of modern thought and life, let us hope, therefore, that we shall never lose these genuine elements of the Calvinistic spirit; but while we open our minds to the higher and more comprehending expressions of divine truth that meet us everywhere, and learn a nobler wisdom and tolerance amid all our differences, let us, at the same time, always remember that there is no strength of good save in the gospel of old, and no real dignity or beauty for human life, save in Him “who did no sin.”

III.

L A T I M E R.

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IN the English Reformation we contemplate a state of things peculiar and unexampled; we do not see, as in Germany, a mighty spiritual movement sweeping for the moment all before it, and headed by one who gives voice and direction and triumph to it; nor yet, as in the Calvinistic Reformation, a great reconstructive organization of the doctrinal and social elements which had been disturbed and set in motion; but a complicated action of distinctly political as well as religious forces,—the former frequently crossing and impeding the latter, rather than contributing with them to one grand result. This characteristic of double action, of the working of political as well as religious influences against the Papacy, goes far back into English history; and the political opposition is, in truth, the earlier, and in some respects, the more powerful influence. All along from the Conquest, such an opposition marks like a line of light the proud history of England, the grandest, because the richest in diverse historical elements, that the world has ever seen. On from the memorable struggles of the reign of Henry II., when the political and ecclesiastical interests stamped the impress of their fierce contention so strongly on the English character, Rome appears as an alien and antagonistic power in the country,—as the threatening shadow of a concealed enemy, against which the higher and healthier national life is continually

directing itself. With the reign of Edward III., and the rise of Wickliffe, the religious element rises, for the first time, into clear and impressive prominence, working alongside of, and even outbalancing, the political action.

Wickliffe himself, in the earlier and later phases of his career, represents both sides of the national movement against the Papacy, — his primary position as the friend of John of Gaunt being mainly political, and his final position as the Theologian of the Scriptures and Rector of Lutterworth being mainly religious. We find in his words the powerful echo of the feelings then stirring the heart of England; the protesting vehemence of both nobles and people as they raised the cry, “No! England belongs not to the Pope; the Pope is but a man, subject to sin;” the awakening breath of an earnest Christian activity as he bade his followers “Go and preach; it is the sublimest work; but imitate not the priests, whom we see after the sermon sitting in the ale-houses, or at the gaming-table, or wasting their time in hunting. After your sermon is ended, do you visit the sick, the aged, the poor, the blind, and the lame, and succor them according to your ability.” The same principles which afterwards triumphed in the sixteenth century were now everywhere operating. It is singular, indeed, how even to its extravagances this earlier reform movement in England mirrored the various features of the later and more powerful movement, — the royal moderation, the parliamentary indignation, the spiritual revival among the lower classes, the communistic exaggerations, into which the plain truth of the gospel, crudely apprehended, so fastly ran. This latter result, in the comparative swiftness with which it came in the fourteenth century, was a sufficient indication that the time was not yet ripe for a successful insurrection against Popery. The

national mind was still too unenlightened, the popular feeling too unsteady, as the armed tumult of Wat Tyler with his hundred thousand followers proved. The hierarchy, moreover, was still too powerful; its intelligence, and even its moral strength, survived too strongly to permit the rise of any consistent or extensive opposition.

With the death of Wickliffe in 1484, the moving energy of his principles and teaching very much died out. Their unfortunate association with the anarchy which characterized the earlier years of Richard II.'s weak and disgraceful reign, contributed to lessen and deteriorate their influence, and to provoke against them severe parliamentary penalties.¹ The spirit, however, which the great proto-reformer had kindled, lived on through the fifteenth century in Lollardism, and various obscure forms of religious life. It penetrated, as a secret and quiet influence, whole districts, binding poor families together by a spiritual bond such as they could no longer find in the corrupt formalism of the church, and cherished by the private reading and transmission from hand to hand of portions of Wickliffe's translation of the Scriptures. We can trace in the language of the parliamentary acts directed against "divers false and perverse people of a certain new sect, damnably thinking of the faith of the sacraments of the church, and of the authority of the same," how widely religious disaffection had spread, and with what unceasing and secret acting—"by holding and exercising schools, by making and writing books"—the Wickliffites sought to keep alive a pure faith hidden in many hearts, long after they had ceased to be a formidable power in the country. They even spread into Scotland, carrying with them their pre-

¹ See BURNETT, vol. i. p. 59; and FROUDE, vol. ii. p. 20—*Act de Heretico comburendo*.

cious books, and kindling wherever they went a divine light in the darkness, — a peaceful and holy gleam amid the wild contentions and miseries of that unhappy time.

With the dawn of the sixteenth century, and especially as we near the great crisis of 1517, we are met by an awakening religious life in England as elsewhere; and what mainly strikes us is the varied character which it presents. It proceeds from diverse sources, and shows itself in very different classes. There is a comparative complexity in the Anglican Reformation, even on its purely religious side, and altogether apart from the great political agencies at work, which are out of the sphere of our present consideration.

There is, first of all, a marked Christian revival among the poorer classes, alike among the tradesmen of the metropolis and the peasantry on the banks of the Humber, the "Christian brethren" of London, and the "just men" of Lincolnshire. It seems most natural to connect this revival with the still unextinguished spirit of Lollardism, and to recognize in it accordingly a fresh outburst from the long choked-up source of Wickliffe's influence. This influence had perished in any definite national expression, but there seems no reason to question that it lived on as a hidden life; that persecution did not absolutely destroy it, but only drove it underground into obscure channels no longer traceable, from which it now again, under fresh excitement, began to emerge.¹ In any case, we discern at this time abundant manifestations of a fresh religious interest among the poor, and it appears very much to be characterized by

¹ This seems a more likely explanation than any unexplained "second birth of Protestantism," as conceived by Mr. Froude, who represents the influence of Wickliffe as entirely extinguished in the course of the fifteenth century.

the old Wickliffite spirit of contempt and derision of the clergy. Some of the stories preserved by Foxe show a proud and bitter cynicism, naturally bred by the circumstances of these humble people, and the stern repression of all the earnest feeling awakened in them. As a man of the name of John Brown was descending the Thames in a passage-boat to Gravesend, he fell into conversation with a priest, who insolently admonished him that he stood too near to his sacred person. "Do you know who I am?" demanded the priest. "No, sir," said Brown. "Well, then, you must know that I am a priest."—"Indeed, sir!" said Brown; "and pray, are you a parson, or vicar, or lady's chaplain?"—"No; I am a *soul* priest; I sing masses for souls," he pompously replied. "Do you, sir?" remarked Brown; "that is well done: and can you tell me where you find the soul when you begin mass, and where you leave it when the mass is ended?"—"Go thy way," said the priest; "thou art a heretic, and I will be even with you." And straightway, on reaching their destination, he communicated his suspicions of Brown to two of his companions; and together they set off to Canterbury, to denounce the poor man to the archbishop. The result was, that after many sufferings Brown expiated his free speech at the stake. The story is minutely told by Foxe, and repeated by d'Aubigné;¹ and the contrasts of the happy English home, with its quiet, cheerful domesticities, and the rude seizure, torture, and death of the poor man, make a deeply touching picture. Then, again, amid the fens of Lincolnshire, we are introduced to a peasant threshing his corn in his barn as a neighbor passes by and salutes him cheerfully. "Good morrow! you are hard at work."—

¹ FOXE, *Acts*, ii. 7, 8; D'AUBIGNÉ, v. 191—194.

“Yes,” replied the man, in allusion to the priestly doctrine of transubstantiation, “I am threshing God Almighty out of the straw.”¹ A very deep and intense feeling expresses itself in these as in many other incidents of the time. The Catholic authority might seem scarcely weakened in outward appearance, but with such a spirit slumbering amongst the people, and now constantly gathering strength, that authority was really impaired in its very foundation, and no longer presented its old capacity of resistance.

In the meantime a new and more vigorous reforming influence was beginning in the universities. The publication of Erasmus’s Greek Testament, and the news from Germany, started a spirit of inquiry in both universities almost simultaneously. Students, wearied with the subtleties of the schools, felt a fresh world opened to them in the original pages of the gospels and epistles. They read; and, as they read, a new impulse came to them, as the result of their own quiet study. It was impossible that, amid the religious excitement everywhere astir, young and earnest and aspiring minds could be brought into contact with the Divine Word without catching the life that in every page appealed to them, and being drawn under its stimulating power. Foreign influences were no doubt also at work. Luther’s opinions, propagated to the very centres of the old Catholicism of England, produced a great impression. His writings passed from hand to hand under every attempt to suppress them, and the enthusiasm of his grand example was not without its effect. Yet there was an eminently original character about the reform movement which now sprang up in the English universities, and which was destined, in its larger and more powerful course, to swallow

¹ FOXE, *Acts*, ii. 7, 8, D’AUBIGNÉ, p. 272.

up, or at least to invigorate and unite, the other more obscure channels of popular religious feeling. There was an earnestness and yet moderation in it, — an intensity practical rather than doctrinal, a simplicity and purity of Christian apprehension, which, without lacking vigor, shrank sensitively from all violence, — eminently characteristic, and corresponding to its origin in the ancient seats of learning, and in the original soil of Scripture, rather than in the cloister, and in the solitary struggles of any one great and vehement soul.

Latimer's claims to represent this movement, and the general cause of the Reformation in England, does not arise from any primary or even paramount connection with the one or the other. No single name in England possesses this glory. We do not find here, as in Germany, and in France and Switzerland, any single prominent figure towering above all the others in mental and moral greatness, but a group of figures, each with their own claims to distinction and influence, — Cranmer alongside of Latimer, and more conspicuous in the light of history; and Tyndale and Bilney and Barnes, equally associated with him in the religious excitement in the universities. Tyndale and Bilney both precede Latimer; and the former especially, in the elevation of his character, in the influence which he exerted, first at Oxford and then at Cambridge, and subsequently in Gloucestershire as tutor in the family of Sir John Walsh, and above all in the noble work in which he wore out his life, and earned his crown of martyrdom, — the translation of the Scriptures, — is a very beautiful and interesting character, which would well repay special study. Then there is a peculiar significance in the course of events at Oxford in 1528; the search for Master Garret, who had come down to the university loaded with

New Testaments and heretical tracts, and the seizure of Anthony Delaber, his friend, who had concerted his escape, and whose simple and affecting narrative of the whole transaction has been preserved, and may be found at length in the very graphic chapter which opens Mr. Froude's second volume. These and other sketches would be necessary to give any complete view of the complex movement which presents itself before us in the English Reformation. We must turn aside, however, from all such companion sketches, and fix our attention mainly upon one selected figure, not indeed as the first or most prominent, but as that which appears to us upon the whole the most typical in combined display of character, and of representative connection at once with the university and the popular religious feeling.

The life of Latimer remains unwritten, and there are probably no longer materials for any adequate biography. We shall endeavor, however, in the light of such facts as exist in Foxe's *Acts*¹ and Strype's *Memorials*, and particularly in the light of the vivid picture-work of his own sermons, to furnish as complete a sketch as we can of his career and labors. There are in these many graphic and not a few grotesque etchings, giving us the very life of the man; but it is difficult to catch throughout a clear view and any continuous thread of narrative, tracing the whole and binding it in order.

Latimer was born at Thurcaston in Leicestershire in the year 1490, some say 1491. His father was an honest yeoman, and it is his own hand, in the first sermon which he preached before King Edward VI., that has drawn for us

¹ The reader will find Foxe's narrative of Latimer's Life and Acts in vol. vii. of Townsend's edit., beginning at p. 437. Our references are not in all cases given to the page.

the paternal character and homestead. "My father," he says, "was a yeoman, and had no lands of his own, only he had a farm of three or four pounds by the year at the uttermost, and hereupon he tilled so much as kept half a dozen men. He had walk for a hundred sheep, and my mother milked thirty kine. He was able and did find the king in harness, with himself and his horse, while he came to the place that he should receive the king's wages. . . . He kept me to school, else I had not been able to preach before the king's majesty now. He married my sisters with five pounds or twenty nobles a piece; so that he brought them up in godliness and the fear of the Lord. He kept hospitality for his poor neighbors, and some alms he gave to the poor. All this he did of the said farm;"¹—evidently a worthy, solid, and able man, fit to do his work in this world, and leave the memory of his worth, if not much more, to his children.

Latimer grew up in his old English household a vigorous and happy boy; health, and manly life, and a joyous feeling of home, breathe in all the hints he has given us of his youth. When only six or seven years old, he tells us that he helped to buckle on his father's armor when he went to the field of Blackheath, where the king's forces were encamped against the Cornish rebels. It was a time of stir. Henry VII. had been at this period about ten years upon the throne, but the embers of a century's internecine strife were still only dying out. Latimer's father was staunch in his devotion to the new government, as this event shows; he had all a yeoman's devotion to fighting, and to the grand old art of cross-shooting,—"God's gift to the English nation above all other nations, and the instrument whereby

¹ *Sermons*, Camb edit., p. 101.

he had given them many victories against their enemies.”¹ He was careful to train his children in the love of the same soldierly arts; and the reformer afterwards recalled these exercises of his youth with pride, in contrast with the degenerate and vicious recreations of his own age. “My father,” he says,² “was as diligent to teach me to shoot as to learn any other thing; he taught me how to draw, how to lay my body in my bow, and not to draw with strength of arms as other nations do, but with strength of the body. I had my bows bought me according to my age and strength: as I increased in them, so my bows were made bigger and bigger; for,” he adds, in a quaint didactic vein not uncommon with him, as to the affairs of the present life as well as of that to come, “men shall never shoot well except they be brought up in it: it is a goodly art, a wholesome kind of exercise, and much commended in physic.”

So Latimer grew up, hardily trained in body as well as in mind. An atmosphere of reality surrounded his boyhood; he looked at life and nature in the fresh and rough, yet beautiful forms, in which they surrounded him in the old Leicestershire farmhouse, and the impressions then gathered never left him, and long afterwards helped to deliver him from the falsehoods of his scholastic training, when the higher quickening came to stir the true heart in him.

About fourteen years of age he was sent to Cambridge; and d'Aubigné has noticed that the year 1505, when he entered the university, was the same year in which Luther entered the Augustine convent at Erfurt. He is said to have been a very diligent and industrious student. In 1509, whilst yet an under-graduate, he was chosen fellow

¹ *Sermons*, Camb. edit., p. 157.

² *Ibid.*

of Clare Hall. In the following January he took his degree of Bachelor of Arts, and proceeded to that of Master of Arts in July, 1514. Up to this period, when he had attained his twenty-fourth year, we do not learn anything of his religious views,—for the best of all reasons, probably, that there was nothing to learn. He fell into the habits of the place in this as in other things, and probably had as yet few serious thoughts about the matter. He seems to have carried into his college life the heartiness and cheerfulness of the yeoman's son; for it is to this earlier period, most likely, that the following description and story apply: "There was a merry monk in Cambridge in the college that I was in, and it chanced a great company of us to be together, intending to make good cheer and to be merry, as scholars will be merry when they are disposed. One of the company brought out this sentence—'*Nil melius quam latari et facere bene*,'—there is nothing better than to be merry and to do well. 'A vengeance of that *bene*,' quoth the monk; 'I would that *bene* had been banished beyond the sea; and that *bene* were out it were well, for I could be merry, but I love not to do well.'"¹

From 1514, Latimer betook himself to the study of divinity,—“of such school divinity as the ignorance of that age did suffer,”—and became exceedingly zealous in support of the established doctrines and services. As Luther said of himself, that he was a “most insane Papist,” so he says, “I was as obstinate a Papist as any in England.” He was haunted with scrupulous and tormenting fears as to whether he had sufficiently mingled water with the wine in performing mass, as the missal directs; and on the occasion of his taking his degree of Bachelor in Divin-

¹ *Sermens*, p. 153.

ity, the date of which is not preserved, he directed his "whole oration" against Melanethon and his opinions. He appears about the same time to have distinguished himself by his hostility to Master George Stafford, "reader of the divinity lectures at Cambridge," who had become imbued with the "new learning," and succeeded in turning many of the youth who attended him to the study of the holy Scriptures, from those "tedious authors," as Foxe calls them, in which Latimer still found his delight. He is represented as entering Stafford's lecture-room, and "most spitefully railing against him,"¹ while he eloquently sought to persuade the youth against his teaching.²

Here, therefore, we have the old picture of youthful sacerdotal zeal. It is the very highest qualities of the ancient system that the new spirit seizes upon and consecrates to its service. Young Latimer, hailed by the clergy as a rising champion of the papal cause, and for his talents and the excelling sanctimony of his life, preferred to be the keeper of the university cross,³ is destined to become the sharp reprovcr of the clergy, and the great agent in carrying out the religious changes then threatening them.

There was in Cambridge then a young doctor of the name of Bilney, probably some years the senior of Latimer. He had, after much struggle, found the truth for himself in the study of the Greek Testament. At first shrinking from the forbidden volume, he had been gradually attracted by it; and, weary with fasting and vigils, and buying of masses and indulgences, in which he could get no rest to his soul, he at length found peace in the precious

¹ FOXE, xi.

² Ralph Morice's Account of his Conversion, printed by Strype — *M. m.* III. i. 368; and in *Remains*, Camb.

³ STRYPE, as above.

words of St. Paul,¹ "This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation, That Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners." The truth dawned to him out of the sacred page, and he was won to the new cause. Soon after Tyndale arrived in Cambridge, having taken flight from Oxford, and the two students of the Greek Testament, with another young man of the name of Frith, encouraged one another in the work of reform on which they had entered.

Bilney had watched with interest the progress of Latimer. He appreciated his high qualities, and saw how much could be made of his zeal, if only it could be turned in the right direction. He had been one of his auditors when, as Bachelor of Divinity, he lectured against Melancthon, and the thought was forced upon him of trying what he could do to convert the youthful enthusiast. His device was a strange one, and will be best narrated, with the results that followed, in Latimer's own brief words. "Bilney heard me at that time, and perceived that I was zealous without knowledge; and he came to me afterwards in my study, and desired me, for God's sake, to hear his confession. I did so; and, to say the truth, by his confession I learned more than I did before for many years. So from that time forward I began to smell the word of God, and forsook the school doctors and such fooleries."²

Such was the turning-point in Latimer's spiritual history. We do not impart more meaning to his simple statement by dwelling upon it, and trying to point out more particularly the influences which moved him. One earnest heart in communion with another regarding their deepest secrets before God, is all that we are permitted to see. The effect

¹ "*Suavissimam Pauli sententiam.*"

² *Sermons*, p. 334.

produced on Latimer was decided. "Whereas before he was an enemy, and almost a persecutor of Christ, he was now a zealous seeker after him."¹ He was frequently in conference with Bilney; and he sought out Stafford to beg his forgiveness for his former rudeness to him. His change of religious feeling immediately began to assume a practical form. He accompanied Bilney in visiting the sick, and the prisoners in the tower of Cambridge; and by-and-by he felt he was called even to a nobler work than his friend. His energy and enthusiasm began to find their natural outlet in the pulpit. Recognizing this as above all his vocation, "he preached mightily in the university day by day, both in English and *ad clerum*, to the great admiration of all men who aforetime had known him of a contrary severe opinion."²

Cambridge was greatly excited by Latimer's discourses. The spirit which had been working secretly in it for some time now became manifest. The fruit of Bilney's prayers, and of Stafford's divinity lectures, showed itself in the enthusiasm which welcomed the earnest preacher, and the eagerness especially with which the students gathered round him and drank in his clear and powerful words. To one of these students, Thomas Becon, who afterwards became chaplain to Cranmer, we are indebted for some brief hints of the character and effect of these early sermons of Latimer. "I was present," Becon says,³ "when, with manifest authorities of God's word, and arguments invincible, besides the allegations of doctors, he proved in his sermons that the holy Scriptures ought to be read in the English tongue of all Christian people, whether they were priests or

¹ FOXE.

² *Account of Morice.*

³ *Jewel of Joy*, BECON'S Works (Parker Society), pp. 424, 425.

laymen, as they be called. . . . Neither was I absent when he inveighed against temple-works, good intents, blind zeal, superstitious devotion, as the painting of tabernacles, gilding of images, setting up of candles, running on pilgrimage, and such other idle inventions of men, whereby the glory of God was obscured, and the works of mercy the less regarded. I remember also how he was wont to rebuke the beneficed men, with the authority of God's word, for neglecting and not teaching their flock, and for being absent from their cures, — they themselves being idle, and masting themselves like hogs of Epicurus's flock, taking no thought though their poor parishioners miserably pine away, starve, perish, and die for hunger. Neither have I forgotten how at that time he condemned foolish, ungodly, and impossible vows to be fulfilled, as the vow of chastity, etc. Oh, how vehement was he in rebuking all sins, and how sweet and pleasant were his words in exhorting unto virtue!"

The practical, earnest, undoctinal character of Latimer's earlier as of his later preaching, is clearly shown in this description. He aimed, in the same spirit as Tyndale, to bring the minds of men in contact with the living truth of Scripture, — to divert them from all mere pretences of religion, the mockery and uselessness of which he had himself been brought to feel, to the real interests and duties of the Christian life. He spoke from the heart of his own fresh experience, swayed by an enthusiasm not stormy, like Luther's, but direct, vehement, and caustic; and the effect was irresistible on all who heard him. "He spake nothing," continues Becon, "but it left, as it were, certain pricks or stings in the hearts of his hearers, which moved them to consent to his doctrine. None but the stiff-necked and uncircumcised in heart went away from his sermons

without being affected with high detestation of sin, and moved to all godliness and virtue. I did know certain men which, through the persuasion of their friends, went unto his sermons swelling blown full, and puffed up, like unto Eeop's frog, with envy and malice against him; but when they returned, the sermon being done, and demanded how they liked him and his doctrine, they answered, with the bishops' and Pharisees' servants, 'There was never man that spake like unto this man!'" According to another testimony,¹ the practical results of these sermons were equally decided. "Numbers were brought from their will-works, as pilgrimage and setting up of candles, unto the work that God commanded expressly in his holy Scripture, and to the reading and study of God's word." To his preaching Latimer added works of charity and piety, not less impressive in their influence. "He watered," continues the admiring Becon, "with good deeds whatsoever he had before planted with godly words."

