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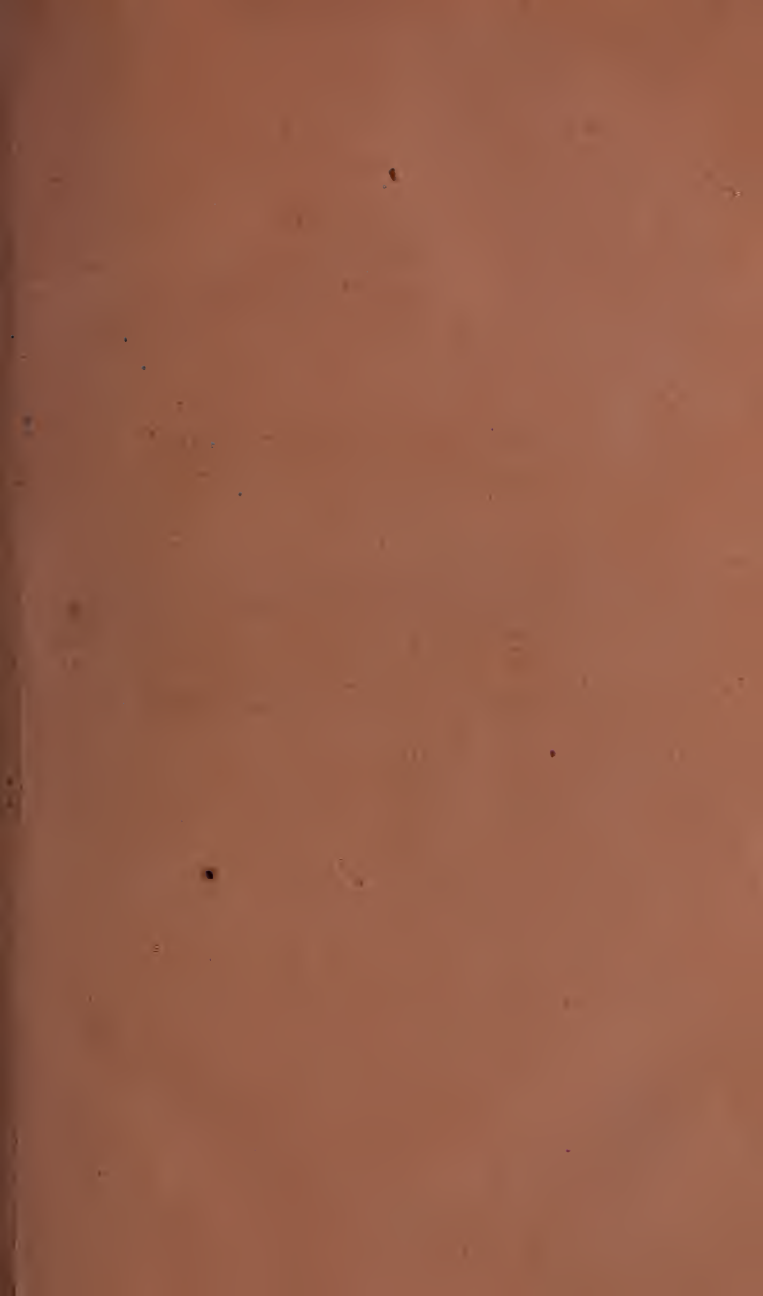
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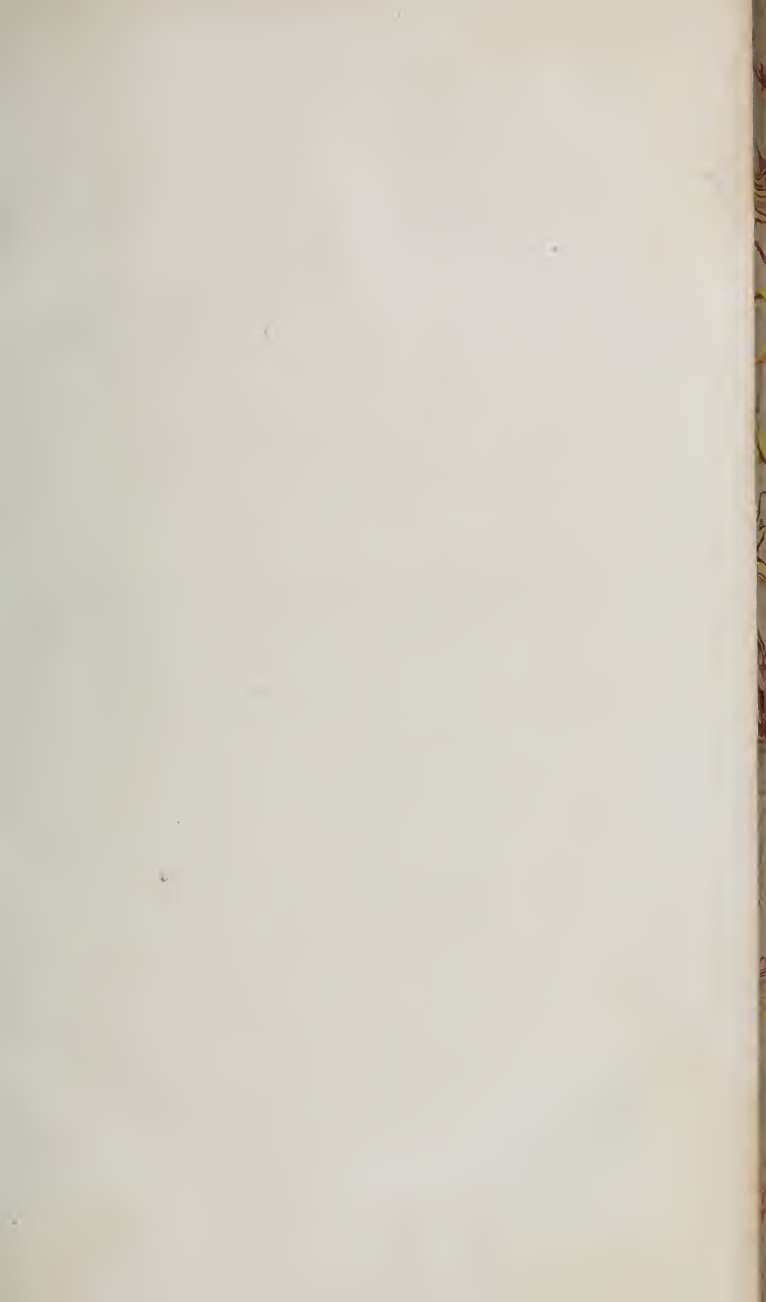
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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.



