A time not merely of excitement but of blessing had come to Cambridge; a new life was spreading in the university and the city; hearts were awakened and disciples multiplying, and the memory of this happy period of evangelical revival was long preserved in the popular doggerel—
 "When Master Stafford read, and Master Latimer preached,
 then was Cambridge blessed."

Such a state of things could not last long without opposition. It was not to be supposed that the clergy could quietly contemplate the daring operations of their former champions, now turned against them. It was not in human nature, and certainly not in clerical nature, to do this. A feeling of amazement and humiliation may at first have

¹ TURNER'S *Preservative against the Poison of Pelagius*.

kept them silent ; but soon they began to realize the peril of their position and the necessity of action ; or, to use the words of old Foxe, "Belike Satan began to feel himself and his kingdom to be touched too near, and therefore thought it time to look about him, and to make out his men of arms." The devil's men of arms accordingly appear in "whole swarms of friars and doctors, who flocked against Master Latimer on every side."

It is not easy to trace the chronological succession of the difficulties and controversies into which Latimer was now plunged. Already, to some extent, the guidance of dates has forsaken us. Our last date was 1514, when he had taken his Master's degree, and between this and 1529, or during a period of fifteen years, we have no very distinct thread of chronological arrangement. A general statement of his own, that he "walked in darkness and the shadow of death," until he was thirty years of age, enables us to fix his entrance upon his new career about 1521. The subsequent eight years, representing his first activity as a preacher, and now described as so memorable in their results, remain in great confusion. According to Foxe, the famous sermons "on the Card," would seem to have been among the first causes of excitement and disturbance against him. But we learn from Foxe's own statement that these sermons were not preached till about Christmas, 1529, and there is every reason to conclude, therefore, that the interference of the Bishop of Ely, and the reformer's citation before Wolsey at the instance of "divers Papists in the university," who made a "grievous complaint" against him, occurred in the interval between this and 1521.

The story of his encounter with Bishop West is very characteristic. He was preaching one day *ad clerum* in

the university, when the bishop, attended by a troop of priests, entered the church. Latimer paused until they had taken their seats, and then remarking that a new audience demanded a new theme, said that he would alter his intended topic of discourse, and preach from Heb. ix. 11; "*Christus existens Pontifex futurorum bonorum*,"—"Christ a high priest of good things to come." From this text he took occasion to represent Christ as "the true and perfect pattern unto all other priests;" and in his usual pithy manner drew out the contrasts between this pattern and the English prelates of the day. It may be imagined that the bishop was not particularly pleased. He sent for Latimer, and held some parley with him, commending his talents, and urging him to display them in a sermon against Luther from the same pulpit. Latimer, however, was not to be ensnared, and boldly replied, "If Luther preaches the word of God, he needs no confutation; but if he teaches the contrary, I will be ready with all my heart to confound his doctrine as much as lies in me." The bishop cautioned him that "he smelled somewhat of the pan," and that he would one day or another repent his conduct. He forthwith issued an edict forbidding him to preach any more within the churches of the university; but Latimer found refuge in the church of the Augustine Friars,¹ which was exempt from episcopal jurisdiction, and there continued his stirring sermons. The bishop, along with others, complained to Wolsey, who sent for the bold preacher, and after hearing from him an account of the matter, not only dismissed him with merely a gentle admonition, but granted him a license to preach in any church throughout England.

¹ Barnes was Prior of the Augustines, 1525. This appears about the date of Latimer's encounter with West.

“If the Bishop of Ely cannot abide such doctrine as you have repeated,” he said, “you shall preach it to his beard, let him say what he will.”

His two sermons “on the Card,” are the earliest of his printed sermons that we possess. These discourses, so remarkable in their quaintness, and the keen and plain tone of their practical exhortation, renewed the monkish commotion against him in the university. The prior of the Black Friars, one Buckenham, tried to rival him as a preacher, and to outdo him even in his peculiar line of homely popular allusion. “About the same time of Christmas,”¹ Foxe says,² “when Mr. Latimer brought forth his cards (to deface belike the doings of the other), the prior brought out his Christmas dice, casting them to his audience *cinque* and *quator* ;” and in some unintelligible manner aiming, through this poor counter-device to Latimer’s symbolic cards, to prove the inexpediency of intrusting the Scriptures in English to the vulgar. The prior’s sense and eloquence seem alike to have been at fault. He brought forward the most miserable arguments against the use of the Scriptures ; as, for example, that the ploughman, when hearing that “no man that layeth his hand to the plough, and looketh back, is worthy of the kingdom of God,” might peradventure cease from his plough ; and that the baker, in a similar manner, might be induced to leave his bread unleavened on hearing that “a little leaven corrupteth a whole lump.” It was a dangerous line of argument to enter upon with an opponent like Latimer, who had so

¹ This statement of Foxe, if we can rely at all upon his chronological statements, would seem to fix Buckenham’s encounter with Latimer to this date of 1526. D’Aubigné, however, has advanced it to the very beginning of his career as a Protestant preacher (vol. v. chap. vii.).

² Book XI.

keen an eye for the comic aspect of stupidity. He had been an auditor of the friar's, and taken note of such points for future use. Soon after, he is the preacher and the friar a listener among "a great multitude, as well of the university as of the town, met with great expectation to hear what he would say." The arguments of the friar were dallied with in a manner that must have touched the quick even beneath his thick conceit; such figures of speech, the preacher said, were no worse to be understood than the most common representation of painters, such as they paint on walls and on houses. "As, for example," he continued, casting a meaning glance at the friar, who sat opposite him, "when they paint a fox preaching out of a friar's cowl, none is so mad to take this to be a fox that preacheth, but know well enough the meaning of the matter, which is to point out unto us what hypocrisy, craft, and subtle dissimulation lieth hid many times in these friars' cowls, willing us thereby to beware of them." "Friar Buckenham," the chronicler adds, was so "dashed with this sermon, that he never after durst peep out of the pulpit against Master Latimer."

This year of 1529, which presents to us Latimer in hot conflict with his popish adversaries in the university of Cambridge, was a memorable one in English history. Wolsey had fallen in the beginning of the year; Sir Thomas More had been installed as his successor. The country was strongly excited on the subject of the negotiations with Rome as to the king's divorce, which had been procrastinated from time to time under the most wearying pretences. The extortions of the clergy, moreover, in the consistory courts, and the manifold abuses long complained of, but still maintained by them, and now grown to an intolerable height, had produced a widespread feel-

ing of indignation, which only waited for a fitting opportunity to burst forth. Writs were issued for a new parliament in the September of this year, and no sooner had it met in November, than the feelings of the country found voice in the famous petition against the bishops and clergy. The main abuses detailed in the petition were afterwards the subject of special legislation; and the bench of bishops beheld with amazement bill after bill pass the Commons, "all to the destruction of the church," as Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, said. There was no help for it, however; and the "Probate and Mortuary Act," the "Clergy Discipline Act," and the "Residence and Pluralities Act," rapidly carried through both houses in defiance of episcopal opposition, sufficiently showed the temper of the times, and signalized the legislative activity of a brief session of six weeks.

It deserves to be noticed that, with all this opposition to the clergy, the Parliament of 1529 was so far from having any sympathy with the awakened spiritual life represented by such men as Tyndale and Latimer, and out of which Protestantism was growing, that it was especially anxious to clear itself from all suspicion of countenancing heresy, and, in fact, encouraged the more active prosecution of heretics which was about that time commenced.

In the course of the following year, the differences between Latimer and his accusers were the subject of official investigation before the vice-chancellor. The latter seems to have shrunk from the challenge to lay a regular charge against the reformer; and the affair terminated in both parties being bound to keep the peace, and to abstain from using offensive expressions against each other in the pulpit, on pain of excommunication. The virulence of his ene-

mies, rather than the impudent speech of the daring preacher, seems to have called forth this judgment.

In the same year Latimer was employed in the matter of the king's divorce, being one of those appointed by the university to examine into the lawfulness of his marriage with Catherine. He declared on the side of the king, and the decision of the university in favor of the divorce was given on the 9th of March, 1530. On the following Sunday he preached before the king, who "greatly praised his sermon." Henry, who, whatever may have been his faults, had certainly a rare appreciation of character, and a genuine respect for a true and able man when he came in his way, and was likely to be useful to him, appears to have been strongly taken with the honest and unsparing preacher. He appointed him one of his chaplains the same year. And although he did not take his advice any more now than afterwards, unless when it suited him, he extended his friendship to the man who had the courage to counsel him in words dictated by no courtly interest, but by a manly and unshaken conviction of their truth. Henry had, with the sanction of a convention of learned men, issued an inhibition against Tyndale's Scripture, as well as all English books either containing or tending to any matters of Scripture. Latimer was one of this convention on the part of the university of Cambridge, and one of an excepting minority¹ to the advice tendered to Henry, and upon which he acted. Unsuccessful in his previous resist-

¹ There can be no doubt of this. He himself clearly implies so much in his letter to Henry — (FOXÉ); and there is no possible room for the conjecture of his having changed his mind between the date of the advice to the king and the issuing of the proclamation in December of the same year. The statement of the proclamation, that *all* gave their free "assent," cannot be held as valid against such evidence, and every presumption to the contrary.

ance to the course of persecution, he addressed an energetic letter to the king on his own behalf. It is printed at length by Foxe, and in its spirit, power, and eloquence, heroic yet modest, courageous yet respectful, is one of the most remarkable of his writings. The king did not yield to the remonstrance. "It did not prevail, through the iniquity of the time," says Foxe in his usual way; but so far from displeasing Henry, it seems only to have excited in him a more cordial good-will towards the reformer.

In the year 1531, Latimer received from the king, at the instance of Cromwell, and Dr. Butts, the king's physician, the living of West Kingston in Wiltshire, and, weary of court, he gladly retired to the more congenial and earnest labors of his parish. He was not destined, however, to enjoy quiet. His unresting spirit would not suffer him to confine his preaching to a single congregation; and being one of the twelve preachers yearly licensed by the university to preach, with the express sanction of the sovereign, throughout the realm, he extended his diligence to all the country about. He travelled to Bristol, to London, to Kent, everywhere preaching the truth. *Opportune, importune, tempestive*, to use the language ironically applied by him to the Bishop of London,¹ and this, too, with his health greatly weakened and impaired. His zeal and activity could not long pass without notice. Complaints were made against him by the country priests; the bishops were on the watch to entrap him; there was no safety for them, and no peace, they felt, so long as he was at large, moving the country by his marvellous eloquence. They were triumphantly busy just now, besides, in the destruction of

¹ Letter to Sir. Ed. Baynton — FOXE, vol. vii. p. 485.

heretics. Poor Bilney, having wiped out the disgrace of his fall¹ in a few months of faithful preaching and self-denial, expiated at the stake, in August this year, his Christian heroism, not the less grand, certainly, that it was the heroism of a trembling and sensitive nature. Bayfield and Tewkesbury followed before the expiry of the year; and Bainham, whose affecting interview with Latimer is preserved in Strype's *Memorials*, crowned the list on the 5th of May, 1532. These were the closing months of the chancellorship of Sir Thomas More, around whose memory still lingers the dark stain of these dreadful tragedies. But the appetite of the bishops was not yet satisfied; they still hungered for victims; and Latimer now became the special object of their vengeance. Fortunately they were so far destined to a disappointment.

In the beginning of 1532 he was summoned to appear before Stokesley, the Bishop of London, on the ground of his having preached in St. Abb's Church in the city without the bishop's permission, and, moreover, for his alleged defence of Bilney, and his cause. His friends expressed anxiety for him, and he himself was not without concern, as he knew very well that the real aim of the bishop was to get him into the hands of the Convocation, and to deal with him summarily for his free speech as to the corruptness of the clergy. He pleaded in excuse the length of the journey, the deep winter, and the miserable condition of his health.² He appealed, at the same time, to his own ordinary, Sir Ed. Baynton, the chancellor of the diocese of Sarum, and it is from this long and interesting letter on this subject that we gather these facts, and the state of his

¹ He had been induced to recant.

² "Not only exercised with my old disease in my head and side, but also with new — both the colic and the stone."—FOXÉ, p. 485.

feelings at this time. After some delay, the citation was formally issued, and Latimer "was had up to London, where he was greatly molested, and detained a long time from his cure at home."

The circumstances of his present persecution, and especially the extent to which he yielded after being repeatedly examined and remanded, and even excommunicated and imprisoned, are involved in some obscurity. His trial lasted on through January, February, March, and April, and was prosecuted not only before the bishop and the archbishop (Warham), and bishops collectively, but also before the Convocation. The bishops devised a series of articles,¹ which he was called upon to subscribe, and which he at first refused to do, especially objecting to two of them, one of which concerned the power of the Pope. For this refusal he was pronounced contumacious, excommunicated, and delivered up to the custody of Warham. This appears to have occurred in Convocation on the 11th of March. On the 21st it was resolved, after a long debate, "to absolve him from the sentence of excommunication if he should subscribe the two articles in question," and he is represented, on the same authority, as making his appearance at the next sitting, and kneeling down and humbly craving forgiveness, confessing that he "misordered himself very far, in that he had so presumptuously and boldly preached, reproving certain things by which the people that were infirm hath taken occasion of ill." It was not till a subsequent day, however, the 10th of April, that he is stated to have subscribed the eleventh and fourteenth articles, to which he had taken exception; and even then he appears to have been in difficulty, owing to some further matter

¹ FOXE, vol. vii. p. 458.

having been presented against him, arising out of a letter he had written to a graduate at Cambridge. It was then that he appealed to the king; and the Convocation was given to understand by a message conveyed through Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, that it was not desirable to proceed to further extremities although the disposal of the case was still left in their hands. The end of the affair was, that, after a further and more special submission, he was relieved of all penalties, and "taken into favor again at the special request of the king," although with grudging and protest on the part of certain of the bishops who did not think that his submission implied any "renunciation of his errors," as was usual in such cases.¹

Latimer returned to his parish, but still not to rest. Enemies rose up on all sides against him, as he tells us in a letter to his friend Morice; for it is to this period that the letter seems to refer. Certain priests, who at first had desired and welcomed him, now actively sought to stay his preaching because he was not in possession of the bishop's license. They procured certain preachers "to blatter against him," and especially one Hubberdin, who distinguished himself by his empty violence and ridiculous zeal

¹ This account is founded upon Wilkins' *Concilia*, as quoted in the Notes in Wordsworth's *Ecclesiastical Biography*, vol. iii. pp. 98, 99. It seems to present the most minute and faithful account of the matter, directly founded on the proceedings of Convocation; and Foxe's belief evidently is, that Latimer submitted and subscribed the articles, although he is reluctant to admit the idea of his retraction. Mr. Froude (vol. ii. p. 106) apparently does not understand that Latimer's submission went so far, but calls in the interposition of the king at a previous stage. Latimer's own account of his examination before the bishops is found in a sermon preached by him at Stamford, many years after, in 1550. It is very characteristic, and proves the unscrupulousness of his enemies, but it does not throw any light on the course of his trial. — *Sermons*, p. 294, quoted by Mr. Froude, vol. ii. pp. 105, 106.

against the reformer. Foxe has given so comical an account of this man and his preaching, that we cannot refrain from quoting it; it may serve to give us a glimpse of the ludicrous features that mingled themselves with the tragical shadows of the great struggle that was now proceeding in England. Every cause, for the most part, has its buffoon, — a man of “no great learning, nor yet of stable wit” (as Latimer characterized Hubberdin), but who makes up for better qualities by uproarious zeal, and stands forward in virtue of his simple absurdity and grotesque officiousness. In neither Germany nor England does Popery seem at this crisis to have lacked such supporters.

“Forasmuch as mention has been made,” says Foxe,¹ “of Hubberdin, an old divine of Oxford, a right painted Pharisee, and a great strayer abroad in all quarters of the realm, to deface and impeach the springing of God’s holy gospel, something should be added more touching that man, whose doings and pageants, if they might be described at large, it were as good as any interlude for the reader to behold.

. . . But because the man is now gone, to spare therefore the dead, this shall be enough for example’s sake for all Christian men necessarily to observe, — how the said Hubberdin, after his long railing in all places against Luther, Melanethon, Zwinglius, John Frith, Tyndale, Latimer, and other like professors, — riding in his long gown down to the horse’s heels, like a pharisee, or rather like a sloven, dirted up to the horse’s belly — after his forged tales and fables, dialogues, dreams, dancings, hoppings, and leapings, with other like histrionical toys and gestures used in the pulpit, at last riding by a church side where the youth of the

¹ Vol. vii. p. 477. — STRYKE’S *Account*, vol. i. p. 245, is of the same character, only with the ludicrous features less prominent.

parish were dancing in the churchyard, suddenly lighting from his horse, he came into the church, and there causing the bell to toll in the people, thought, instead of a fit of mirth, to give them a sermon of dancing: in the which sermon, after he had patched up certain common texts out of the Scripture, and then coming to the doctors, first to Augustine, then to Ambrose, so to Jerome, and Gregory, Chrysostome, and other doctors, had made every one of them (after his dialogue manner) by name, to answer to his call, and to sing after his tune against Luther, Tyndale, Latimer, and other heretics, as he called them; at last, to show a perfect harmony of all these doctors together, as he made them before to sing after his tune, so now to make them dance after his pipe, first he called out Christ and his apostles, then the doctors and seniors of the church, as in a round ring, all to dance together, with pipe of Hubberdin. Now dance Peter, Paul; now dance Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome; and then old Hubberdin, as he was dancing with his doctors lustily in the pulpit, how he stamp and took on I cannot tell, but crash quoth the pulpit, down cometh the dancer, and there lay Hubberdin, not dancing, but sprawling in the midst of his audience, where altogether he brake not his neck, yet he so brake his leg and bruised his old bones that he never came in pulpit more."

More prosperous days, however, were about to dawn on Latimer. Old Warham, the Archbishop of Canterbury, died this year; and in the following year (1533) Cranmer was elevated to the primacy. This distinguished prelate, destined to take so active a lead in the progress of the Reformation, to carry it on with his own advance of opinion to a higher and more Scriptural expression, and finally to crown the labors of his life by martyrdom along with Latimer and Ridley, had been a Cambridge student of about

the same standing as our reformer.¹ Whether during their residence at Cambridge they had been friends, does not appear. Cranmer, at any rate, knew well Latimer's worth. His honesty, energy, and eloquence were such as at once drew forth his appreciation and honorable regard in his new position. It was now no longer, therefore, a time of persecution with the unresting rector of West Kington; the frown of episcopal authority lay on him no more, and friars and priests, Hubberdin and Dr. Powel of Salisbury, and all his other enemies, were forced to retreat, or even to yield to the powers now intrusted to him. At the instance and request of Latimer, we are told that "Cranmer was in the habit of licensing divers to preach within his province;" and in his own district the reformer was empowered to deal with preachers, and even to withdraw their licenses if he saw fit to do so.² Latimer, moreover, was recalled to the discharge of his previous duties at the court, and admitted to preach before the king on all the Wednesdays of Lent, 1534.

This renewed intercourse with his sovereign probably served to strengthen Henry's liking for him, and to bring about the important result which followed in the subsequent year. Cromwell is mentioned by Foxe as particularly concerned in Latimer's promotion to a bishopric, and we may well believe so. The astute secretary and vicar-general, the enemy of monks, and the intrepid friend of the new movement in all its directions, must have recognized a congenial spirit and fellow-laborer in the great preacher.

¹ Cranmer was born at Aslacton, in Nottinghamshire, in 1489, and entered Jesus College, Cambridge, at the age of fourteen, only a year in advance of Latimer in each case. He took his degree of Doctor of Divinity in 1523, just in the heat of Latimer's first reforming zeal as a university preacher.

² *Cranmer's Remains*, edit. Jenkyns, vol. i. p. 121.

They were worthy allies, and trode with equal courage, although swayed by somewhat different impulses, the same perilous path terminating in death, as all noble work alike did in that strange and unhappy reign.

Latimer was consecrated Bishop of Worcester in the autumn of 1535, and in the June of the following year we behold him in a position perhaps, save the last of all, the grandest and most trying in his whole life. The Convocation assembled on the 9th of June, 1536, the nation heaving with the excitement of coming change; the clergy sullen with feelings of affront and injury; the great question of reform in all its branches staring them in the face. The fabric of ecclesiastical abuse had been already rudely shaken, but it was obvious that things could not remain as they were, and that further and more extensive invasions of clerical privilege must come. It was at the request of Cranmer that Latimer, in these circumstances, undertook the office of opening the Convocation with two sermons, which have been preserved; and which, viewed in the light of the situation in which they were uttered, are among the boldest sermons ever preached. They ring fresh and powerful in our hearts as we read them now, and think of the scowling faces that must have looked upon the preacher from priest's hood and abbot's mitre. Mr. Froude has pictured the scene with such rare spirit and grouping of impressive effects, that we cannot venture to touch it save in his words.

“There were assembled in St. Paul's on this occasion, besides the bishops,” he says, “mitred abbots, meditating the treason for which, before many months were past, their quartered limbs would be rotting by the highways; earnest sacramentarians making ready for the stake; the spirits of the two ages, the past and the future, in fierce collision;

and above them all, in his vicar-general's chair, sat Cromwell, the angry waters lashing round him, but, proud and powerful, lording over the storm. The present hour was his. The enemies' turn in due time would come also. . . . The mass had been sung; the roll of the organ had died away. It was the time for the sermon, and Hugh Latimer, Bishop of Worcester, rose into the pulpit. Nine-tenths of all those eyes which were then fixed on him, would have glistened with delight could they have looked instead upon his burning. The whole crowd of passionate men were compelled by a changed world to listen quietly while he shot his bitter arrows at them. His object on the present occasion was to tell the clergy what especially he thought of themselves; and Latimer was a plain speaker. They had no good opinion of him. His opinion of them was very bad. His text was from the 16th chapter of St. Luke's Gospel: 'The children of this world are wiser in their generation than the children of light.' He then presents his readers with a summary of the sermons, which, however, we shall not attempt to do. Latimer's words, when they are telling, do not bear to be summarized, however they may be extracted. One must read them in their natural quaintness and color in order to feel their just force, — the vivid and rapid impress which they make upon the mind, — like a rain of rattling hail upon the ground.

The conclusion of the second and longer sermon, rising into a strain of sweeping ironical urgency that must at once have awed and galled the hearts of many who heard him, will afford a good specimen of their boldness and power. "If there be nothing to be amended and redressed, my lords, be of good cheer — be merry — and at the least, because we have nothing else to do. Let us reason the matter how we may be richer; let us fall to some pleasant

communication. After, let us go home even as good as we came hither,—that is, right-begotten children of the world, and utterly worldlings. And while we live here, let us all make bone cheer (*bonne chère*); for after this life there is small pleasure, little mirth for us to hope for, if now there be nothing to be changed in our fashions. Let us not say, as St. Peter did, ‘Our end approacheth nigh:’ this is an heavy hearing; but let us say as the evil servant said, ‘It will be long ere my master come.’ This is pleasant. Let us beat our fellows; let us eat and drink with drunkards. Surely as oft as we do not take away the abuse of things, so oft we beat our fellows. As oft as we give not the people their true food, so oft we beat our fellows. As oft as we let them die in superstition, so oft we beat them. To be short, as oft as we blind lead them blind, so oft we beat, and grievously beat, our fellows. When we welter in pleasure and idleness, then we eat and drink with drunkards. But God will come, God will come; he will not tarry long away. He will come upon such a day as we nothing look for him, and at such hour as we know not. He will come and cut us to pieces; he will reward us as he doth the hypocrites. He will set us where wailing shall be, my brethren; where gnashing of teeth shall be, my brethren. And let here be the end of our tragedy, if ye will. . . . But if ye will not thus be vexed, be ye not the children of the world. If we will not die eternally, live not worldly. Come, go to, leave the love of your profit, study for the glory and profit of Christ: seek in your consultations such things as pertain to Christ, and bring forth at the last somewhat that may please Christ. Feed ye tenderly, with all diligence, the flock of Christ. Preach truly the word of God. Love the light, walk in the light, and so be ye the children of the light while ye are in the world, that ye may

shine in the world that is to come, bright as the Son with the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, to whom be all honor, praise, and glory. — Amen.”

The work of the Convocation thus opened, was in many respects memorable. In this year of 1536, the same year in which Calvin entered Geneva, the English Reformation touched its highest point under Henry VIII. Cranmer and the king were now united hand in hand, and, notwithstanding the gloomy displeasure of many of the clergy, a great advance was made. The opening sermons were indeed followed up by a memorial to the king on the subject of prevailing heresies, containing several thrusts at Latimer's supposed opinions. This sufficiently showed the temper of the Convocation; but it met in Henry, for the moment, a temper equally excited, and far more authoritative. He addressed to them, in reply, a series of articles of religion, imposed with a view to the settlement of differences. These articles (the king's own composition, according to Mr. Froude¹) mark a decided progress of opinion. They still retain the cherished doctrine of the corporeal presence in the Eucharist, to which Henry's mind clung with a faithful tenacity, and in which both Cranmer and Latimer were as

¹ The evidence seems very slight (except on his ground of believing implicitly in state documents) on which Mr. Froude comes to this conclusion (vol. iii. p. 67). Cranmer, I should think, was the more likely author of the “Fourteen Articles,” although the king may well have had a share in them, and even “put his own pen to the book” on the subject. But, supposing the Articles were the production of the king himself, the inference Mr. Froude would found upon this fact as to the moral position of the king at the moment in relation to Ann Boleyn's death (he had been married only three weeks to Jane Seymour), is, to say the least, of a very uncertain character. That a man is to be held less guilty of a great crime because he can busy himself, some few weeks after, with the dictation of a series of theological articles, is certainly neither warranted by the facts of evidence nor the workings of human nature.

yet contented to rest; but the great Protestant doctrine of justification by faith is plainly and comprehensively asserted; purgatory, in any special sense, and as the basis of the gross papal corruption which had so widely prevailed, denied; while prayer for souls departed is merely commended as a good and charitable deed. "The Articles were debated in Convocation, and passed, because it was the king's will. No party was pleased. The Protestants exclaimed against the countenance given to superstition; the Anglo-Catholics lamented the visible taint of heresy, the reduced number of the sacraments, the doubtful language upon purgatory, and the silence, dangerously significant, on the nature of the priesthood."¹ They were signed, however, by all sides, and remain of great interest to this day, as the "first authoritative statement of doctrine in the Anglican Church."

Besides the articles thus passed, the power of the Pope to call general councils was expressly denied; directions were issued for the instruction of the people in the Pater-noster, the Apostles' Creed, and the Commandments, lately published in England; and as the crowning and most important act of all, the English Bible was authorized in every parish. Every church was "to provide a book of the whole Bible in Latin and English, and lay the same in the quire for every man that will to read and look thereon."²

On from the point that we have now reached, where we see Latimer in a distinct attitude of authority, as it were, heading the Anglican reform movement, it might be supposed that we would be able to trace his career in a clear

¹ FROUDE'S *History*, vol. iii. p. 74.

² The Bible thus authorized for popular perusal was Coverdale's edition of Tyndale, sanctioned by Cranmer. — See FROUDE, vol. iii. pp. 78, 83.‡

light. This, however, is not the case. After his appearance in the Convocation of 1536, he withdraws again from public view, and his activity is mainly traceable in quiet works of reform within his own diocese. It is characteristic of him, in comparison with all the other reformers, that he nowhere takes an active part in the political changes which attended the course of the Reformation. There is reason, indeed, to think that, not only now, but afterwards, he was a chief friend and counsellor of Cranmer, as he was a frequent resident of Lambeth; and his letters to Cromwell show what a lively interest he cherished in all that was going on, and what constant and ready service he continued to render to the secretary. Still he does not, even during the time that he continued to hold his bishopric, stand out in any sense as a political leader. His influence seems everywhere present, but it does not obtrude itself, save at isolated points, upon public notice. We are the less reluctant, therefore, to be obliged to sum up in a very brief space the main facts of his future life, and to characterize them in very general terms.

First of all, we see him devoting himself with great zeal and diligence to his special duty as Bishop of Worcester. This is mainly the view we get of him in the vague and desultory notices of Foxe. His life is represented as a constant round of "study, readiness, and continual carefulness in teaching, preaching, exhorting, writing, correcting, and reforming, either as his ability would serve, or else the time would bear." This was his true nature; he was eminently practical, wise, and prudent—doing what he could, although "the days then were so dangerous and variable that he could not in all things do that he would." His zeal he reserved for the pulpit. All his episcopal acts were characterized by a cautious wisdom and moderation. Where he

could not remove corruptions altogether, he did his best to amend them: he so wrought that they should be used with as little hurt and as much profit as might be. Holy water and holy bread, for example, must still be dispensed. Neither the priestly nor the popular feeling could understand or tolerate their disuse. But he prepared a few plain verses, embodying a significant Christian lesson in each case, which he instructed the clergy of his diocese to repeat to the people on delivering the old symbols.¹

In such sort of work we see the genuine spirit of the English Reformation, — proceeding not from any dogmatic or comprehensive principle of an ideal right or good in the church, but simply working onwards under a practical Christian impulse. The “sparkling relics” of the old superstition are got rid of, for the most part, gradually; and where, as in the case of some of the most flagrant ecclesiastical impostures,² we see them fall violently, even the violence is legalized, — there is an order preserved even in it; and the popular feeling, where it comes into play, is stimulated by a just indignation at the grossness of the delusion practised upon it, rather than by any polemic and anti-idolatrous excitement.

Latimer’s cheerful labors in his diocese were no doubt most to his heart. A shadow falls upon him so soon as we begin to contemplate him in any other capacity. He is in trouble, but ill satisfied with his work; and, worse than all, he is a sharer — we gather from his own letter on the subject — a reluctant sharer in one, at least, of the most tragic and pathetic of the miserable and contradictory martyrdoms which signalize the period.

FOXE, vol. vii. p. 461.

² As, for example, the blood of Hailes (with the investigation into the nature of which Latimer was connected, *Remains*, 407), and the Rood of Boxley. — See FROUDE, vol. iii. pp. 286, 287.

In 1537 he was engaged, along with his brethren of the Episcopal bench and other divines, in the publication of the book known as *The Institution of a Christian Man*,—a book designed as a religious manual for the times. It consisted of an exposition of the Creed, the Sacraments, the Ten Commandments, and the Lord's Prayer,¹ and was characterized by a mild and temperate spirit of devotion, and great beauty of composition. Latimer, however, was but indifferently pleased with its doctrines, which formed a reaction rather than an advance upon the articles of the previous year. The bishops were obviously, from the manner in which he writes on the subject to Cromwell,² greatly divided about it. "It is a troublous thing," he says, "to agree upon a doctrine in things of such controversy with judgment of such diversity, every man (I trust) meaning well, and yet not all meaning one way. . . . If there be anything either uncertain or impure, I have good hope that the king's highness will *separare quicquid est veteris fermenti*; at least, may give it some note that it may appear he perceiveth, though he do tolerate it for a time,—so giving place for a season to the frailty and gross capacity of his subjects."

It is in the following year (1538) that we find him associated with the martyrdom of Friar Forrest. Forrest had been prior of the Observants' Convent, at Greenwich. His main offence, like that of Sir Thomas More and others, was resistance to the Royal Supremacy Act. He appears to have submitted, and been pardoned, and then again to have recanted his submission. The peculiarity in his case,

¹ I have not examined the book; but the descriptions given of it, very much suggest a corresponding book connected with the Scottish Reformation—viz., Archbishop Hamilton's *Catechism*.

² *Remains*, p. 380.

as Mr. Froude has very well explained, is, that he was finally condemned, not under the treason law, which might have been done with some show of justice, but under the law of heresy. Certain monstrous articles, by which his conduct was sought to be brought under this latter law, were devised against him by Cranmer, and he was sentenced to the fate of heretics in its most aggravated form. He was literally roasted alive in an iron cage. One shudders to read the account of it, and to think that the names of both Cranmer and Latimer remain associated with so foul an atrocity. For Cranmer's share in it there can be found no excuse, save the usual one of the spirit of the times. Latimer's connection with it appears to have been more accidental. He was appointed by Cromwell to preach the sermon on the occasion; and there is a strange sadness in the way he writes about it, — his unrelenting humor playing, like a wintry gleam, round the tragic story “And, sir, if it be your pleasure, as it is, that I shall play the fool after my customable manner when Forrest shall suffer, I would wish that my stage stood near unto Forrest; for I would endeavor myself so to content the people that therewith I might also convert Forrest, God so helping, or rather altogether working. Wherefore I would that he should hear what I shall say, *si forte*, etc. If he could yet with heart return to his abjuration, I would wish his pardon: such is my foolishness.”¹ He is moved obviously for the unhappy wretch, and the work is painful to him; but he cannot help himself, and the utterance of pity almost dies on his lips, as if it were something to be ashamed of.² “Hard times,” indeed! (as Foxe complains), which could so lock up the warm impulses in Latimer's honest heart.

¹ *Remains*, p. 391.

² FROUDE, vol. iii. p. 295. — See his vivid description of the martyrdom

An ecclesiastical system which sought to prop itself by such means, was plainly in a very fluctuating and unstable condition. It was moved to and fro, in fact, by every changing impulse of the royal temper; and this temper reflected the agitated spirit of the times. To regard Henry's changes as mere brutal caprice, according to the long-prevailing traditionary views of his character, is probably what few would now do; but to try and find in them, with Mr. Froude, any clear principle of conviction or intelligent guidance throughout, is equally absurd and incredible. Henry was true to one thing, and one thing alone, — his own supposed interest. This, in conjunction with his strong national feeling, was in many cases a sufficiently equitable rule of statecraft; but to identify the royal at all points with the national interest, and to presume that Henry acted from the higher principle, involves an amazing stretch of credulity. The king of Mr. Froude's history is not the monster of the old and uncritical tradition; but he is not, even on his own evidence, in the least the hero that he supposes him to be.

On the present occasion it is easy to understand how a reaction sets in. The northern insurrections had proved how strong was the hold which the old superstitions still had upon the hearts of the people. The king himself, having secured his object against Rome, was disposed to cling to the Catholic doctrine in its completeness. It was very natural, therefore, that a party should spring up, attaching itself, on the one hand, to the Royal Supremacy Act, and, on the other hand, very strongly to the old ecclesiastical tradition, — a party which has received the distinctive title of Anglo-Catholics, and who may be briefly characterized as doctrinally Romanist, but ecclesiastically Anglican. This party evidently represented a strong national feeling. The

“pilgrimage of grace,” the insurrections of Yorkshire and Lancashire, testified to the strength of this feeling; it was such even as seriously to affect the stability of the throne; and Henry, true to the instinct of serving himself by a proper balance of parties, saw fit at this crisis to throw the weight of his influence into the rising party, headed in the church by the well-known names of Gardiner and Bonner. The result of this was the six articles of 1539,¹ which undid, as far as possible, the work of the fourteen articles previously passed, and sought to check the reforming impulse communicated by them. Cranmer labored with all his might to defeat them, but in vain; and so soon as they were confirmed, Latimer resigned his bishopric.

During the remainder of Henry's reign, Latimer lived in great privacy. At first, indeed, he suffered a mild imprisonment in the house of Dr. Sampson, the Bishop of Chichester; he then appears to have been permitted to retire to the country, where he received an injury from the fall of a tree, and coming up to London for medical advice, “he was molested and troubled by the bishops;” and finally, in 1546, just before the close of Henry's reign, he was brought before the Privy Council, and cast into the Tower, where he remained prisoner till the time that “blessed King Edward entered his crown.”² Such is the brief sum of all we know of this period of his life. Whether, during the time he was at liberty, he continued to preach, is not indicated; probably he did not. His imprisonment, his growing infirmities, and the dangers around him, may have damped his old ardor, and kept him quiet. That he con-

¹ They rendered it penal to deny, or in any way to impugn, transubstantiation, communion in one kind, celibacy, lawfulness of monastic vows, private masses, auricular confession.

² FOXE, vol. vii. p. 463.

sidered his own life in danger during his confinement, he himself tells us. He had a great interest, he says, to hear of the executions in the city, while he was in ward with the Bishop of Chichester, "because I looked that my part should have been herein. I looked every day to be called to it myself."¹

With the accession of Edward VI. he again emerges into public view. He remains, however, true to his old character, and not only does not mix himself up with political affairs, but declines to receive back his bishopric, which was offered to him in the second year of Edward's reign. The fact that this offer was made at the instance of the House of Commons, in consequence of an address from its members, gives us a touching glimpse of the popularity of the great preacher. His honest character and eloquence had made a deep impression on the mind of the country, and it finds a voice in this notable manner. We can only guess at his reasons for declining an offer so honorable to him. The state of his health, and the conscientious feeling of inadequacy to the multiplied duties that would devolve upon him,² probably form the explanation. He recognized beyond doubt, also, that preaching was his peculiar vocation, and that he could do more good to the cause of the Reformation in this way than in any other. He devoted himself, therefore, to the pulpit, and to practical works of benevolence on behalf of the poor and the oppressed. Leaving the public ordering of the affairs of the

¹ *Sermons*, p. 164.

² He had, as everything shows, a strong feeling of the responsibility of the episcopal office, and of the oppression of the multiplied duties connected with it. Foxe relates in reference to his previous resignation of his bishopric — "At what time he first put off his rochet in his chamber among his friends, suddenly he gave a skip on the floor for joy, feeling his shoulder so light, and being discharged (as he said) of such a heavy burden."— Vol. vii. p. 463.

Reformation to others, he made it his aim to arouse in all classes a practical spirit of reform. He found his most natural and powerful source of influence in the eloquence which moved congregated thousands, and it is in connection with this eloquence that we remember him, and that his name has become historically associated with the reign of Edward VI. It is as a preacher above all that he lives before us among the other great actors of the time. The old picture represents him with uplifted arm preaching in Whitehall Gardens, in front of the young monarch, who is seated at a window, while a dense crowd in various attitudes testifies to the lively interest which greeted his sermons. "In the same place of the inward garden," says Foxe, "which was before applied to lascivious and courtly pastimes, there he dispensed the fruitful word of the glorious gospel of Jesus Christ, preaching there before the king and his whole court, to the edification of many."¹ We trace him besides at Stamford, preaching a series of sermons on the Lord's Prayer, before the Duchess of Suffolk; and again in Lincolnshire, and at Grimsthorpe. "In this his painful travail he occupied himself all King Edward's days, preaching for the most part every Sunday twice, to no small shame of all other loitering and unpreaching prelates, which occupy great rooms and do little good; and that so much more to their shame, because he being a sore bruised man, and above sixty-seven years of age [this is an exaggeration], took so little care and sparing of himself to do the people good. Not to speak of here his indefatigable travail, and diligence in his own private studies; who, notwithstanding both his years, and other pains in preaching, every morning ordinarily, winter and summer,

¹ FOXE, vol. vii. p. 463.

about two of the clock in the morning, was at his book most diligently. So careful was his heart of the preservation of the church, and the good success of the gospel."

Thus Latimer spent those years of blessing to England ere the evil days came, whose approach he seems to have foreseen; for, according to Foxe, he did "most evidently prophecy all these kinds of plagues which afterwards ensued."

With the lamented death of Edward he felt that his work was done, and that he had only to prepare himself for the fate to which he had long looked forward. So soon as Mary was settled upon the throne, and the reäctionary party, headed by their old leaders, had once more triumphed, he and the other chief agents of the Reformation were sought out, summoned to London before the Privy Council, and committed to the Tower. Latimer appears to have been in Worcestershire when a "pursuivant," in the language of the chronicler, was sent down into the country to call him up. He was duly appraised of his danger; and, to do the government justice, they seem to have afforded him the fair means of escape, if he had been disposed to flee out of the country, like so many others. But flight was far from his thoughts. The one strength that remained to him was to bear the crown of martyrdom; and passing through Smithfield on his way to the council, he was heard, in his usual cheerful manner, to say that it "had long groaned for him." His health, already greatly weakened, was further injured by the hardships of his confinement in the Tower. He was kept "without fire in the frosty winter," and the picture is a bitterly touching one of the suffering old man, "well-nigh starved with cold," and jesting with his keeper on his chances of cheating his persecutors, "if they did not look better to him."

In the April of the following year (1554) he was conveyed to Oxford, along with Cranmer and Ridley, for the purpose of holding disputations on the subject of the mass before certain commissioners appointed to examine them. We find him, on the 18th of April, in the presence of these commissioners, declining to dispute. He pleaded that he was an old man, and that he had not, during these twenty years, much used the Latin tongue. "Then replied to him Master Smith of Oriel College; Doctor Cartwright, Master Harpsfield, and divers others, had snatches at him, and gave him bitter taunts. He did not escape hisses and scornful laughing. He was very faint, and desired that he might not long tarry."¹ It is a miserable spectacle: insolence and brutality on the one side, and weakness and old age on the other. If we could wonder at any disgrace perpetrated in the name of religion, we might wonder at the singular debasement which could prompt such conduct on the part of learned men towards one who, amidst the widest differences of opinion, had such claims upon their sympathy and respect. The disputation, as in all such cases, lead to nothing. Latimer was permitted to give in a lengthened protestation of his faith, upon which there followed some discussion, terminating in a curiously emphatic denunciation of the Protestants by Dr. Weston, who took the lead in the argument on behalf of the commissioners: "A sort of fling-brains and light-heads," he said they were, "which were never constant in any one thing; as it was to be seen in the turning of the table, where, like a sort of apes, they could not tell which way to turn their tails, looking one day west, and another day east — one that way, and another this way."²

¹ FOXE, *Remains*, p. 250.

² *Remains*, p. 277.

After this examination Latimer was transferred to Bocardo, the common jail in Oxford, and there he lay, with his companions, imprisoned for more than a year. During this long imprisonment "they were most godly occupied either with brotherly conference, or with fervent prayer, or with fruitful writing, albeit Master Latimer, by reason of the feebleness of his age, wrote least of them all in this last time. But in prayer he was fervently occupied, wherein oftentimes so long he continued kneeling, that he was not able to rise without help."¹ At length, on the 30th of September, 1558, he again appears before the commissioners. Ridley had preceded him in examination, and in the meantime he had been kept waiting, as he complains, "gazing upon the cold walls." Suffering and poverty were depicted in his appearance as he bowed before them, "holding his hat in his hand, with a kerchief bound round his head, and upon it a nightcap or two, and a great cap, such as horsemen used in those days, with two broad flaps to button under the chin. He wore an old threadbare Bristol frieze gown, girded to his body with a penny leather girdle; his Testament was suspended from this girdle by a leather sling, and his spectacles, without a case, hung from his neck upon his breast."² He was exhorted to consider his estate, to remember his age and infirmity, and to spare his body by admitting the claims of the Papacy. He replied with something of his old spirit, taking up the special arguments urged by the Bishop of Lincoln, who had addressed him. Especially he exposed the unfairness of a book recently published by the Bishop of Gloucester, in which it was argued that the clergy possessed the same authority as the Levites; and whereas the Bible

¹ FOXE.² *Ibid.*, p. 529.

said that the Levites, if there arose any controversy among the people, should decide the matter according to the law of God, these words were left out in the book in question, and the text quoted as saying, that as the priests should decide the matter, so it ought to be taken of the people, — “A large authority, I assure you,” he exclaimed. “What gelding of Scripture is this? what clipping of God’s coin?”¹ The Bishop of Gloucester, who happened to be one of the commissioners, came forward to defend his book; and Latimer acknowledged that he did not know him, and was not aware of his presence. A scene of laughter ensues in the old brutal fashion.² The bishop reproaches him for his want of learning. “Lo!” he exclaimed, in just indignation at the unworthy taunt, “you look for learning at my hand, which have gone so long to the school of oblivion, making the bare walls my library; keeping me so long in prison without book, or pen, or ink; and now you let me loose to come and answer to articles. You deal with me as though two were appointed to fight for life and death; and overnight the one, through friends and favor, is cherished, and hath good counsel given him how to encounter with his enemy; the other, for envy or lack of friends, all the whole night is set in the stocks. In the morning, when they shall meet, the one is in strength and lively, the other is stark of his limbs, and almost dead for feebleness. Think you that to run through this man with a spear is not a goodly victory?”³

The end of all was, that he and Ridley were condemned to suffer; and on the 16th of October, 1555, they were led forth to martyrdom “without Bocardo gate,” opposite Baliol College (where the splendid martyrs’ monument now

¹ FOXE, vol. vii. p. 531.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, p. 532.

stands). They embraced each other, knelt in prayer, and at last, when they were about to kindle the pile, he first thanked God audibly for his faithfulness to him, and then, turning to his companion, said, "Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man: we shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust shall never be put out."