# Luther by a Lutheran;

OR,

A FULL-LENGTH PORTRAIT

OF

## DOCTOR MARTIN LUTHER:

BEING

A COMPREHENSIVE, THOUGH CONDENSED AND CORRECT HISTORY  
OF THE LIFE AND STUPENDOUS ACHIEVEMENTS  
OF THE GREAT REFORMER.

BY REV. R. <sup>W. Weiser</sup> WEISER,

PASTOR OF THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH, ANDESVILLE, PERRY COUNTY, PENNA.

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"Behold, what fire is in his eye, what fervor on his cheek!  
That glorious burst of winged words, how bound they from his tongue,  
The full expression of the mighty thought, the strong triumphant argument,  
The rush of native eloquence, resistless as Niagara!  
The fine poetic image, the clinching fact, the metaphor bold and free,  
The grasp of concentrated intellect wielding the omnipotence of truth,  
Champion of right, patriot or priest, and pleader of the innocent,  
Whose heart and tongue have been touched, as of old, by the live coal from  
the altar above."—*Tupper's Proverbial Philosophy.*

"Fulgura erant linguæ cuncta Luthere tua."—*Melancthon.*

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## P R E F A C E .

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IN presenting the Life of Luther to the American public, it would seem to be proper to give a few reasons for such an undertaking at this time. It may be asked and no doubt will be, have we not Lives of Luther in abundance? Why then add another to the list? It is true we have D'Aubigne, and Milner, and Scott, and Bowers, and Tischer, and a number of inferior works; but it is a remarkable fact, that we have not in the English language a single life of Luther, that pretends to give any thing like a correct and extensive account of the great Reformer, written by a Lutheran. And yet we humbly conceive that the great Reformer ought to be fairly represented in English by a member of the church that bears his illustrious name. There are thousands and tens of thousands of as warm-hearted and whole-souled Lutherans in this country as ever lived, who are not able to read the rich and copious language of their fathers; and ought they not to be supplied with a correct and impartial life of the illustrious Reformer? Far be it from us to accuse those good and learned men of other churches who have written the life of Luther, of doing him injustice, or intentionally misrepresenting him, but in most of such works we often see a parsimony of praise, which actually amounts to unintentional misrepresentation. This we have endeavored to correct in the following pages, and how well we may have succeeded, the intelligent reader will be able to judge after a careful perusal.

In the following pages we have endeavored to be minute with-

out being prolix, brief without being abrupt, and we have aimed at a laconic perspicuity.