Thus perished the great preacher reformer of England, closing his honest, laborious, and intrepid life by an heroic death, shedding its radiance back upon all his previous work, and transfiguring it into a higher glory.

The character of Latimer presents a combination of noble and disinterested qualities, scarcely rising to greatness, but highly significant and interesting. The natural healthiness of his earlier years at the Leicestershire farm, of "three or four pounds by the year at the uttermost," reappears in all his future career as a student, a preacher, a bishop, a martyr. There is the same simple spirit, and honest temper, and cheery humor, and unresting faithfulness in him in every capacity. The *man* is never lost sight of, in whatever special attitude he shows himself; nay, the rustic boy, who was the "father of the man," is scarcely ever forgotten. There is in him everywhere a rural freshness and rough fragrance of nature, that we feel as a rare and happy charm impregnating and purifying all his work.

A simplicity everywhere verging on originality is perhaps his most prominent characteristic, — a simplicity as far as possible from that which we noted in Calvin: the one, the naked energy of intellect; the other, a guileless evenness of heart. The single way in which Latimer looks at life, with his eyes unblinded by conventional drapery of any kind, and his heart responsive to all its broadest and most

common interests, — of which he speaks in language never nice and circumlocutory, but straight, plain, and forcible, — gives to his sermons their singular air of reality, and to his character that sort of piquancy which we at once recognize as a direct birth of nature. He is a kind of Goldsmith in theology; the same artless and winning earnestness, — the sunny temper in the midst of all difficulties, — the same disregard of his own comforts, and warm and kindly individualism of benevolence, — the same bright and playful humor, like a roving and gleeful presence, meeting you at every turn, and flashing laughter in your face. It would be absurd, of course, to push this comparison further. There is beneath all the oddities of Latimer's character a deep and even stern consistency of purpose, and a spirit of righteous indignation against wrong, which, apart from all dissimilarities of work, destroys any more essential analogy between the great humorist of the Reformation in England and the later humorist of its literature. Yet the same childlike transparency of character is beheld in both, and the same fresh stamp of nature, which, in its simple originality, is found to outlast far more brilliant and imposing, but artificially cultured qualities.

In mere intellectual strength, Latimer can take no place beside either Luther or Calvin. His mind has neither the rich compass of the one, nor the symmetrical vigor of the other. He is no master in any department of intellectual interest, or even of theological inquiry. We read his sermons, not for any light or reach of truth which they unfold, nor because they exhibit any peculiar depth of spiritual apprehension, but simply because they are interesting, — and interesting mainly from the very absence of all dogmatic or intellectual pretensions. Yet, without any mental greatness, there is a pleasant and wholesome harmony

of mental powers displayed in his writings,¹ which gives to them a wonderful vitality. There is a proportion and vigor, not of logic, but of sense and feeling in them, eminently English, and showing everywhere a high and well-toned capacity. He is coarse and low at times; his familiarity occasionally descends to meanness; but the living hold which he takes of reality at every point, often carries him also to the height of an indignant and burning eloquence.

Of his private social life we learn comparatively little. His nature was one keenly susceptible of friendship, and must have everywhere drawn to itself objects of affection. We can mark in the dim traces of his life the surrounding footsteps of his friends, — Bilney, and Cranmer, and Cromwell, and Dr. Butts, and, at the last, Ridley. There is no glimmering, however, of any dearer and more intimate affection, — no light of love, flushing with its soft, warm presence the hard and darkening course of his energetic and unwearied labors. The singleness of his aim as a reformer; his untiring spirit of self-sacrifice, “minding not his own things, but the things of others;” his self-sustaining vigor in his work, and equable delight in it, — may sufficiently account for this absence. It takes an interest from his life, but at the same time simplifies our view of it. The impression remains deepened of a simple and earnest, rather than of a broad and powerful character.

In turning to estimate Latimer's work as a reformer, we are at first struck very much with the same peculiarity; that is to say, with its comparative simplicity and narrowness of meaning. It possesses neither the national gran-

¹ Besides his sermons, his letters — not merely his comparatively short business letters to Cromwell, but those to Sir Ed. Baynton, Archbishop Warham, and King Henry — should be read by the student.

deur of the work of Luther, nor the theological and spiritual influence of that of Calvin. It is practical rather than doctrinal; and deep and powerful and abiding as have been its traces, it never attains to that comprehensive sweep and issue which at once impress us in the work of each of our other reformers. And yet Latimer was a true leader in the great movement of the sixteenth century. He did not, indeed, and could not, take up and express the various and complex impulses that were then bearing the national life of England onwards in the direction of reform. There was no single teacher capable of doing this. There were far too great diversity and richness in the impulses then moving England to permit of their finding united expression in any one man. But while Latimer did not, like Luther or Calvin, sum up in himself the great principles of the movement of which he was a leader, he expressed, beyond doubt, the most characteristic features of that movement. He represented those qualities of earnestness, and yet of moderation, of scriptural faithfulness, and yet traditional respect, — at once reforming and conservative, — which peculiarly distinguished the English character, and have stamped their impress more than any other upon the spirit of the Church of England.

The spirit of this church is not, and never has been, definite and consistent. From the beginning it repudiated the distinct guidance of any theoretical principles, however exalted, and apparently scriptural. It held fast to its historical position, as a great institute still living and powerful under all the corruptions which had overlaid it; and while submitting to the irresistible influence of reform which swept over it, as over other churches in the sixteenth century, it refused to be refashioned according to any new model. It broke away from the medieval bondage, under

which it had always been restless, and destroyed the gross abuses which had sprung out of it; it rose in an attitude of proud and successful resistance to Rome: but in doing all this, it did not go to Scripture, as if it had once more, and entirely anew, to find there the principles either of doctrinal truth or of practical government and discipline. Scripture, indeed, was eminently the condition of its revival; but Scripture was not made anew the foundation of its existence. There was too much of old historical life in it to seek any new foundation; the new must grow out of the old, and fit itself into the old. The Church of England was to be reformed, but not reconstituted. Its life was too vast, its influence too varied, its relations too complicated, — touching the national existence in all its multiplied expressions at too many points, — to be capable of being reduced to any new and definite form in more supposed uniformity with the model of Scripture, or the simplicity of the primitive church. Its extensive and manifold organism was to be reënimated by a new life, but not remoulded according to any arbitrary or novel theory.

This spirit, at once progressive and conservative, comprehensive rather than intensive, historical, and not dogmatical, is one eminently characteristic of the English mind, and, as it appears to us, in the highest degree characteristic of the English Reformation. It is far, indeed, from being an exhaustive characteristic of it. Two distinct tendencies of a quite different character, expressly dogmatic in opposite extremes, are found running alongside this main and central tendency: on the one hand, a mediæval dogmatism; on the other hand, a puritanical dogmatism. The current of religious life in England, as it moved forward and took shape in the sixteenth century, is marked by this threefold bias, which has perpetuated itself to the present

time. There was then, as there remains to this day, an upper, middle, and lower tendency, — a theory of High-churchism, and a theory of Low-churchism; and between these contending dogmatic movements the great confluence of what was and is the peculiar type of English Christianity, — a Christianity diffusive and practical, rather than direct and theoretical; elevated and sympathetic, rather than zealous and energetic; scriptural and earnest in its spirit, but undogmatic and adaptive in its form.

In the sixteenth century Latimer appears, along with Cranmer, — although in a more natural manner than the latter, as being comparatively free from the complications of political interest, — to be the great representative of this middle movement in the Church of England; while Gardiner and Bonner on one side, and Hooper and his followers on the other side, represent respectively the mediæval and puritanical tendencies. It may be doubtful to some, whether there is not much in Latimer that seems to ally him with the latter school, — whether his principles, in their natural development, would not have led him to join them, had he lived on till they came into more distinct prominence as opposed to the ecclesiastical despotisms of Elizabeth.¹ Such a question cannot be absolutely determined, and is, in fact, irrelevant. For it is idle to speculate what Latimer or any man might have become in very different circumstances from those in which we find him. It appears to us with sufficient clearness that Latimer never would, and never could, have become a Puritan, without an entire change of the peculiar spirit of natural sense, of moderation, and of conciliatory doctrinism which distinguishes him. In the early dogmatic puritanism of the

¹ This is apparently Mr. Froude's view of both Latimer and Cranmer — vol. iii. p. 262.

Church of England, — of Hooper, for example, and subsequently of Travers and Cartwright, — there was a distinct foreign element, which Latimer, with his genuine English feeling, would have strongly repudiated; and there was, moreover, a dogmatic narrowness, and an exaggerated importance attached to form and externality, which were entirely alien to his cast of mind, and the spirit of reform which animated him.

This spirit was throughout preëminently practical. He had no special reforming schemes of any kind in view; he had no special doctrines even to urge once more into prominence. The gospel did not come to him as it came to Luther, in the shape of a new truth; nor yet as it came to Calvin, in the shape of a new system. It came to him simply as a new spirit of life, and earnestness, and Christian activity. As he studied the Bible, and as Bilney and he prayed over it, it was the fire neither of dogmatic zeal nor of disciplinal urgency that was kindled in him, but the glow of simple evangelical earnestness. He awoke as from a dream, in which the forms of superstition had haunted him as the only realities, to find that they were no realities at all, but the mere inventions and fancies of men, draping and concealing the great truths of God. The meaning of life and of duty, of real service to God in holy obedience and works of mercy, in comparison with mere religious observances and will-works — this was what dawned upon him. And this was, above all, the kind of reformation after which he sought, and for which he labored — a reformation of life — the Church of England once more animated by a Christian spirit, destroying by its very presence and power the gross medieval abuses which had fastened upon it till they seemed a part of its very existence, whereas, in truth, they were only corrupting excres-

cences. The Catholic faith seemed to him, scarcely less than to Sir Thomas More, to survive in England, and in the old Church of England, if it were only purified from such traditions and corruptions. His own preaching presented to himself nothing new, nor even contrary to the decrees of the Fathers. In his letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1533, we find such a reforming position exactly described as the one on which he considered himself to stand. "If any man has any fault to object against my preaching, as being obscure or uncautiously uttered, I am ready to explain my doctrine by further discourse; for I have never preached anything contrary to the truth, or contrary to the decrees of the Fathers, nor, as far as I know, contrary to the Catholic faith. I have desired, I own, and do desire, a reformation in the judgment of the vulgar. I have desired, and still desire, that they should make a distinction between duties, and regard and maintain each according to its proper value, its place and time, its rank and degree, in order that all men should know that there is a very great difference between those works which God hath prepared for each of us, zealously discharging the duties of our respective callings, to walk in, and those that are voluntary, which we undertake by our own strength and pleasure. It is lawful, I own, to make use of images, to go upon pilgrimages, to invoke the saints to be mindful of souls in purgatory; but those things which are voluntary are so to be moderated that God's commandments of necessary obligation, which bring eternal life to those who keep them, and eternal death to those who neglect them, be not deprived of their just value. . . . I therefore, hitherto, stand fixed on the side of the commandments of God, so aiming, not at my own gain, but that of Christ; so seeking not my own glory, but that of God; and as long as life

shall be permitted to me, I will not cease thus to continue imitating herein all true preachers of the word that have hitherto lived in the world.”¹

The same supremely practical tendency manifests itself more or less in all his sermons; and in none more than in those preached before Edward VI., which may be supposed to contain his mature views of reform. He is vigilant and urgent against all abuses alike in church and state, in society and in private life. He exposes them with homely and crushing invective, sparing no class, passing by no oppression, whether that of the poor vicar having an extensive cure in a market-town, on “but twelve or fourteen marks by the year,” so “that he is not able to buy him books, nor give his neighbor drink;”² or that of the gentle-woman from whom a great man kept certain lands of hers, and who in a whole twelvemonth could not get one day for the hearing of her matter; or that of the poor widow lying in the Fleet.³ He has a sound English heart, hating all evil, and especially all proud and lying evil, all dastardly mockeries of truth, all mere pretences in the church or out of it, all disorders, all indifference and deadness. His spirit kindles, and his language rises into more concentrated pith and vigor when he catches sight of some great wrong, or some social folly or immorality, and wishes that it lay in his poor tongue to explicate it “with such light of words that he might seem rather to paint it before their eyes than to speak it.” It is this characteristic of Latimer’s sermons that makes them still so fresh and living to us while we read them. Had they been more doctrinal, we should have examined them perhaps with equal or even greater curiosity, as serving to illustrate the state of

¹ See Latin original — FOXE, vol. vii. pp. 4—7.

² *Sermons*, p. 101.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 127.

Christian thought in his age, but we certainly should not have found in them that vivifying power with which they still touch us; for nothing becomes more dead in the course of transmission than the popular forms of doctrinal teaching, so that one generation finds mere barrenness and waste paper in what greatly interested and delighted its predecessor. Even the doctrinal sermons of Luther are no exception to this.

It is therefore just because Latimer was no dogmatist that he remains so interesting to us, and his words still retain such a zest, and flavor, and power. He contends for no particular theory of the truth; his newborn life does not need any new doctrinal vehicle of expression; it is slow even to cast off the least worthy additions that have gathered round the Catholic faith, and out of which have sprung, by a sure process, the worst abuses which he deplores. He nowhere takes up an attitude of doctrinal hostility to the old church, nor aims to set forth any specific doctrinal principles to which the whole line of the reform movement should be attached, and from which it ought to proceed. And yet it would be a total misapprehension of his spirit and position to suppose him latitudinarian, or indifferent to dogmatic truth; he simply does not realize its separate importance. Trained in the scholastic philosophy, he of all our reformers retains no trace of its rationalizing and controversial spirit. He had obviously little or no faith in controversy — a wonderful point of advance for that age. He is no theologian; dogmas in and by themselves have no interest for his homely, healthy mind. He apprehends all, and cares for all, only in the concrete. Truth for him is not this or that view or theory, but the life of faithful obedience towards God, and of active charity towards man. This is the highest truth, and the only worthy

reality for him in all the world, — “ To fear God, and keep his commandments.” And it is his great mission as a reformer to awaken men everywhere to the need of this living truth, to recall them from shadows and superstitions, from “ inventions and fancies,” from will-works and phantasies of their own, to the reality of true Christian work, and the glory of this only divine service.

It was as a preacher, above all, that he discharged this great mission ; and his sermons remain, as a whole, its most interesting and graphic expression. Their highest qualities are exactly those that characterize his general work — life, reality, and earnestness. He uses the pulpit not so much as a vehicle of instruction, but as a means of impulse and movement. He never uses it as a mere theatre of eloquence. He is eloquent not because he thinks of being eloquent, and tries to be so, but simply because there is in him a living and honest meaning which he desires to communicate to others. The fire burned within him, and he spake as it moved him. His sermons, accordingly, while frequently deficient in all method, and sometimes — where they aim to be explanatory or argumentative — vague and unimpressive, are yet, in the main, instinct with a vigorous and fresh and happy interest. To *interest*, and so move and reform, was the great aim of all of them ; and so everything is sacrificed to the necessity of making those whom he is addressing feel the truth and force of what he is saying. The most homely illustrations, and most startling and ludicrous conjunctions, headlong and unsparing invective, and wayward and joyous humor, are all given full play to, — each impulse yielded to as it comes, — in order that the hearers may be touched by his own obvious and irresistible inspiration. The result is what sometimes appears to us, reading them with the cold

eye of criticism, coarseness rather than power, meanness of language rather than impressiveness of idea, and caricature rather than humor; but the manly and genial critic will acknowledge the natural healthiness and vigor even of many illustrations which have incurred the censure of more fastidious tastes, while there is a relish as of good old wine, sound and ripe after three centuries, in many more; and the intellectual appetite, jaded with the weak mixtures of modern religious sentiment, grows keen and glad over the numerous passages of vigorous and racy sense, homely and joyous picturesqueness, and pungent, earnest, and happy humor. It is difficult to give any specimen at all satisfactory in detail. All such good things appear poor when extracted, and apart from their setting. The reader, therefore, must study the sermons themselves, if he care to appreciate them. The following single passage, in which irony mingles with earnestness, and the picture, if somewhat low and audacious, is graphic and powerful in the highest degree, may stand by itself perhaps as well as any other: "But now for the fault of unpreaching prelates, methinks I could guess what might be said for excusing of them. They are so troubled with lordly living, they be so placed in palaces, couched in courts, ruffling in their rents, dancing in their dominions, burdened with embassages, pampering of their paunches, like a monk that maketh his jubilee, munching in their mangers, and moiling in their gay manors and mansions, and so troubled with looking on their lordships, that they cannot attend it. They are otherwise occupied, some in the king's matters, some are ambassadors, some of the Privy Council, some to furnish the court, some are lords of the Parliament, some are presidents and comptrollers of mints. . . . Should we have ministers of the church to be comptrollers

of the mints? Is this a meet office for a priest that hath cure of souls? Is this his charge? I would here ask one question — I would fain know who controlleth the devil at home in his parish while he controlleth the mint? . . . Who is the most diligentest bishop and prelate in all England, that passeth all the rest in doing his office? I can tell, for I know him who it is — I know him well. But now I think I see you listing and hearkening that I should name him. There is one that passeth all the other, and is the most diligent prelate and preacher in all England. And will you know who it is? I will tell you; it is the devil. He is the most diligent preacher of all others. He is never out of his diocese, he is never from his cure; ye shall never find him unoccupied; he is ever in his parish; he keepeth residence at all times; ye shall never find him out of the way; call for him when you will, he is ever at home; he is ever at his plough, no lording nor loitering can hinder him — you shall never find him idle, I warrant you. And his office is to hinder religion, to maintain superstition, to set up idolatry. When the devil is resident and hath his plough going, then away with books, and up with candles; away with bibles, and up with beads; away with the light of the gospel, and up with the light of candles, yea, at noonday. . . . Down with Christ's cross, and up with purgatory pick-purse, up with him — the Popish purgatory I mean. Away with clothing the naked, the poor and the impotent, up with the decking of images and gay garnishing of stocks and stones; up with man's traditions and his laws, down with God's traditions and his holy word; down with the old honor due to God, and up with the new god's honor."¹

¹ "Sermon of the Plough." — *Sermons*, pp. 68—70.

There is no feature in Latimer's sermons more pervading than their invective. He is ever on the watch for wrong and abuses, and he pours out upon them the most free and startling rebukes. He spares no class, and he spurns no weapon of ridicule or denunciation against the powers of misrule, indolence, superstition, and bigotry, that he would strike down. It is now the bishops, and now the lawyers, among whom he sends his swift and piercing arrows; now the increasing licentiousness of the age, and now the extravagances of ladies' attire, especially the laying out of the hair in "tussocks and tufts;" and, again, the indolent effeminacy of the rich and noble, which he paints with a breadth of brush and a strong light of piquant satire, that enable us at once to understand his popularity. It was as a denouncer of flagrant and widely-felt abuses, and as an unceasing preacher of righteousness and benevolence against wrong and hardness of heart, that the people above all looked upon him and loved him; and the strength and prevalency of the popular feeling is sufficiently shown in the cry with which the boys used to follow him in the streets — "Have at them, Master Latimer!" In every such time of extensive change, when old oppressions are relaxing and new responsibilities dawning, honest and hearty denunciation is sure to be popular; and we may well imagine, therefore, the enthusiasm which greeted the great preacher who had the courage, in that age, to utter manful and unsparing words in the ears of the wealthy and powerful, the corrupt and tyrannical.

The humor of the sermons is eminently notable, — a pungent, nipping, pursuing humor, lacking the richness and depth and boisterous freedom of Luther's, but singularly funny, seizing one in the oddest ways and at the most unexpected turns. You are never sure, even in the most

solemn passages, that it will not peep out with its wayward and comic glance, and start a reäctionary smile as the shadow of thought is beginning to steal over the countenance. Explosive and striking in its effect, it is gentle in its spirit. There is not a touch of ill-nature in it. It cuts to the quick, not because the preacher delights in giving offence, but because his keen eye and pure heart cannot help seeing through the mockeries and vanities and wrongs which he exposes. He sees always their absurdity as well as their iniquity, and he cannot help saying so. If stupidity is offended, and superstition alarmed, and oppression indignant, so much the worse for all of them. The preacher is not to blame who lights them up as he paints them with the lambent glances of a humorous scorn, which has merely searched them through and through. As with all other preaching humorists, his fun is no doubt sometimes out of place. A chill taste will shudder over some of its displays; but the truth is, that there are certain tastes, and especially religious tastes, to which humor in any heartiness of manifestation is a dire offence. Identifying religion not only with gloom but with stupidity, such tastes find harm where there is merely amusement, and wrong where there is merely the free play of innocent strength. A hearty religious feeling, though sometimes startled, will never be shocked by Latimer's oddest sallies, but will recognize in them only the radiant sparks from an ever-bright and warm heart, looking out upon life with an intense gaze of reality, and apprehending its marvellous contrasts in the sunlight of an ever-cheerful temper.

Nothing is more remarkable in him than this cheerfulness. Ill in body, tried and persecuted and cast down by many troubles, he is always cheerful, — cheerful at Cambridge, amidst the scowls of friars, — cheerful in his parish,

under Episcopal frowns, and in his diocese, amidst an obtuse and opposing clergy,—cheerful in the Tower, when nearly starved to death with cold,—cheerful at the stake, in the thought of the illumining blaze that he and Ridley would make for the glory of the gospel and the happiness of England. An earnest, hopeful, and happy man, honest, fearless, open-hearted, hating nothing but baseness, and fearing none but God,—not throwing away his life, yet not counting it dear when the great crisis came—calmly yielding it up as the crown of his long sacrifice and struggle. There may be other reformers that more engage our admiration; there is no one that more excites our love.

IV.

JOHN KNOX.

J O H N K N O X.

THE Scottish Reformation, and the great central figure which it presents, remain for our consideration. The field opened to our view is comparatively limited, but it is singular in the completeness and intensity of its interest. The area over which the reforming movement is seen sweeping is but a narrow one in contrast with that of Germany or France or England, but it is more deeply moved; and the gathering impulses of the religious excitement swell into a more highly expressed and definite nationality than in any of the other cases.

As we cast our glance upon Scotland towards the end of the first quarter of the sixteenth century, we behold a very disturbed picture, — the king, the great nobles, and the clergy sharing between them an authority which has not worked itself into any consistent and beneficent form of national order. In comparison with the well-developed, massive, and richly-pictured life of England at the same period, there is great rudeness and disorder, and, in a word, barbarism, in Scotland. This is obviously true of all elements of political strength and stability; while in regard to the church it is no less really true. Poor and corrupt as the clergy were in England in the earlier reign of Henry VIII., they yet retained, in some instances, a moral spirit and influence of which we can detect no trace in the sister country.

The Reformation in each country is found strongly contrasted, according to these very different circumstances of the two nations. While in England there were powerful forces both of political and moral resistance to it, in Scotland, when the front of rude authority with which it was at first violently encountered was once broken down, there was no power left to stay nor even to guide it. The kingly influence was entirely prostrated in the untimely death of James V., after the disaster of Solway Moss; the nobles, in their savage enmities and factions, possessed no intelligent or steady power of control. The hierarchy was the single authority that remained to encounter a movement against which it was no more capable of effective resistance, than would be the palsied form of a corrupt old age against the active strength of a young and vigorous life.

While in England, accordingly, we see a balanced movement proceeding gradually and under royal sanction, in Scotland we behold an insurrectionary impulse long repressed, but at length gathering force till it breaks down and sweeps away all barriers before it. It might seem, on the mere first glance we got of the hierarchy of Scotland, that it constituted a formidable power; externally it bears the marks of such a power, — the craft, subtlety, and swift, unrelenting vengeance which master its enemies easily, and crush them before its fierce anger. But these are in reality the mere fangs of a brute strength surviving the decay of all true national life and strength in the system. The apparent influence and barbaric splendor of such men as the Beatouns cover a rottenness at the heart more feeble, and smitten with more complete decay, than could be found in any other country of the Reformation. Nowhere else had the clergy reached such a pitch of flagrant

and disgraceful immorality, and the Roman Catholic religion become such an utter corruption and mockery of all that is good and holy. The bishops and archbishops lived in open concubinage, and gave their daughters in marriage to the sons of the best families in the kingdom; livings were transmitted from father to son in the most shameless manner; the monasteries were, in popular belief and in reality, to a degree beyond what we can indicate, sinks of profligacy. A darker and more hideous picture, when we think of it as the formal representative of religion to a people, we cannot conceive than that which is suggested in the scattered but sufficiently broad hints of Knox.¹

And while such were the moral features of the system, scarcely even the pretence of religious service was preserved; the churches, save on festival days, were abandoned, the priests unable to understand a single word of the prayers which they mumbled over, and preaching entirely unknown. Every element of religion was materialized to the last degree; and blessings sold for so much, and cursings for so much. The clergy were the traffickers — they seem really to have been little more — in such supposed spiritual charms; the people were the victims, in some cases honestly so, but in others obviously with a sufficiently clear view of the absurdity, if not impiety, of the whole affair. Knox gives a ludicrous picture of what went on in this way, drawn from the preaching of William Airth, a friar of Dundee, who distinguished himself temporarily by his keen exposure of the papistical system

¹ *Historie*. Whatever undue severity there may be here and there in Knox's descriptions, there is no reason to doubt their general accuracy. The immoralities of such men as the Beatouns, and the clerical *caste* in Scotland of which they stood at the head, are unhappily as well established as any such facts can be.

“The priest,” said he, “whose duty and office it is to pray for the people, stands up on Sunday and cries, ‘Ane has tint a spurtill; there is a flail stoun beyond the burn; the gudewife of the other side of the gait has tint a horn-spoon: God’s malison and mine I give to those who know of this gear and restores it not.’” And the appreciation the people often had of this preaching is also well shown. “After sermon that he had at Dunfermline,” Knox says, “he came to a house whare gossips were drinkane their Sunday pennie; and he, being dry, askit drink. ‘Yes, father,’ said ane of the gossips, ‘ye sall have drink, but ye must first resolve ane doubt whilk has risen among us,—to wit, what servant will serve a man best on least expense.’—‘The gude angel,’ said I, ‘who is man’s keeper,—who makes grit service without expense.’—‘Tusche!’ said the gossip, ‘we mean no such high matters; we mean, what honest man will do greatest service for least expense?’ And while I was musing, said the friar, what that should mean, she said, ‘I see, father, that the greatest clerks are not the wisest men. Know ye not how the bishops and their officials serve us husbandmen? Will they not give us a letter of cursing for a plack to last for a year, to curse all that look over our dyke? and that keeps our corn better nor the sleepy boy that will have three shillings of fee, a sark, and a pair of shoon in the year.’”¹

A system whose most familiar and popular expressions had sunk into such absolute dotage, whose dishonesty and immorality were so widespread and prominent, might seem powerful; but, in point of fact, it had no permanent elements of strength. It was a mere repressive machinery lying on the heart of the nation, so far as there was in it

¹ *Historie*, p. 14; fol. ed., 1732.

any true heart and living growth of moral intelligence. And not only so; not only had the Catholic hierarchy in Scotland become a mere incubus, but an incubus in no small degree of foreign character and pretensions. Many of the higher clergy received their education in France;¹ they had engrafted on their natural rudeness and fierceness of character the polish of a culture formed in the most licentious and perfidious court in Europe, — a polish which not only left their native and essential savageness untamed, but sharpened it into some of its worst features of cruelty and baseness. This may serve to explain the striking alienation between the hierarchy in Scotland and the genuine and growing national feeling. There are no points of attraction, not even of tolerance, between them; only the hardest attitude of unreasoning authority on the one hand, and of utter contempt and hatred on the other. Among the poorer classes there may have been a kind of sympathy with the clergy, and certain relations of goodwill on the one side and the other. The monasteries, corrupt as they were, must, in the very worst point of view, have been centres of beneficence, stretching towards many humble cottages; and the bishops had each their numerous dependants, with their friends and relatives, mingled among the people. Bad as the system was, it must have possessed such points of support, and might have strengthened itself in some degree on them, had any wisdom been left to it; but ignorance and mere selfish instinct were, after all, but a poor stay for profligacy, while all the intellectual and moral interests of the country were uniting against it.

Standing between the clergy and the lowest orders, there

¹ KEITH'S *Scottish Bishops*, pp. 21—24.

had grown up during the preceding century or more, in Scotland, a class of traders in the towns and of gentry in the country, bound to each other by intimate ties; and it was in the growing enlightenment of this class that the future fate of Scotland lay. These burghers and gentry constituted young Scotland in the sixteenth century. They had the intelligence to understand to the full the corruptions of the Papacy; they had gathered to themselves such spiritual life as remained in the country, and this rose in horror at the immoralities which it embodied. They were a rising and vigorous class, proud of their sharp-wittedness and the influence which their position and resources gave them; they were well informed, through their connection with the Continent, with regard to the progress of the reformed doctrines; they had character, strong feelings, and political as well as religious aims; and thus they ranged themselves against the hierarchy as its natural and avowed enemies.

Between these two powers the conflict of the Scottish Reformation was really waged. It was a conflict not merely in the interest of religion, although this it was eminently, but moreover, and in a higher and more remarkable degree than elsewhere, a conflict on behalf of the independence and integrity of national life. The spiritual impulse was strongly present, but inseparably bound up with a political feeling, which gave a characteristic impress to the general movement. Amid the decay of the old political influences in the country, and the corruption of its social and ecclesiastical bonds, there was a fresh and compact vigor in the middle orders that rendered them alone more capable in moral strength than any party opposed to them; and not only did the reforming activity mainly proceed from them, but, in virtue of their self-consistency and

hardihood of character, they retained the main guidance of it in their hands. They impressed their own character upon it; they gave to it, both as a doctrine and a discipline, a shape removed as far as possible from the hated hierarchical system which they subverted. Altogether unlike the growth of the English Church, the Scottish Reformed Kirk became an entirely new expression of religious life in Scotland. The old had passed away, — all things had become new, — when the reforming tide settled down, and the face of religious order reappeared. Scotland was not merely reformed, it was revolutionized. Catholicism had vanished into obscure corners, from which no royal nursing could ever again evoke it, save as a poor bastard ghost of its former self, destined to vanish again before every fresh outburst of the national feeling.

This complete change, wrought by the Reformation in Scotland, can only be explained in the light of the peculiar crisis which the national history had then reached. A new political and social influence was at the time waiting to start into vigorous development; it met the Reformation, embraced it, moulded it to its own inspirations and aims, and carried itself triumphantly forward in its advance. It is very true that some of the greater nobles soon saw reason to join themselves to the reformed cause, and in various ways to aid or hinder it; but in the beginning, and at the end, the Scottish Reformation continued essentially a middle-class movement, with all the hardy virtue belonging to its parentage, yet also with the parental defects — sturdy and uncompromising in its faith, and free in its instincts, but with no sacred inheritance of traditionary story binding it by beautiful links to the great Catholic past; and further, as has been long too sadly apparent, with no sympathetic expansiveness for moulding into religious unity classes

widely separated in material rank and in intellectual and artistic culture.

It is sufficiently singular, and so far in corroboration of the view now presented, that the Scottish reformers, one and all of them of any note, sprung from the class of gentry to which we have referred. Patrick Hamilton, indeed, was immediately connected with the higher nobility, and, through his mother, with the royal family;¹ but the fact of his being a younger son, and the illegitimacy that attached to the descent of both his parents, rendered his own social position certainly not higher than that of the lairds or gentry. George Wishart, again, was brother to the Laird of Pittarow, and Knox was the son of a younger brother of the house of Ranferly.

Patrick Hamilton is the first prominent name that meets us in the Scottish Reformation. His brief and sad, yet beautiful story, has been told anew in our day in a very elegant and well-informed volume,² where we read for the first time, in a clear and consistent light, the narrative of his education, first in Paris, then in St. Andrews, and lastly Germany, in the very heart of the reforming influences; his return to his native country, and marriage (a fact not previously known); and then his preaching, and seizure and trial by the elder Beatoun,—a narrative which serves to deepen the affecting story of his martyrdom in front of the gate of the old college of St. Andrews, on the 29th of February, 1528. Hamilton, no doubt, caught his first re-

¹ He was the son of Sir Patrick Hamilton of Kincavil, an illegitimate son of the first Lord Hamilton, and of Catherine Stewart, (illegitimate?) daughter of Alexander Duke of Albany, second son of King James II. On the mother's side the illegitimacy merely followed an act of ecclesiastical divorce. His father perished in the conflict between the Hamiltons and Douglasses, known as *Cleanse the Causeway*, which took place in Edinburgh in 1520.

² By Mr. Lorimer, of the English Presbyterian College, London.

forming impulse during the years that he studied in Paris (1519–20), when the university was all astir on the subject of Luther's doctrines. His subsequent studies in Germany confirmed the early impulse thus communicated; and the proto-reformer of Scotland was thus substantially Lutheran in the origin and character of his teaching.

This foreign element in the rise of the Reformation in Scotland deserves to be noticed. There are also traces, however, of a native religious life. An awakening, half-literary, half-spiritual, had begun during the preceding ten years in St. Leonard's College, St. Andrews, and Hamilton was in the very midst of this spirit of new inquiry and excitement while pursuing his studies there. We get, moreover, in Knox's History, one clear glimpse of an earnest Lollardism towards the end of the preceding century, in the reign of James IV.¹ The spirit which he describes, and the articles which he gives in detail, recall strongly the spirit and doctrines which we have seen to characterize the surviving Wickliffite influence in England, — the same broad and somewhat crude apprehension of scriptural truth — the same scornful humor — the same strong, yet retiring piety, — with the remarkable difference, however, that the "thirty persons," called "Lollards of Kyle," seem to have belonged, not to the peasantry, as in England, but to the better classes of society. At this single point, a line of antecedent religious life in Scotland rises into brief and impressive prominence. And it no doubt lived on to some extent during the next thirty years, and helped in the advance of the Reformation; but in what degree, or through what connections it did this, we cannot distinctly trace, either in the case of Hamilton or of any of the chief reformers.

¹ *Historie*, p. 2.

The zeal of Patrick Hamilton, although quenched in cruel flames, lived after him. His teaching, enhanced by the noble and pathetic courage of his death, made a deep impression on the national mind. The reforming spirit spread on all sides. "Men began," says Knox, "very liberally to speak." The bishops had only one weapon with which to encounter the rising spirit. They bethought themselves of burning some more heretics. 'New consultation was taken that some should be burned;' but a 'merrie gentleman,' a familiar of the bishop, was heard to say, 'Gif if ye burn more, let them be burnt in how sellars; for the reik of Mr. Patrick Hamilton has infected as many as it did blow upon.'"

Such was the state of affairs while Knox was rising into full manhood, and beginning with that steady and long-piercing glance of his to look forth upon the world, and note the circumstances and signs of the times amidst which he found himself. At the time of Hamilton's death he was twenty-three years of age, and about terminating his studies in the university of Glasgow. He was born in 1505, in the neighborhood of Haddington, of parents whose ancestry and social position have been subjects of dispute, although the evidence seems perfectly conclusive that his father belonged to the Knoxes of Ranferly, an old and respectable family of Renfrewshire.¹ His own statement, that "his great-grandfather, gudeschir, and father, served under the Earls of Bothwell, and some of them have died under their standards,"² is perfectly consistent with this. He received his preliminary education at the grammar school of Haddington, and in the year 1521 was sent to the university of Glasgow, where he had, therefore, been a con-

¹ See M'CRIC's *Life of Knox*, p. 2.

² *Ibid.*

siderable number of years at the time that the reforming opinions began to spread rapidly throughout the country.

It is not very clear when or under what special influences Knox first began to incline towards these opinions. He had gone to Glasgow university with the view of being trained for the church, and there, under Major, he soon proved himself an apt and distinguished pupil of the scholastic theology. He was considered as equalling if not excelling his master in the subtleties of the dialectic art. To this teacher also he probably owed the first impulse to that remarkable freedom of political opinion which afterwards characterized him. He is said to have been ordained before the year 1530; but at this time, and for twelve years onward, there is a great gap in his life, which his biographer has been wholly unable to fill up. We only know that some time after taking his degree, he removed to St. Andrews, and taught there, although in what college does not clearly appear; and then that about 1535, especially by the study of the Fathers, his traditionary opinions had become thoroughly shaken. Not till eight years later, however, or in 1543, did he become an avowed and marked reformer.

This year is in every way memorable in the history of the Scottish Reformation. The death of the king after the disastrous defeat of Solway Moss in the end of the previous year, and the consequent accession of the Earl of Arran to the regency, produced at first a change favorable to the views of the reformers. Negotiations were renewed with England; Protestant preachers were taken under special protection by the regent, and a measure passed the committee of Parliament known by the name of the Lords of the Articles, and received his sanction, authorizing the reading of the Scriptures in the common tongue. Every-

thing seemed for the moment to indicate the good-will of the regent, and to tend to the advance of the Reformation. The favor of Arran, however, was but short-lived. The French and papal party, with Cardinal Beaton at their head, soon regained their ascendancy. Just as under the previous interregnum, fifteen years before, all the efforts of Henry VIII. — defeated to some extent by his own injustice and violence — were unsuccessful to bind any section of the Scottish nobles permanently to his interest; and the renewed connection with France laid the foundation for confusion and misery to the country for more than another half-century.

So soon as Beaton attained his object, and once more held the substantial power of the kingdom in his grasp, he resolved to crush his enemies with no sparing hand. His bloodthirsty vengeance had been baffled by the reluctant pity of the late king, who had shrunk with horror from the atrocity, suggested to him by the clergy, of exterminating by a single stroke two or three hundred of the most influential of the reformers, whose names they had presented to him in a list.¹ There seemed no obstacle now, however, to the full gratification of his vengeance, while the instinct of self-preservation probably combined with that of his natural imperiousness and cruelty to direct him to the special object of his attack. Whatever be the credit due to Tytler's special insinuations against Wishart, — which appear to rest on very slender evidence, — Beaton, no doubt, identified this courageous preacher with his political as well as religious enemies. He was the intimate associate, and, by his eloquence and activity, the most power-

¹ KNOX, pp. 27, 28; PITSCOTTIE, p. 164. The numbers vary; Knox speaks of "ane hundreth landit men, besides otheris of meaner degree;" Pitscottie says "seventeen score."

ful support of the anti-papal or English party. The cardinal knew this well, and aimed accordingly, by his apprehension and death, to strike the most fatal blow he could at the party.

George Wishart, as he stands depicted in the pages of Knox and Calderwood, is a singularly interesting character; of gentle, winning, and unassuming disposition, with a strange wild tinge of enthusiasm, an intense spirit of devotion, and a commanding eloquence; "a man of sic graces as before him were never heard in this realm, yea, and rare to be found yet in ony man." Obligated to seek refuge, some time before, in England, from the persecution of the Bishop of Brechin, he returned to Scotland in 1543,¹ with the commissioners who had been sent to negotiate a treaty with Henry VIII. He had been dwelling for some time in the very centre of the Anglican reform movement at Cambridge, where the influence of Bilney and Latimer still lived; and he seems to have caught some share of the spirit of both — the mild rapture of the one, and the stern denunciatory zeal of the other. On his return to Scotland he travelled from town to town, and county to county, preaching the truth which had become precious to his own soul. He made a deep impression wherever he went; his words wrought with a marvellous persuasiveness on some even of the most hardened and wicked in the land — such men, for example, as the Laird of Scheill, described by Knox, who, as the preacher on a "hette and pleasant day" of summer, addressed the crowd from a "dyke on a muir edge, upon the south-west side of Mauchlin," was so affected that "the tears rane fra his eyne in sic abundance that all men wondered," and who by his future life, more-

¹ Knox says 1544.

over, showed that "his conversion then wrought was without hypocrisy."¹

In his preaching excursions, Wishart gathered around him devoted followers, and was the inspiring mind of the Protestant party, now adding rapidly to its numbers. It is as one of these followers that Knox first clearly appears upon the scene of the Reformation, and in a very characteristic attitude. He tells us himself, that from the time that the zealous preacher came to Lothian, he waited carefully upon him, bearing "a two-handed sword." This precaution had been used since an attempt had been made to assassinate the preacher; and the bold spirit of Knox, now kindling into its full ardor, rejoiced in the attendant post of danger. At this very time, however, the machinations of the cardinal against Wishart had reached their completion; and while he rested at Ormiston, after his last remarkable sermon at Haddington, he was made a prisoner by the Earl of Bothwell; while Beatoun himself lay within a mile, at the head of 500 men, in case any attempt should be made to rescue him. There is a strange *weird* interest in Knox's description of his last interview with the preacher, and his final sermon. Disappointed at not meeting with the friends he expected, — the Earl of Cassillis and others, — and disheartened by the apparent decline of the popular interest in the reformed cause, he spoke to his intrepid sword-bearer of his weariness with the world, and "as he spacit up and down behind the hie altar, mair than half an hour before sermon, his verie countenance and visage declarit the grief and alteration of his mind." The shadow of his approaching doom had crept upon him; and when Knox wished to share his fate, and accompany him to

¹ *Historie*, p. 44.

Ormiston, he said, "Nay, return to your bairnes, and God bless you; ane is sufficient for a sacrifice."¹

Knox's "bairnes" were his pupils, the sons of the lairds of Niddrie and Ormiston. In default of any more definite occupation, he had settled as a quiet tutor to the sons of these families. From the time of his quitting St. Andrews, up to this time, when in his fortieth year he first publicly appears in connection with Wishart, we can scarcely be said to know anything further of him. As Mr. Carlyle first pointed out, there is considerable significance in this long period of silence in Knox's history. It speaks strongly of his naturally peaceful disposition, of the patient maturity with which he formed his opinions, and of the consequent absurdity of the notion that would fix him down at once as a mere ambitious and turbulent partisan. It may serve also to explain the singular decision and completeness of his views when the outburst of his reforming zeal at length came.

Now, after the apprehension of Wishart, he seems to have remained cautiously in his retirement, mourning the dreadful fate of his friend, till the great event, perpetrated at the old castle of St. Andrews, on the morning of the 29th May, 1546, summoned him from his privacy, and imparted a new direction and a nobler interest to his life. This event lives nowhere so vividly and powerfully as in his own wonderful narrative,² in which the horror of the circumstances is wildly relieved by a stern glee, kindling in the writer as he tells them in careful outline. It is equally needless to condemn the spirit of the historian, or to find excuses for it. If the horror of the transaction obscures in our minds all feeling of pleasantry as we look back upon

¹ *Historie*, p. 48.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 64, 65.

it, we have to thank Knox, and such men as Knox, that there is left to us no occasion of any other feeling. To him, and to all honest and patriot hearts in Scotland in the middle of the sixteenth century, the death of Cardinal Beatoun, under whatever circumstances of atrocity, could not, unfortunately, be anything else but a circumstance of gratulation. It is the divine doom of tyranny, in whatever shape, that men should rejoice at its murder, even if that murder be "fouly done." The joy is not in fault, but the cause of it. The former is a pure manifestation of human feeling, the latter an eternal blasphemy and violation of human right. Knox is gleeful, therefore, with a scornful laughter, over the assassination of Beatoun, simply because he realized all the meaning of the event for his country, and could not see the downfall of a power so hateful without a natural impulse of jubilee. As *we* look back into the dim gray of that May morning, we only see the solitary and helpless man raised from his bed and in the murderous grip of his assassin. Knox remembered, as if it had happened yesterday, the proud and impious tyrant who reclined on velvet cushions at the castle window, to feast his eyes on the torments of his martyred friend. A life of such dazzling strength as Beatoun's terminating so swiftly in an abject and miserable death, may well move *us* to pity — it could only move Knox to irony; and if the event be not one for irony, we may say with Mr. Froude, "we do not know what irony is for."

Nearly a year subsequent to the death of Beatoun (April 1547), Knox took refuge with his pupils in the castle of St. Andrews, which continued to be held against the regent, notwithstanding his efforts to reduce it. It became the temporary stronghold of the reforming interest, and many resorted to it for protection. Here Knox began, he tells us,

“to exercise his pupils after his accustomed manner. Besides their grammar and other human authors, he red unto them ane Catechism accompt whereof he causit them to give publickly in the parochie kirk of St. Andrews. He red, moreover, unto them the evangell of John, proceeding where he had left at his departing from Langniddrie, and that lecture he red in the chapell within the castle at a certain hour.” In this modest way Knox introduces us to the great epoch of his life which was approaching. Now in his forty-second year, with his convictions fully formed, and with obvious powers of expressing and defending them beyond those of any other man of his time, he had yet remained, as we have seen, silent. The awe and responsibility of speaking to the people in God’s stead weighed heavily on his mind as on Luther’s, and the arguments of his friends failed to move him. Struck with the “manner of his doctrine,” they “began earnestly to travell with him that he would take the preaching place upon him.” John Rough, who was preacher in the castle, and who seems honestly to have felt his own weakness in comparison with the gifts of the reformer, and Henry Balnaves, a Lord of Session, and one of the most influential of the early reformers, joined in urging this request. But he tells us, “he utterlie refuset, alledging that he would not rin where God had not callit him.” This refusal, however, only sharpened the desire of his friends to see him in his natural vocation, and they devised, in company with Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, equally eager with themselves, a plan by which they hoped to surprise him into compliance with their designs. The story is one of the most singular and characteristic in all the reformer’s life, and can only be told in his own language: “Upon a certain day a sermon was had of the election of ministers, what power the congregation, how

small so ever it was, passing the number of two or three, had above any man in whom they supposed and espied the gifts of God to be, and how dangerous it was to refuse, and not to hear the voice of such as desire to be instructed. These and other heads declared, the said John Rough, preacher, directed his words to the said John Knox, saying, ‘ Brother, ye sall not be offendit, albeit that I speak unto you that which I have in charge even from all those that are here present, which is this : In the name of God and of His Son Jesus Christ, and in the name of those that presentlie calls you by my mouthe, I carge you that you refuse not this holie vocation, but as ye tender the glorie of God, the increase of Christ’s kingdom, the edification of your brethren, and the comfort of one whom ye understand well aneuch to be oppressed by the multitude of labours, that ye take upon you the publick office and charge of preaching, even as ye look to avoid God’s heavy displeasure, and desire that he shall multiply his graces with you.’ And in the end he said to those who were present, ‘ Was not this your charge to me, and do you not approve the vocation ? ’ They answeret, ‘ It was, and we approve it.’ Whereat the said John, abashed, burst forth in maist abundant tears, and withdrew himself to his chalmer ; his countenance and behavior from that day till the day that he was compellet to present himself to the public place of preaching, did sufficiently declare the grief and trubile of his heart ; for no man saw ony sign of mirth of him, neither yet had he pleasure to accompany ony man monye days together.”

A special necessity soon occurred to him to enter upon his vocation. Dean John Arran, “ a rotten papist, had long trublit John Rough in his preaching,” and Knox was roused to vindicate the doctrine of his friend “ in oppin audience in the parish church of St. Andrews.” The people heard

him gladly, and called upon him with one consent to give them by his preaching "probation of what he had affirmed; for if it was true, they had been miserably deceived." And so the next Sunday Knox preached in the parish church, and expounded at length his views of the Papacy. He at once urged the most decided opinions, and supported his assertions under the different heads of life, doctrine, laws, and subjects. The sermon made a great noise, as may be imagined; and on the remonstrance of Hamilton, the bishop-elect (not yet "execrated"—"consecrated," they call it, bitterly remarks Knox), with Winram, the sub-prior and vicar-general during the vacancy of the see, Knox and Rough were summoned to give an account of their doctrine in a convention of gray-friars and black-friars appointed in St. Leonard's Yards. Certain articles were read to them, and are admitted by Knox to contain a fair representation of his views. They are preserved in his history, and enable us to understand very clearly, in connection with the dispute which followed, the position which he now occupied. The Pope is asserted to be Antichrist, the mass abominable idolatry, purgatory a falsehood, and bishops, except as ordinary preachers, to have no function. When we contrast such views with those of Luther or Latimer at the outset, we perceive at once what comparatively clear and determinate ground, as opposed to the old Catholic system, was taken up by our reformer. There are no points of mere advance and improvement upon that system,—no regretful dealing, no sympathetic connection with it,—but a complete and decisive reäction against it. It is not merely corrupt, but absolutely abandoned to evil—the church not of God, but of the devil. "Ye will leave us no kirk," said the gray-friar (Arbugkill) who rashly entered the lists with the reformer on the occasion, and, driven to

shifts by his arguments, had nothing to reply but that "the apostles had not received the Holy Ghost when they did write their epistles,"—"Ye will leave us no kirk," urged the friar. "Indeed," said Knox, "in David I read that there is a church of the malignants; for he says, 'Odi Ecclesiam Malignantium.'" It was clear that there was no room for compromise here. Knox could recognize no authority, no sanctity, no respectability in the Papacy of his country. The very order of bishops, as identified with it, had already become undivine to his mind. He is a Presbyterian all at once, by the mere force of antipathy to Catholicism as it presented itself to his view. The absence of positive doctrinal sentiments in these articles is observable; but too much is not to be made of this. The points of definite negation to the papal system were necessarily those which came into most prominence; and in the sermon which was the occasion of them, he tells us that he spoke also of the "doctrines of justification expressed in Scripture, which teach that man is justified by faith alone—that the blood of Jesus Christ purges us from all our sins."¹

Knox's activity at this period was but shortlived. A French squadron appeared before the castle of St. Andrews in the end of June of the same year; and the brave garrison who had held out so long, being now pressed both by sea and land, were forced to capitulate. The honorable terms on which they had surrendered were speedily violated; and Knox, who had shared the fate of his comrades, was transported along with them to France, and then confined as a prisoner on board the French galleys.

This may be said to close the first great period in Knox's life—the period of his preparation for, and commencement of, his reforming work. The second period, which em-

¹ Page 69.

braces his more or less complete exile from Scotland for a space of twelve years, or on to 1559, possesses, in many ways, great interest and significance; but we can only in the most general way indicate its main incidents.

His imprisonment in the French galleys for two years, and the sufferings he there endured, served to deepen, and render still more dear to him, his religious convictions, and perhaps also to give some tinge of sadness and asperity to his character. Then his residence in England for five years, from 1549 to 1554, was a time fruitful to him in work and experience. He was brought, as one of Edward VI.'s chaplains, into immediate contact with the great agents of the Anglican Reformation—with Cranmer—probably (nay certainly, we may say) with Latimer, who during this period was a regular inmate of Cranmer's house at Lambeth. If they did meet, the two bold preachers, they must have talked, and talked with a heartiness, and a vehemence that doubtless did the archbishop, among his court movements, some good to hear. It is understood that Knox had considerable influence in producing the liberal changes in the service and prayer-book of the Church of England which characterized the last years of Edward's reign. Unquestionably, any influence he did exert must have been in this direction, and indeed in a still more radical direction; for he leaves us in no doubt as to his views of the partial and imperfect character of the English Reformation. Both he himself and Beza lead us to suppose that he was offered a bishopric; but his conscientious scruples as to the divine authority of the Episcopal order, and his general dissatisfaction with the state of ecclesiastical affairs in England, led him to reject this as well as any other promotion in the sister church. His activity in England was mainly confined to the north, where he was appointed to preach, first

at Berwick, and then at Newcastle; and long afterwards he congratulated himself on the review of his labors there, and the success which attended his efforts to maintain order among the lawless garrisons of the Border.¹

At Berwick our reformer fell in love, and entered into an engagement which, some years after, notwithstanding the strong opposition of certain relatives of the lady, terminated in marriage. The lady was a Miss Marjory Bowes, daughter of Richard Bowes, the youngest son of Sir Ralph Bowes of Streatlam. Her mother was the daughter and one of the co-heirs of Sir Richard Aske of Aske, and Knox's connection with the family seems to have arisen through this lady. It is to Mrs. Bowes that his letters, which have been recently published in full in the edition of Mr. Laing,² are chiefly written. She is addressed as his mother, and in the most confidential and intimate terms. The letters as a whole are remarkable. They prove the deep sincerity of Knox's piety, his intense absorption in the realities of the spiritual life while yet mingling with so busy and apparently combative an activity in the affairs of the world around him. They are, in truth, rather the communings of one earnest and strongly-moved soul with another, than letters in any ordinary sense. We certainly miss in them some mixture of mere human interest with the uniform and intense cast of the religious phraseology in which they abound. The world is out of sight altogether, save as the stern battle-ground of certain shadowy forms of good and evil; or at least the forms have become shadowy to us, although no doubt they were more real and living than anything else to Knox. In vain we try to catch any sun-

¹ *Historie*, p. 289. In an interview which he held with the queen in 1561. He says, on the same occasion, "In Berwick I abode two years, so long in Newcastle, and a yeir in London."

² Vol. iii.

light of happy feeling—any lively trace of the affection associated with them, if not originating them—any glimpse of her to whom his heart was bound. The mother appears in a sufficiently distinct aspect, a timid, self-conscious, and despairing soul, ever seeking strength and counsel from the more assured spirit of the reformer. The unyielding insolence of the uncle also comes into light;¹ but the daughter does not move even in shadow across the scene; and we nowhere learn anything of her. There are no surviving traits in his letters, or elsewhere, that enable us to start any picture of her. Calvin, indeed, talks of her as “suavisissima” in a letter to Cristopher Goodman, after her death; and the manner in which he deploras to Knox himself her loss, indicates his very high opinion of her worth and amiability; but still we do not get any living likeness of her anywhere. Their marriage is supposed to have taken place in 1533, just before he was driven abroad by the Marian persecution.²

On the accession of Queen Mary, Knox was of course driven from England, and we find him at various places on the Continent,—now at Dieppe addressing letters to the faithful in England, and now at Frankfort in connection with the memorable “troubles” there, and finally at Ge-

¹ Sir Robert Bowes, vol. iii. p. 378, Laing's edition.

² It is a singular enough fact that both Knox's sons, by this his first marriage, went to England, were educated at Cambridge, and entered the English Church. They both died comparatively young, without issue. Knox married as his second wife Margaret Stewart, daughter of Lord Ochiltree, so that both his wives were of superior rank; and indeed the superiority of rank in the latter case gave rise to the most ridiculous rumors. (See Nicol Burne's “Disputation,” quoted in Chambers's *Domestic Annals of Scotland*.) This second marriage took place in 1564, when the reformer was in his fifty-eighth year, and Mrs. Welch (whose heroic answer to King James is well known) and two other daughters were the fruit of this marriage.

neva, where, after a temporary visit to Scotland in 1555, he settled as pastor of a small English congregation. The years he now spent at Geneva were probably among the happiest of his life. Calvin had just then attained to the summit of his power, after the expulsion of the Libertines. He and Beza exercised virtual rule in all things civil and ecclesiastical; and the city, under their control, had assumed an order and apparent purity of manner that rejoiced the heart of Knox. He wrote to a friend that it was "the most perfect school of Christ that ever was on earth since the days of the apostles. In other places I confess Christ to be truly preached; but manners and religion, to be so sincerely reformed, I have not yet seen in any other place beside."

In Calvin and Beza, and his colleague Christopher Goodman, Knox found a thoroughly congenial society, and they found in him an earnest and devoted fellow-laborer. It would be interesting to contemplate their relation more narrowly, and to speculate on the influence they may have exerted on one another. Especially it would be important, as well as interesting, to trace the connection between the two great reformers — to what extent the Scottish reformer may have been influenced by the Genevan, and a Calvinistic impress stamped upon him in the home of Calvinism. It cannot be said that we have any adequate means of reaching clear and definite conclusions on this subject. We have already seen that Knox's Presbyterianism was, in some degree at least, of native growth. He did not need to go to Geneva to learn to doubt the divine authority of Episcopacy. A certain hostility to the episcopal office mingled itself with his very first views of reform, and, so far from being moderated, seems rather to have been increased by his English experience. Probably, however, he

had formed no definite and well-conceived plan of church polity, as opposed to Episcopacy, before his residence in Geneva; and there is every reason to believe that the system he beheld in operation there with so much admiration, served to give consistency and plan to his own previously vague conceptions. As to the doctrinal influence of Calvinism upon him, we can appreciate this, perhaps, still less accurately. It met in him a kindred soil — the same bent of religious thought, and especially that deep feeling of sin, out of which its most distinctive doctrines grow; and here too, therefore, we may suppose a certain clearness and coherence to have been given to his views. Yet Knox's mind was not characteristically doctrinal. Theological controversy could never absorb him as it did Calvin. Subtle as he may have once been as a scholastic teacher, dialectic was a play in which he had little delight, and his writings discover few traces of it. A healthy reality and honest sense, and living practical interest, are everywhere conspicuous, and banish out of view the mere controversialist and logician.

It is to be remembered, too, in estimating the relation between Knox and Calvin, that Knox was really the older man of the two (a fact somehow apt to be forgotten), and that he had at this time reached an age — upwards of fifty — when men are not easily moulded by influences that may be even akin to them. We must certainly hold, therefore, that there is no sense in which Geneva can be said to have made Knox, although it found him of kindred material, and fashioned him more completely into its own likeness. Especially, we are inclined to think, it strengthened in him a certain sternness of moral spirit, and its own strong theocratic confidence, so that he went forth from it more fully equipped for the great work before him in Scotland. Calvin

and Knox suggest not so much the relation of disciple and master as of brother disciples in the same school, with the same severe type of character, and many of the same religious tendencies—but the one more intellectual, the other more practical; the one more vehement and powerful in argument,¹ the other more passionate and masterly in action; the one the greater mind, the other the larger heart.

Knox returned to Scotland in the beginning of May, 1559. During his absence, the Reformation had been making silent but sure progress. The war with England required the queen-regent to temporize with its leaders, and to allow a certain liberty of opinion and worship. A letter which Knox had addressed to the Protestant Lords in 1557, from Dieppe (whither he had proceeded so far with the intention of returning to his native country), had exercised a happy influence in uniting them more firmly, and inspiring them with a more courageous resolution in defence of the truth. At a meeting which they held in Edinburgh, in December 1557, they mutually bound themselves to uphold the common cause,² and at the same time renewed the invitation which they had formerly given to the reformer to return to his native country. It was in compliance with this invitation, which did not reach Geneva till the following year, that Knox now reappeared finally in Scotland. Nothing could be more opportune than his arrival. The course of events seemed prepared as if to give to it the

¹ Although Knox certainly also could be vehement enough in argument, — as in the *First Blast against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*, where mere vehemence often obscures all sense and reason in the argument, — still his vehemence is even there not concentrated and intellectual, like Calvin's; it is the vehemence of feeling, more than of logic.

² The beginning of those covenants which make, for more than a century, such a marked feature in the history of Scottish Protestantism.

greatest importance. A crisis was at hand — a leader was needed. It was the very turning-point in the balance of parties which had been swaying to and fro during the last four years, and Knox's strong hand was the only one which could have carried aloft the cause of reform, and given to it the triumph which, amid all temporary reverses, it has ever since maintained.

The queen-regent, relieved from the political pressure which had induced her to temporize, had at length thrown off all disguise. United cordially with the Hamiltons, she appeared in her true colors as a determined opponent of the Reformation, and at this very moment had, with the well-dissembled craft of her race, laid her plans for its forcible overthrow. Certain preachers who, during the previous year, had become objects of marked hostility to the clergy, were summoned to take their trial at Stirling for usurping the ministerial office, and seducing the people by erroneous doctrines. A convention of the nobility and clergy was held in Edinburgh, where the very moderate demands of the Protestants were not only refused, but all the main abuses of the Popish system were confirmed, and an inquisition appointed to be made of all who absented themselves from mass, or were in any way privy to the new worship. It was obvious that a struggle could no longer be delayed. Parties were taking their sides, and resolutely awaiting its outbreak. Knox congratulated himself that he had come at the very hour of need. "I see the battle shall be great," he wrote to his wife, who remained behind at Geneva, "but I am come, I thank my God, even in the brunt of the battle."

He resolved to appear at Stirling on the 10th of May, along with the reforming preachers. He hastened to Dundee, where the chiefs of the party were assembled in great

numbers, Erskine of Dun at their head, a wise and moderate, as well as intrepid counsellor in this great exigency. From Dundee the reformers proceeded to Perth, and instead of advancing directly to Stirling, paused here, apparently at the suggestion of Erskine, who went forward by himself to intimate to the queen-regent the peaceable intentions of the party, formidable as they might seem in numbers and combination. Alarmed at the prospect of such an invasion, she had recourse to her usual tactics of dissimulation, persuaded Erskine to write to his friends in Perth to check their advance, and promised to put a stop to the trial. On the day of trial, however, the accused ministers were summoned, and outlawed for not appearing, and all who should harbor them denounced as rebels. The national excitement, which had continued to gather force, was greatly strengthened by this flagrant act of perfidy; and an event which now occurred in Perth served to kindle it into a flame.

On the very day on which the news of the regent's conduct came, Knox preached a sermon on the idolatry of the mass, and of image-worship. At the close of the sermon, and while the people still lingered under the warm emotion of the preacher's words, an encounter took place between a boy and a priest, who, with a singular deadness to the signs around him, had uncovered a rich altar-piece, and was making preparations to celebrate mass. The boy threw a stone, which overturned and destroyed one of the images. The act operated like a spark laid to a train. The suppressed indignation of the multitude burst forth beyond all control,—the consecrated imagery was broken in pieces, the holy recesses invaded, the pictures and ornaments torn from the walls and trampled in the dust; and, rising with the agitation, the spirit of disorder spread, and the "rascal

multitude," as Knox afterwards called them, having completed their work of destruction in the church, proceeded to the houses of the Gray and Black Friars, and the Charter-house, or Carthusian Monastery, and violently ransacked them and laid them in ruins.

This iconoclasm is a notable feature in the Scottish Reformation. Something of the same sort, indeed, is to be found in Germany, and even in England; but in Scotland this destructive aspect of the Reformation was more general, prominent, and lawless than elsewhere; and nothing connected with it has given rise to more invidious and severe animadversion. To our educated feelings and artistic sympathies, it can only appear as a very ugly and sad blot in a great cause. We mourn, and cannot but mourn, a mere violence of demolition, in which God was not served, while the fair work of man was dishonored and destroyed. There is no friend of the Reformation called upon to defend such excesses, even on Knox's plea, that the "best way to keep the rooks from returning, was to pull down their nests;" for, on the one hand, we know that the rooks will return even if you pull down their nests; and on the other hand, it is a poor revenge against a living evil to attack its mere dead shelter. The spirit of the highest reform is everywhere the reverse of this. It attacks the corrupt life, and seeks to breathe health into it. It busies itself with essentials, and lets alone accidents. The forms will by-and-by adapt themselves to the altered and higher spirit. It was not merely a misfortune, therefore; it was a mistake, this iconoclasm of the Reformation. There is nothing to say for it on general grounds, or on any grounds of reason.

But the explanation of it, and so far the defence of it, as a mere historical adjunct of the Reformation, is its very

irrationality. Who were to blame for such a state of irrational and violent feeling among the people? Surely not Knox. Even if it be allowed that he did not discountenance, but rather approved of the iconoclastic excitement, this merely shows that he did not so far rise above the rude social spirit of his country. He can in no way be held responsible for the existence and outbreak of this spirit. In point of fact, the blame of this, if it lie anywhere save with the general barbarism of the people, must lie with the very system against which it was directed. It was this system which, after centuries of unlimited rule, had left the people so untrained in social instinct — so coarse and undisciplined in moral feeling. This was all that its elaborate training and service, its conventual education and beneficence, had come to. It had inspired the people so little with any spirit of order, or respect even to the usages of worship, that when for the first time they heard of a living God and Saviour, and a divine righteousness and truth in the world, they could do nothing but rise up against the churches and demolish them. If this be not one of the worst condemnations of the old Catholicism of Scotland, condemnation certainly ceases to have any meaning. It is hard, certainly, to blame the Reformation for an odious inheritance of social disorder transmitted to it by the corrupt system which it displaced. A system which not only left a people unblessed with truth, but failed even to animate them with any instincts of self-control, is twice condemned, and was well hurled from its place of pride and power with an indignation not more than it merited, and a lawlessness which had grown up under its own shadow.

The same scenes which had occurred at Perth, followed at Stirling, Lindores, Cupar, St. Andrews, and elsewhere. Knox almost immediately repaired to St. Andrews, rejoicing

to verify his own prediction, uttered twelve years before, when carried off from the castle by the French fleet, that "he would yet again glorify the name of God in that place." Here, in the very centre of the old ecclesiastical influence, and under the very eyes of Hamilton, the Reformation proceeded with an equal vehemence and completeness. The magistracy took the lead in it. The cathedral was devastated, the monasteries pulled down, and the reformed discipline began to be established.

In the meantime, and as the consequence of these movements, a civil war raged throughout the kingdom; the regent on the one hand, assisted by French troops, and the Lords of the Congregation (as the heads of the Protestant party were called) on the other, imploring the succor of Elizabeth. The details of this conflict are beyond our scope. Knox not only joined in it, but was the great animating spirit of the reformed army — counselling its leaders, writing letters to Cecil, maintaining his dignity in the midst of entreaty, and, upon the whole, his fairness and uprightness in the midst of intrigue. Some unfortunate expressions, indeed, escaped him, in a letter to Sir James Croft, about the mode of sending English troops into Scotland, without incurring a breach of treaty with France; but the necessities of his position must excuse, if not altogether justify, any "political casuistry" to which he was driven. At length, after not a few reverses, sustained by the Protestant party, the vigorous assistance rendered by Elizabeth, and the death of the queen-regent at the very time that the English troops had invested Edinburgh, led to a truce, and the summons of a Free Parliament to settle differences. All the triumph remained in the hands of the reformers. So soon as the withdrawal of the French troops, according to the conditions of the treaty, took place, the

ecclesiastical interests which they had upheld fell prostrate. A tyranny, unnational in spirit and disreputable in character, collapsed before the free breath of the country, like an old and mouldy garment upon which the air has been let in. Scarcely anywhere else is there an instance of a national revolution at once so summary and complete; and instead of wondering that blood was shed while a corrupt system sought to maintain itself by foreign interference, the wonder really is, that so soon as this interference was withdrawn, so great a change should have taken place, upon the whole, so peacefully and well.

The Reformation, which had now triumphed in Scotland, immediately sought to establish itself by a series of important acts. At the command of Parliament, which met in August (1560), "certain barons and ministers" drew up, in the course of four days, a Confession of Faith, which having been submitted to Parliament, and "read every article by itself over again,"¹ was, with the exception of one or two dissentient voices, universally accepted as a dogmatic basis of the Reformed Church. Three measures of a negative character were also forthwith passed; one for the abolition of the power and jurisdiction of the Pope; a second, for the repeal of all former statutes in favor of the Roman Catholic Church; and a third, for the infliction of severe penalties, even to the extent of death, upon all who should either say mass, or be present at its celebration. The intolerance of this last enactment may fill us with pain, but can scarcely surprise us. In the Scottish Reformation, still more than in the Lutheran or Genevan,

¹ Knox, p. 253. Knox's statement is, "of the temporal estate, only voted in the contrair the Earl of Atholl, the Lords Somerville and Borthwick; and yet for their dissenting they produced no better reason, but *we will beleve as our fathers belevit*. The bishopsis (papisticall we mean) spake nothing."

the struggle was not between mere freedom on the one hand, and ecclesiastical oppression on the other, but between two positive systems of religious opinion, equally dogmatic in their presumed possession of the truth. We have seen how, from the beginning, Knox had identified the mass with idolatry, and in now interdicting its celebration under such stringent penalties, he and others conceived themselves to be merely carrying out the denunciation of the divine word against idolatry. Any suspicions that these denunciations—whatever their original validity—could be no fair weapons in their fallible hands, and in wholly dissimilar circumstances, never crossed them. The Bible was to Knox, as it was to Calvin, and perhaps even more strongly, a modern statute-book, of which he and his brethren were the authorized interpreters. They had no perception of the hopeless confusion and difficulty involved in such a notion. They had no idea of any religious dissent from their opinions; they knew (and this is their only justification) that the reëstablishment of the mass would prove ruinous both to the political and religious welfare of their country; and so they denounced against it confiscation, banishment, and finally death.

These measures, conclusive as they were so far, by no means satisfied the ministers and more zealous reformers. It was not enough merely to destroy the old ecclesiastical fabric, and lay the dogmatic foundation of a new one; but they desired, moreover, to define and confirm the plan of the new Reformed Kirk. They urged upon Parliament, accordingly, the necessity of establishing a new rule of worship and discipline, and with this view prepared the well-known "Book of Policy," or "First Book of Discipline." The greedy barons of Scotland, however, were by no means disposed to relax their hold of the church reve-

nues to the extent which would have been necessary in carrying out some of the most wise and enlightened provisions of this scheme of church polity;¹ and notwithstanding the urgency of the clergy, it never received the sanction of Parliament. The great designs of the reformer in the arrangement of church offices, in the maintenance of discipline, and, above all, in the reform and reëndowment of the universities and the institution of parish schools, were termed, in the "mockage" of such members of Parliament as young Maitland of Lethington,² "Devout imaginations." And so Knox was made to feel thus early the difficulties which from such men were soon to spring up around the progress of Protestantism in Scotland, and plunge him anew into contention. Disappointed in his hopes so far, however, he had the satisfaction of seeing the Book of Discipline approved of by the General Assembly,³ and ratified by a considerable proportion of the members of the Privy Council.

We cannot pause to criticize at length the special features of the Scottish Reformation as exhibited in the Confession of Faith and Book of Discipline, whose origin has been now described. Doctrinally and ecclesiastically, it bears an analogy to the Genevan Reformation, although by no means a close and servile analogy. It presents, upon

¹ "Some were licentious," says Knox, "some had greedily grippit the possessions of the Kirk, and others thocht they would not lack their parts of Christ's cote."

² When Knox first proposed his schemes of Church reform, Maitland is reported to have said, "Heh, then, we must forget ourselves now; we mun a' bear the barrow, and build the house of God."

³ The five ministers engaged in the composition of the Book of Discipline are said by Knox (p. 256) to have been John Winram, John Spottiswoode, John Douglas, John Row, and himself. It is supposed to have been first approved by the General Assembly which met 5th January 1561.

the whole, a milder type of doctrine, of which every student may satisfy himself by the study of the different articles of the "Confession," as contained in Knox's history. The eighth article on Election is itself decisive upon this point. Not only is the rigor of the Calvinistic tenet modified, but it can scarcely be said to come into prominence. The language has a biblical softness and simplicity, not in the least recalling the stern, logical phraseology of Geneva. The sacramental doctrine, however, and the views as to the duties of the "civil magistrate," are closely allied to those of Calvin;—there is the same strong assertion of the reality of a spiritual presence of Christ in the Eucharist, and the same confusion as to the relation of the political power to the purgation and chastisement of religious error.

In the system of church government presented in the Book of Discipline, there is at least equal evidence of a free and independent spirit. Instead of the mere pastors, doctors, and elders of the Genevan polity, there are superintendents and pastors and readers, and then elders and deacons. The superintendents were certainly not bishops in the old and Catholic sense of the word. Knox, we have already seen, was hostile to the pretensions of the episcopal order from the beginning, and neither now nor at any time did he regard with the slightest feelings of complacency its institution in the Protestant Church of Scotland. Still, apart from such priestly usurpations as had become strongly identified with the episcopal office in his mind, he evidently recognized, in the appointment of superintendents, the right of a semi-episcopal function of supervision and arrangement throughout the church. If no believer in the divine right of episcopacy, he was no more a believer in the divine right of Presbyterian parity; but he, and

those who acted with him, "thought it a thing most expedient at this time, that from the whole number of godly and learned men, now presently in this realme, should be selected ten or twelve (for in so many provinces we have divided the whole), to whom charge and commandment should be given to plant and erect kirks, to set order, and appoint ministers as the former order prescribes, to the countries that shall be appointed to their care where none are now."¹ Against the recognition of this semi-episcopal function in the early Reformed Kirk of Scotland, it is not of the least importance to urge, as Dr. M'Crie has done, that it was a mere temporary expedient; for, in point of fact, the ground of Christian expediency is distinctly laid down in the twentieth article of the Confession of Faith, as the main guide of church order and policy. "In the church, as in the house of God," it bears, "it becometh all things to be done decently and in order — not that we think that one policy and one order in ceremonies can be appointed for all ages, times, and places, for as ceremonies such as men have devised are but temporal, so may and ought they to be changed when they rather foster superstition than edify the church using the same."²

In the more special arrangements of public worship there is the same flexible and adaptive freedom within certain limits. Certain things are stated to be utterly necessary, "as that the word be truly preached, the sacraments rightly administered, *common prayers* publickly made, that children and rude persons be instructed in the chief points of religion, and that offences be corrected and punished." Without these things, "there is no face of a visible kirk." But as to further details of service, the singing

¹ *First Book of Discipline*, chap. vi.

² KNOX, p. 249.

of psalms, the reading of certain places of Scripture when there was no sermon "this day or that, or how many days in the week the kirk should assemble," there is no certain order laid down, except that "in every notable town it is required that one day beside Sunday be appointed to the sermon, which, during the time of sermon and prayer, must be kept free from all exercise of labour." Baptism was allowed to be ministered "wheresover the word was preached." The administration of the Lord's Supper was to take place four times in the year; the Scriptures were to be read in order; and both in public and private worship the "common prayers" were to be used.

It becomes a question what was meant by the expression "the common prayers," so frequently used in the Book of Discipline. Does it refer to the service-book of Edward VI., the Book of Common Prayer? This appears to be the prevalent view of its meaning, interpreted in the light of the language used in the resolution of the heads of the congregation in 1557, that "the common prayer be read weekly on Sunday, and on other festival days, in the churches, with the lessons of the Old and New Testament, conform to the order of the Book of Common Prayer." According to this view, the English service-book is supposed to have been used by the Scottish Protestants during a period of seven years, viz., from 1557 to 1564, when it was superseded by the "Order of Geneva,"¹ or what is called John Knox's Liturgy, which he had prepared for the use of

¹ This view is maintained by Dr. Cumming, in his preface to the edition of John Knox's Liturgy, and by the writer of an interesting article in the *Edinburgh Review* on the same subject (April 1852); but I have been unable to ascertain on what clear evidence it rests. As to the same point, Tytler has the following singularly unsatisfactory note:—"This important fact, which is now set at rest, has been much disputed, and some able writers have come to a contrary conclusion."—Vol. vi. p. 119.

the church at Frankfort, and subsequently employed in his congregation in Geneva. In any case, there can be no doubt that the early Presbyterian service of Scotland, as in the case of every other reformed church, was in the main liturgical, that certain "common prayers," carefully prepared and stamped with the sanction of the reformers, were generally used throughout the church. The idea of extemporaneous prayer as an appropriate vehicle of public devotion, was one quite unknown to the Reformation. In the reformed discipline which sprang from Geneva, a certain latitude was permitted to the minister; but in no church of the Reformation was public religious service entirely liberated from certain authorized forms of devotional expression. Freedom carried to this extent was a growth of later Puritanism, already beginning to corrupt in its individualistic excesses; and in Scotland the general tendency was hardened into a fierce and defiant negativism by the insane prelatial despotism of Laud and his associates.

But we must now hasten onwards in our sketch. We cannot attempt to draw into any full light the remaining events of Knox's life; but there are still two points of view in which we must carefully consider him, before we can venture, in conclusion, to give any picture of the man and his work — viz., his relations to Mary, and the closing years of his life during the regencies of Lennox and Mar.

From nothing, perhaps, has the character of the reformer suffered more than from the somewhat singular relations which he held to Mary during her brief and unhappy reign — relations which modern partisanship and modern gossip have more than ever confused. A beautiful and accomplished woman, and that woman a queen, confronted in her hereditary palace by a gloomy and frowning preacher, is an interesting and exciting picture for the imagination; but it

is in reality nothing more. The mind that cannot see deeper below the surface than the mere grace and beauty and ideal majesty of Mary on the one hand, and the rigor and supposed rudeness of Knox on the other, proves itself so little capable of historical penetration, that it must be allowed simply to please itself with its own delusions. The slightest glimpse below the surface reveals to us, in Mary and in Knox respectively, the impersonation of two great principles then fighting for mastery not only in Scotland, but throughout Europe. Mary was not merely herself a Romanist by education, by sympathy, by that intense and unreasoning instinct with which a certain kind of nature always clings to traditionary beliefs and associations — she might have been all this, and been, if not a happy and beneficent, yet a tolerated governor of Scotland; and Knox's molestation of her for her own opinions, and private observances of her own religion, might have excited at once our indignation and our sympathy. But Mary was far more than this, and no man knew it better than John Knox. She was the niece of the Guises, and the daughter-in-law of Catherine de Medicis; and she was not merely sympathetic with their aims, but it is impossible to doubt she was privy to their most deeply-laid schemes. She knew the great and crafty game they were then playing, and she was prepared, with profound skill and persevering energy, to aid it.

It requires us, in order rightly to appreciate the position of either, thus to look below their more immediate circumstances, and bring into view the character of that Catholic reaction which had now set in so strongly against the Reformation. There is nothing more certain, and few things more terrible in history, than this movement, in the deliberate villany with which it was planned, and the secret,

powerful, and elaborate perfidy and cold-blooded massacre with which it was so far prosecuted. Its centre was in Paris, although its inspiration was from Rome; and Italian craft and subtlety in the Guises were its leaders. Scotland possessed a peculiar and unexampled interest to it, not only or chiefly from its old relations to France, but especially as a basis and means of operation against England. The stock of Henry VIII. seemed likely to die out; Elizabeth alone, in her solitary majesty, stood between Mary and the throne of England; and with Mary as sovereign head of England and Scotland, the triumph of Rome was again secure over all the West. Mary's position, then, was in reality the key to the whole movement, — the full combination, treachery, and strength of which Knox saw and Calvin saw, as but few men of their time did.¹ It is no great wonder, then, that the reformer was suspicious from the first, and that he tried to animate the milder Moray with a persuasion of the danger which he himself understood and felt. He knew that the only security of Scotland was in its complete exemption from papal influence, and that the mass, once reëstablished by the court, would certainly prove an opening for the reëscendency of this influence. This was the secret of his strong protestations to Moray, and of his saying, in the clear knowledge of all that it meant, and towards which it pointed, that "one mass was more fearful to him than ten thousand armed enemies."

It must be observed that it is not here a question of toleration between man and man, or party and party, but a question of urgent national expediency. Scotland could

¹ Knox "had then great intelligence both with the Kirk and some of the court of France." — *Historie*, p. 260.

then be only peaceably governed as a Protestant country, and Mary of Guise had virtually admitted this as with her last breath. She deplored the fatal advice of her brothers which she had followed, and counselled the removal of the French troops from the kingdom. A free and lawful Parliament had since then established the new religion, and interdicted the old; and whatever may be the intolerance of this interdiction in our modern point of view,—and neither this nor any intolerance is to be defended, however it may be explained,—yet practically, so far as the head of the government was concerned, it was impossible to set it aside, or even infringe or show disrespect to it, without utter confusion and disorder, as the events proved, and everything showed at the time to those who had any eyes to see. Apart from all ideas of modern constitutionalism, which are of course inapplicable to the question, it was yet possible to be a sovereign even in Mary's time, only at the expense of some personal liberty, and as representing a predominant national feeling. War was the only alternative of the disturbance of the practical representative relations of sovereign and people. But Mary had no perception of this; and, notwithstanding her pretences, showed no honest desire to govern the country in the spirit of its own will declared through Parliament, and set before her in the counsel of her brother. How could she, when her movements were secretly dictated from Paris, and her whole aim was to advance Catholicism through the subversion of the existing ecclesiastical order of the country? Had she been less crafty, and more wise,—had she recognized her position, and accepted it with its restraints, and sought to rule according to them,—Knox's interferences might have continued to annoy, but could not have imperilled her. No Stuart, however, was capable of this; and that Mary

acted as she did, and embroiled the country in worse confusion than before her mother's death, simply proved that there was no possible, not to say no rightful, place for her at the time in Scotland. A "divine power to govern ill" had become, even then, intolerable to the Scottish people; and surely we are not to blame, but to commend Knox and others, that they saw thus early through so false and miserable a fiction as the divine right of kings. "Think you," said Mary, in their first interview, "that subjects, having the power, may resist their princes?"—"If princes exceed their bounds, madam, no doubt they may be resisted even by power." In these words appears the essential contrast between the two, and the principles which they represented. "Power is mine," said Mary. "God has given it to me, and I can use it as I will. It is divine simply according to my best judgment and opinion of its mode of exercise."—"Not in the least," said Knox; "first right, and then might; national interest, and then royal pleasure: and there is no other way of governing the world."

In all we have six interviews, recorded by Knox himself, as occurring between the queen and him. And in all his own accounts of these interviews, or of Randolph the English ambassador's allusions, there is no evidence of incivility or rudeness on the part of the reformer. There is, indeed, a harsh tone in his reflections upon her afterwards, and in the way in which he speaks of her "owling," but—in so far as his own speech and action in her presence are concerned—there appears rather a dignified courtesy in the manners of the reformer, and a sincere and respectful regard to her lawful authority.¹ The violence of debate

¹ It is clear, however, that Randolph interpreted her weeping in the same way as Knox: "Knox hath spoken to the queen, and he made her weep, as well you know there be of that sex that will do that for anger or for grief."

and passion of speech are more on her side than on his, as she tried in vain to move his calm resoluteness. "But what have you to do with my marriage?" she angrily urged, on their fifth interview, after he had preached a sermon reflecting on her proposed marriage, "or what are *you* in this commonwealth?"—"A subject born within the same, madam," calmly replied the reformer; "and albeit I be neither earl, lord, nor baron in it, yet has God made me (how abject that ever I be in your eyes) a profitable member within the same." If this be not courtesy combined with dignity under all the circumstances, we are at a loss to understand what the qualities mean.

In order to understand the full dignity of the reformer's conduct at this time, we must remember that he stood almost alone in the position which he now, in 1563, sought to vindicate. Moray and all the Protestant nobles were combined in the meantime with the queen; and it is a mere imaginative dream which supposes her bearded in her palace, in the midst of all her beautiful weakness, by the savage head of a powerful party in the country. The very reverse at this moment is the fact. Mary was now, and for some time still, the object of an affectionate enthusiasm to the nobles and others that surrounded her,¹ while Knox stood alone in his discontent and indignation. Afterwards, indeed, when Mary had fallen from her pride of power,—when she became a prisoner, and then a fugitive, and her fair name lay sullied in the dust, and her beauty was no more a charm to steal men's hearts away,—then, in the dark and miserable time of her misfortunes,

¹ At the opening of Parliament in this very year, the enthusiasm found vent in a somewhat profane manner. "There might have been heard," Knox says, "vox Dianae, the voice of a goddess, and not of a woman: God save that sweet face."—p. 330.

Knox was un pityingly severe and harsh in his judgments. The Genevan spirit of rigor then showed itself in a manner which altogether repels sympathy. He and all of his class were incapable of that elevation of view which could separate between the woman and the queen, and feel compassion for the former when the latter was no longer dangerous. It must also be frankly admitted that there was much in the mere gay festivities of Mary's life, the charms of her queenly womanhood, and the social elegance of her court, that were unintelligible to Knox, and misinterpreted by him.¹ He could see nothing in the gay gear, the garnishing, targetting, and pearls of the court ladies, as he stood in Mary's ante-chamber, but the fleshly vanity destined to be consumed by "that knave death, that will come whether we will or not." It was the same narrow spirit that kept him from pitying her fallen beauty and forlorn helplessness when her day of adversity came. But to condemn him for this harsh sternness, and to forget all the genuine feeling and heartiness and patriotism of the man, is to be guilty at once of a crying injustice, and a weak, unhistorical judgment. Knox was not, indeed, a man in gay clothing, to be found in kings' palaces, nor fitted for them; but he was a true man; he saw the reality of life, although not all that reality. Mary saw something in it that he did not see; but she missed the living fact, which was clear and open to the honest vision. With her higher tastes, she was false, — false to herself and her position; with his narrower sympathies, he was faithful to his country, to his God, to his own dignity and self-respect.

The closing years of the reformer's life are full of pathos. After the brief regency of Moray, when his great work

¹ "Such stinking pride of women as was seen at that Parliament, was never seen before in Scotland." — *Historie*, p. 230.

seemed ended, and, in the fulness of his feeling that he could do no more, he thought of retiring to Geneva to terminate his days in peace, — after this bright interval, came new days of darkness, with Moray's assassination. Things returned to their old confusion under the regency of Lennox (who, too, was soon murdered), and then of Mar. Friends who had been dear to him — Kirkcaldy of Grange, and others — forsook the cause of the Reformation, and sought to reëstablish a Marian party in Edinburgh. He had the misfortune, also, to differ from his brethren in the Assembly about praying for the queen. Maitland tried to improve this difference to his own advantage : dark charges were uttered against the reformer, as to his having wished to betray his country to the English ; an attempt was even made to assassinate him, by firing a ball in at the window of the room where he usually sat. The heart of the old man, weakened as he was by paralysis, was deeply wounded. He felt bitterly the cowardice of the accusations made against him, and answered in the proud and noble words — “ What I have been to my country, albeit this unthankful age will not know, yet the age to come will be compelled to bear witness to the truth ; and thus I cease, requiring all men that have anything to oppose against me, that they will do it so plainly as I make myself and all my doings so manifest to the world ; for to me it seems a thing most unreasonable, that in this my decrepit age, I shall be compelled to fight against shadows and *Howlettes* that dare not abide the light.”

In May (5th) 1581 he left Edinburgh for St. Andrews reluctantly, urged by his friends to take some means for his safety. James Melville was then a student in St. Leonard's College, and we are indebted to his gossipy pen for a very graphic and interesting account of Knox's appearance and

preaching. The picture — of the old man in the College Yard of St. Leonard's, calling the students about him, and blessing them; his weakness, needing the support of his servant on his way to preach; his vigor and warmth when once in the pulpit and kindled with his theme — is very striking and memorable. “He ludgit down in the Abbey beside our college,” says Melville, “and would some time come in and repose him in our college yard, and call us scholars unto him, and bless us, and exhort us to know God and his work in our country, and stand by the gude cause. Our hail college was sound and zealous for the gude cause; the other twa colleges not sae. . . . I heard him teach the prophecies of Daniel that summer and the winter following. I had my pen and my little buik, and took away sic things as I could comprehend. In the opening of the text he was moderate the space of half an hour; but when he enterit to application, he made me so to *grow* and tremble that I could not hold a pen to write. . . . He was very weak. I saw him every day of his doctrine go hulie and fear (slowly and warily), with a furring of marticks about his neck, a staff in the ane hand, and gude godly Richard Ballandene, his servant, holding up the other oexter, from the Abbey to the parish kirk, and by the said Richard and another servant lifted up to the pulpit, whare he behoved to lean at his first entrie; but ere he has done with his sermon he was sae active and vigorous that he was lyke to ding the pulpit in blads and flie out of it.”

Such is the living glimpse we get of the reformer in these last days. Weak and ill, his last energies were expended in the cause so dear to him. He flinched not then from the battle that he had waged so long; and yet at heart he was sick, and “wearie of the world.” He subscribed himself to a book which he now published against

a Scottish Jesuit of the name of Tyrie, "John Knox, the servant of Jesus Christ, now wearie of the world, and daily looking for the resolution of this my earthly tabernacle," and asked his brethren to pray for him, "that God would put an end to his long and painful battel; for now being unable to fight as God sometime gave strength, I thirst an end."

In August 1572, he was enabled, by a truce between the contending parties, to return to Edinburgh. He was no longer able to preach in his old church, and the Tolbooth was fitted up for him. Here, in the course of September, he thundered his dying denunciations against the perpetrators of the massacre of St. Bartholomew. This crowning stroke of the great reäctionary party in France touched him to the quick, verifying all his predictions, and plunging him in the deepest sadness for his many martyred friends. He imprecated, with his last breath, the vengeance of Heaven upon the accursed murderers; and his cry, with that of others, went up before the throne with an "Avenge, O Lord, thy slaughtered saints!"

In the second week of November he was seized with a severe cough, and his end visibly drew near. He arranged his affairs; paid his servants' wages, with twenty shillings over, as the last they would ever receive from him; and so set his house in order. There was no darkness in these last moments. Although the sadness of the time touched him, his own spirit was cheerful, as the eternal day began to break, and the shadows to flee away. Two friends, not knowing of his illness, came to dine with him, and he insisted upon being present at table, and piercing for them a hogshead of wine which was in the cellar, and which might as well be drunk by his friends, now that he was going the way when he would no more need it. "He willed them

to send for the same so long as it lasted, for that he would not tarry till it was drunken ;”—as beautiful a picture of generous friendliness and “cheery social” disposition, as one can anywhere contemplate. On the 17th, and some of the following days, he received his friends, his colleague, his brethren in the ministry, and, among others, the Earl of Morton, whom he charged to be faithful to God and the Evangel in the elevation to the regency which he saw was awaiting him. On the evening before his death he was tempted to think of himself, and of what he had done. But he repelled the temptation with the sentence, *Quid habes, quod non accepisti?* The next day, the 24th, he got up and partially dressed himself—put on his hose and doublet; but the effort was too much; weakness overcame him, and he was forced to lie down again. His wife and faithful servant sat beside him reading the Bible. He asked his wife to read the 15th chapter of 1st Corinthians, and said when it was finished, “Is not that a beautiful chapter? What sweet consolation the Lord hath given me!” Later, he said, “Go, read where I first cast anchor;” and she read the 17th chapter of St. John’s Gospel. He fell into a trance at the time of evening prayer, and when the physician inquired if he had heard their prayers, he replied, “Would God that you and all men had heard them as I have heard them. I praise God for that heavenly sound.” About eleven o’clock he gave a deep sigh, and said, “Now it is come.” Then Richard Bannatyne, sitting down before him, said, “Now, sir, the time that you have long called for—to wit, an end of your battle—is come; and seeing all natural power now fails, remember the comfortable promise which ofttime ye have shown to us of our Saviour Christ: and that we may understand and know that ye hear us, make us some sign, and so he lifted up his hand, and incontinent

thereafter rendered up the spirit, and slept away without any pain."

A stern reality, a vivid and strong and somewhat harsh sense lies at the basis of Knox's character. He saw life equally in its individual and national aspects as a great fact before God—a fact which could only be falsified or trifled away and abused in blasphemy of him who gave it, and who would require an account of it. It was this feeling of the awful reality and responsibility of life as a divine trust and discipline, which, growing up in that long time of quietness and obscurity from about his twentieth to his fortieth year, served more than anything else to kindle undying zeal against the Papacy of his country. Strong religious convictions no doubt animated him in his reforming career. It is impossible to read the account he himself has given of his early sermons in St. Andrews, as well as his subsequent letters to his mother-in-law, and not see that the fresh and living study of Scripture had led him to very definite conclusions as to the unchristian character of Romanism, and the perversion of doctrinal truth that its teaching and practices presented. Still he did not, like Luther, primarily attack Romanism from a dogmatic point of view, nor perhaps were its doctrinal perversions ever the main cause of his intense and growing hatred to it. It was rather its utter immorality and godlessness as a practical governing institution—its contradictions to the truth of life and the plainest instincts of duty at every point—that provoked his indignation and nerved his destructive energy. He felt that in his own time and country it had become a great embodied lie, dead in trespasses and sin, out of which no good could come, and that therefore it could only be trodden down and buried out of sight.

This was, no doubt, a stern view of life, and of the world around him. It is a view with which we may have some difficulty in sympathizing, as we look back upon it from the free and tolerant atmosphere of this nineteenth century. It covers an element of iconoclasm which could only justify itself in the face of the most obvious and unquestionable facts. But the facts are beyond question. The view was one sternly demanded by the necessities of Scotland in the sixteenth century. Nothing but its absolute truthfulness forced it upon Knox. Other men, of less power and penetration than he was, — of a less open and piercing glance, searching not only the manifest but the hidden things of dishonesty amidst which he stood, — might have been deceived by certain fair appearances in the aspect of Scottish Romanism; but no varnishings and no artifices could beguile him. No special pretensions, no conventional dignities, could impose upon him, or blind his strong, clear vision. He had learned plainly and boldly, as he himself says, to “call wickedness by its own terms, a fig a fig, and a spade a spade.” The Roman hierarchy, therefore, was Antichrist, and the mass idolatry, simply because, in Scotland at least, they had in his time become absolutely unmoral. All divine good they had ever possessed had gone out of them, and left only a noxious carcass — a mere tyranny in the one case, a mere falsehood in the other.

This spirit of severe reality animated him alike in his political as in his religious views. It gave a hardness, some will say a harshness, to his personal demeanor. No form of civil polity was anything to him, save in so far as it conserved the true dignity and earnest and pious uses of life. Mary was only queen in so far as her government was good for the country. He recognized no divine right in her or any one to govern, save in so far as they were fit for it.

The mere trappings of rule, its artificial splendors, its proud adornments, had no interest, and certainly no awe for him. He stood unmoved before them, and his stern simplicity remained imperturbable alike under the blandishments and the tears of royalty. As on one occasion he left the room where he had been holding interview with the queen, he passed out with a "reasonable merry countenance," some of them whispered, "*He is not afraid.*" "What! should the pleasing face of a gentilwoman affray me?" was his reply. "I have looked in the face of many angry men, and yet have not been afraid above measure." He did not know, indeed, what fear meant, and his heart leapt up at the sound of danger. Never were truer words than those of the Earl of Morton, as they laid him in the old churchyard of St. Giles, "*He never feared the face of man.*" Even Luther was not more courageous in the midst of actual conflict; and in the boldness of consistent self-respect, and of undeviating adhesion to what he considered principle, Knox was the superior of Luther. Knox would never have written such letters as Luther did, both to the Pope and Henry VIII.; and he never would have acted as the German reformer did in the affair of the Landgrave of Hesse. No consideration ever moved him to servility, and no power on earth would have extorted from him unchristian submission.

Out of this fundamental feature of strong truthfulness sprang alike his humor and his bitterness,—different manifestations of the same spirit. That Knox possessed a thoroughly hearty humor, it is impossible for any one to doubt who has ever read his history. Its narrative is touched everywhere by a humorous presence, giving life and color and movement to it,—lighting up, in picturesque and vivid gleams, the very image of the times. It is not,

indeed, a simple humor, whose expressions you can detach, and look at, and feel their laughing charm by themselves, as are the manifold utterances of Luther's rare and fertile power, or of Latimer's narrower sympathy. It is rather, as we have said, a *presence* — a way in general of looking at things and telling about them, which shows you the deep nature of the man, and how keenly all the real aspects of life, its comedy as well as its tragedy, its familiarities as well as its grandeurs, touched him. There is but little geniality, and scarcely any tenderness in it. It is grotesque and scornful, rather than smiling and kindly, — passing, by an easy transition, into frequent bursts of bitter, and what we would now call violent and abusive attacks. Still, even the bitterness is hearty, and not cold and merely mocking. It springs from the same full fountain of sympathy with all that is real in life ; and where he scorns, and is wild with a kind of savage glee, it is, in the main, only against things that really deserved scorn, and were dead to all milder or more tolerant treatment. His soul was wearied with falsehoods ; and if the sacred association was not spared in the fierce denunciation, it was simply because it had lost utterly for him all truth or beauty of holiness. Mr. Carlyle's version of his throwing an image of the Virgin into the Loire exactly illustrates this. "Mother! mother of God, did you say? This is no mother of God, but a *painted bredd* — a piece of wood, I tell you, with paint on it!" And, suiting the action to the language, he dashed the consecrated symbol into the water.

It must at once be admitted that there are aspects of life beautiful and really good that had little or no interest for Knox. The sweetness and grace and cultured refinement and charm of social politeness, that so mingle in our modern existence, and which, from the polished capital where

she had spent her youth, Mary sought to transplant into the harsher climate of her native land, — those festive exuberances and “unconfined joys” and decorated gayeties, that, amid all their frivolity, speak of a right-hearted human gladness, and of which Mary, in her mere womanly perfections, may be said to remain the ideal and type, — were unfelt and unacknowledged by him. Mere beauty in nature or in life had no attractions for him. Calvin is scarcely more insensible to such attractions, although Knox has a wider sympathy with the varied interests of humanity, and a far deeper and more appreciative feeling. There is a comparatively keen though rugged sensibility in the heart of the Scottish reformer, as passages in his sermons, and many facts of his life show; and if he could be stern and even cruel as Calvin, he is yet never so cold and self-sustained in his polemical rigor. His harshness and narrowness were as much the misfortune of his time as his fault as a man; and while they cast a shade into his portrait, they yet ought not to destroy the noble and impressive lines that mark it.

His eloquence partook of the same stern, powerful, and scornful character; it must have been a grand thing to hear in those days, when great national interests hung upon his single utterances. His preaching, the English ambassador said, “put more life into him than six hundred trumpets,” — a headlong, vehement, swelling energy, ringing like a slogan-cry, bursting in explosive shouts, and moving with passionate convictions thousands of hearts. There is one passage particularly in his sermon before the dissolution of the Parliament of 1563, when the arts of Mary were so successful in deluding the Protestant nobles, and making them pass from their demands to have all the proceedings of the previous Parliament of 1560 ratified, that rises to a

height of impassioned sublimity, with a certain wild touch of pathos mingling in and softening it. He is appealing to his old associations with them, and how in past times he had shared their risks and danger. "I have been with you," he says, "in your most desperate temptations, in your most extreme dangers I have been with you. St. Johnstone, Cupar Moor, and the Craggs of Edinburgh are yet recent in my heart — yea, and that dark and dolorous night, wherein all ye, my lords, with shame and fear, left this town, is yet in my mind, and God forbid that I ever forget it. What was, I say, my exhortation to you, and what has fallen in vain of all that ever God promised unto you by my mouth, ye yourselves live to testify. . . . Shall this be the thankfulness that ye shall render unto God, to betray his cause, when ye have it in your hands to establish it?" His prayer, also, after the assassination of the regent Moray, is sublime in its wild wrestlings, and deploring, yet resigned, cries over the hapless fate of his country.¹

Altogether, if we estimate him, as we are alone entitled to do, in his historical position and circumstances, Knox appears a very great and heroic man, — no violent demagogue, or even stern dogmatist, — although violence and sternness and dogmatism were all parts of his character. These coarser elements mingled with but did not obscure the fresh, living, and keenly sympathetic humanity beneath. Far inferior to Luther in tenderness and breadth and loveliness, he is greatly superior to Calvin in the same qualities. You feel that he had a strong and loving heart under all his harshness, and that you can get near to it, and could have spent a cheery social evening with him in his house at the head of the Canongate, over that good old wine that he

¹ M'CRIE'S *Life*, p. 269.

had stored in his cellar, and which he was glad and proud to dispense to his friends. It might not have been a very pleasant thing to differ with him even in such circumstances; but, upon the whole, it would have been a pleasanter and safer audacity than to have disputed some favorite tenet with Calvin. There was in Knox far more of mere human feeling and of shrewd worldly sense, always tolerant of differences; and you could have fallen back upon these, and felt yourself comparatively safe in the utterance of some daring sentiment. And in this point of view it deserves to be noticed, that Knox alone, of the reformers, along with Luther, is free from all stain of violent persecution. Intolerant he was towards the mass, towards Mary, and towards the old Catholic clergy; yet he was no persecutor. He was never cruel in act, cruel as his language sometimes is, and severe as were some of his judgments. Modern enlightenment and scientific indifference we have no right to look for in him. His superstitions about the weather and witches, were common to him with all men of his time. Nature was not to these men an elevated and beneficent idea, but a capricious manifestation of arbitrary supernatural forces. This was part of the intellectual furniture of the time, of which they could no more get rid than they could get rid of their social dresses or usages. And Knox was so far, as in other things, only a man of his time.

As a mere thinker, save perhaps on political subjects, he takes no rank; and his political views, wise and enlightened as they were, seem rather the growth of his manly instinctive sense than reasoned from any fundamental principles. Earnest, intense, and powerful in every practical direction, he was not in the least characteristically reflective or speculative. Everywhere the hero, he is no-

where the philosopher or sage. He was, in short, a man for his work and time, — knowing what was good for his country there and then, when the old Catholic bonds had rotted to the very heart. A man of God, yet with sinful weaknesses like us all. There is something in him we can no longer love, — a harshness and severity by no means beautiful or attractive ; but there is little in him that we cannot in the retrospect heartily respect, and even admiringly cherish.

Of his special work we have already so far spoken. It was a truly great and noble work, though with harsh features in it, like the man himself. Characteristically it was, according to our previous statement, a comprehending expression of revived Christian interest, and of a new and healthy national feeling. Nowhere does the spiritual principle appear more prominently as the spring of the Reformation than in Scotland. The reawakened idea of individual relation and responsibility to God, and of the only possible realization of both in Christ, is everywhere the living impulse, originating and carrying forward the movement. But there is also more than this. Alongside of the spiritual influence, and bound up with it in a very notable, expressive, and more complete form than elsewhere, is the principle of *Nationalism*. The Scottish Reformation was not merely a spiritual insurrection ; it was a national revolution — the expression of a new social life, which now in the sixteenth century had become the most educated and intelligent in the country. The two influences, civil and religious, intersected and moulded one another in a marked degree, though in what degree exactly it is difficult to say. In no other way can we explain the radical change that then passed upon the face of Scotland, than by the fact

that new social forces, which had been for some time working in the country, came now to the surface, and stamped themselves definitely upon its expanding civilization. Knox was at once the preacher of a free gospel, and the representative of this broader and freer nationality. And correspondently with this character, the movement which he headed, and which practically he carried forward to triumph, assumed from the beginning a marked political aspect, and sought to guarantee itself in new modes of political as well as spiritual action. The General Assembly of the Church was in reality a Commons' House of Parliament, discussing the most varied interests of the country, and giving effect to the popular, or at least the middle-class feeling, on all the urgent questions of the day. It was the substantial national power which the Assemblies thus enjoyed, which made them so prized on the one hand, and so feared and hated on the other. The clergy, and barons united with them, felt that with the right of free assembly they were powerful against any combination of their enemies. The sovereign and great nobles knew that in the face of these Assemblies they could never hold the country by the old feudal bonds of government. It was a life-and-death contention on either side; and Scottish Presbytery became thus, in the very circumstances of its origin, and still more in the progress of its history, intensely political, and could not help becoming so.

A Calvinistic creed, and a Presbyterian ritual, were the shapes into which the Scottish Reformation, not at once, but very soon, and from the growing necessities of its position, hardened itself. At first, we have seen, it did not bear any strong impress of Calvinism; the affinity was apparent, but the likeness was far from rigorous; and had it been left to its own free national development, undis-

turbed by royal despotism, and its tool, ecclesiastical arbitrariness, it might have matured, both doctrinally and ritually, into a form comparatively expansive and catholic. It might have gradually penetrated the old historical families of the kingdom which had hitherto stood aloof from it, and moulded the nation — people, barons, and nobles — into a great religious unity. This, however, was not to be its fate. It was not destined to a quiet career of diffusion and growth, but to a career of tragic storm and struggle, in the course of which, while it kept its own with a brave tenacity and a grand heroism, which shed an undying glory amid the stormy gloom of its eventful history, it yet never fused itself more deeply than at first into the outlying sections of the national life. The original oppositions, after the lapse of a hundred and twenty years, reappear, only more intensified and defined than ever; and to this day they remain uneffaced, and probably uneffaceable. Scotland presents in this respect, accordingly, a singular and original spectacle. While Presbyterianism, in its scarcely differing shades, keeps the same vigorous and immovable hold of the great heart of the nation, there are yet certain traces of sentiment in the country, transmitted by clear lines of descent from the sixteenth century, that not merely lie outside of it, but apparently have no capacity of appreciating the meaning of the main current of the national religious feeling.

In the course of the opposition which it encountered, Calvinism, in its most rigorous form, naturally became the dogmatic stronghold of the Scottish Reformation. Clearness, definiteness, and a bold and ready audacity of doctrinal opinion, became necessary elements of strength; as the struggle went on, and when the Protestant influence in Scotland allied itself with English Puritanism, and, in fact,

became one of the most prominent phases of the great Puritanic movement, it took up, of course, the doctrinal as well as the anti-ritual peculiarities of this movement, and the "Confession of Faith" and "Directory of Public Worship" remain the marked monuments of this second stage of its history. Beyond doubt, also, the more rigorous Calvinism of the Confession was a natural expression of the Scottish mind applied to religious subjects, sharing, as this mind strongly does, with the French, in the "logical directness" which delights in great constructive systems, and in the exhibition of coherency and theoretical order, rising from some single principle, rather than in an adaptive earnestness and manifoldness of opinion.

The Calvinism in Scotland seems at first sight to have enjoyed a more consistent and vigorous life than that either of Geneva or of Holland; but a nearer inspection proves that the difference is more apparent than real. Scottish theology, such as it is, has, in truth, undergone a series of most singular modifications during the last two hundred years, from the polemical hardness and spiritual sentimentalisms of Rutherford on through the devotional and apologetic mildness of Halyburton, the fervid but untempered earnestness of Boston, the polite moralisms of Blair, and the conciliatory doctrinism of Hill and Campbell, to the genial but inconsistent theories of Chalmers. And of all these modifications none is more singular, and certainly none less understood, than that which sprang from the admission of Jonathan Edwards's doctrine of philosophical necessity as constituting a renewed basis and point of defence for Calvinism. A meagre rationalism, under the name of moderatism, had in the last century eaten away the heart of the old Calvinistic religious spirit, when the cold breath of this new doctrine came as a bracing resto-

rative to the logical mind of Scotland, and it was eagerly seized upon and embraced as a supposed mediatrix between philosophy and faith. It had an inherited charm to such a mind as Chalmers's, and more than anything seemed to strengthen him in the old dogmatic pathways; but a union so unnatural could not even be blessed by his strong genius, and this theological necessitarianism is already giving place before the progress of a more spiritual philosophy.

Whether the Scottish mind is at length really about to free itself from its intense logical tendencies, and to expand into a broader, more learned, and comprehensive theological literature, it is somewhat difficult to say. Undoubtedly there is in Scotland, as elsewhere, great spiritual restlessness under the old dogmatic bonds. A disintegrating process is at work in the forms of its religious life; and many, where their fathers found living wells, look, and, behold, there are but empty cisterns. The danger of this temper is, that it may become impatient and destructive, rather than inquiring and freely conservative, and thus, as in the last century, that dogmatism may pass into rationalism, and spiritual earnestness into moderate indifferentism. The best, indeed the only safeguard against this, is the growth of a critical and historical spirit, which, while looking back with reverence to the past, and appreciating all that is good and holy and great in it, is not yet absolutely wedded to it as a formula beyond which, or apart from which, there can be no life. There is some hopeful evidence of the rise of such a spirit spreading from the richer soil of the English theological mind, and quickened by the fertile light which recent German research has cast upon the history of the church. It were well that this spirit should ripen free from German arbitrariness or audacious self-confidence of any kind.

Perhaps the living study of such men as these pages have feebly endeavored to sketch, may be helpful in this direction, — men whose example of Christian energy, and patriotism, and piety, is so much greater than their mere dogmatisms. The world may outlive the latter, — nay, in so far as they were merely personal or intellectual, it has already outlived them; but the former are the needful salt of its ever-freshening life. We have entered into the labors of these men, and fruits have sprung from them in some respects of a richer and more enduring strength than they themselves dreamed of. Ours is the inheritance, theirs was the labor. While we rejoice in our higher heritage, let us not forget those who first broke the bonds of spiritual tyranny. Let the march of thought go on: in vain shall we try to check it. But, while we move forward, let us revere the past; and as we sweep within the gates of a *New* era, let us look back with admiration and, so far as we can, with love, if not with regret, to the great figures that stand at the illuminated portals of the *Old*.

THE END.