The writing of biographies is not unlike pouring water from one vessel into another, especially is this the case with Luther's life. We lay no claims to originality in the facts stated; they have all been stated again and again, long before the author of this or any other life of Luther, now living was born. And in this respect the living writers of Luther's life are all on equal footing. It would require a large volume to record even the names and titles of Luther's biographers. We have therefore been at no loss for materials, the only difficulty has been to guard against saying too much. We have used chiefly the following works, viz:

1. "Alle Bücher und Schriften des Theuren Seligen Mannes Gottes Dr. M. Luther," published at Jena and Wittenberg, 1561—2—3 and 4. This, according to the testimony of all competent judges, is the best edition of Luther's works. This splendid work which is very rare in this country, contains with the exception of a few letters given by Dr. De Wette, all Luther's works in chronological order. This is the fountain head, Walch, Plochman, Ammon, Lomler, Vent, Von Garlach, Meurer, Stang, Tischer, Mathesius, D'Aubigre, and indeed all the editors and compilers of Luther's works—have been obliged to draw from this rich and exhaustless source. This work is the basis of ours so far as Luther's letters, sermons, &c., are concerned. While accessible to the fountain, we thought it unnecessary to go to any of the streams that flow from it.

2. "Luther und dessen Reformation," published at Magdeburg, 1834. This is a kind of elective work which contains a vast amount of matter, and is very much condensed, for many incidents in the life of Luther we are indebted to this excellent volume.

3. "Dr. Stang's Life of Luther." This is a valuable work.

4. "D'Aubigne's History of the Great Reformation." This also is an excellent compilation of facts interspersed with interesting and lively remarks, which some admire and others do not. Dr. D'Aubigne's work has been much more popular in this country than in Europe, while in the former upwards of 200,000 copies have been circulated, in the latter only about 4,000 have found their way among the people! This is a remarkable fact, and can only be accounted for upon the supposition that the Europeans are better supplied with works on this subject than we of America, and of course with better works. Although D'Aubigne's work has met with but little favor in France and Germany, yet it is a splendid work, and ought to be read even more extensively than it has been. We have made some use of this valuable publication, and hereby acknowledge ourselves indebted to it for many beautiful and striking thoughts.

5. "Dr. C. E. Stowe's splendid articles on Luther in the Biblical Repository." Here we found many interesting and striking facts, some of which we have incorporated into our work. Dr. Stowe seems to have formed a correct estimate of the great Reformer, nor is he backward in giving utterance to his feelings.

6. "Scott's Life of Luther," from Milner, who has almost literally translated Seckendorf. We have also availed ourselves of his labors. We have not generally referred to the book and page of the authors we have quoted, simply because most of those books are rare in this country.

We have written fearlessly, with the sole view of promoting correct views concerning Luther. In matters of doctrine we have permitted Luther to speak for himself. We do not vouch for, nor are we responsible for his views—we agree with him, only so far as we consider his views taught in the Bible. This is the first Life of Luther ever attempted by a Lutheran in the

English language, and is therefore fully entitled to an impartial reading in the Lutheran Church. Much more might have been written, there is an ocean of learning in Luther's works, we have only dipt the soles of our feet into this boundless sea, let those who have time and inclination wade in deeper.

R. WEISER.

DECEMBER 10th, 1847.



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## INTRODUCTION.

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### *State of the Church before the Reformation.*

IF the out-skirts of a quagmire be deep and filthy, what must it be in the interior? The age immediately preceding the glorious Reformation, was, as it were, the out-skirts of that long—dark—dark night of ignorance and sin that had brooded over the world for near a thousand years. The moral darkness of the Papal Church was perhaps no greater upon an average, in this age, than it had been for many preceding, but it seems to have a deeper moral turpitude in consequence of the light that was then glimmering upon it. More than this—if the courts of some of those inhuman popes who reigned from the seventh century down, had had historians, as minute and faithful in chronicling their enormities, as were John Burchard and Jacob Saunazar, the one the Master of Ceremonies, and the other the Royal Poet of Pope Alexander VI, we should perhaps, if such an amount of wickedness were possible, see more flagrant crimes, and a deeper and more fiendish tinge of human depravity, than even the infamous Court of Roderic Borgio, that masterpiece of the devil presents. Alexander VI, is called the Papal Nero.—Why even that monster of sin, was a decent and modest man in some things, when compared with his unholiness the Pope.

Alexander VI. was perhaps as wicked and unprincipled a Pope as ever filled St. Peter's chair. Dean Waddington says, "the ecclesiastical records of fifteen centuries contain no name so loathsome, no crimes so foul as his; and while the voice of every impartial writer is loud in his execration, he is in one respect, singularly consigned to infamy, since not one of the zealous annalists of the Romish Church has breathed a whisper in his praise!" In early life, during the pontificate of Pius II, Roderic Borgio, already a Cardinal, had been stigmatized by a public censure for his unmuffled debaucheries. Afterwards he publicly cohabited with a Roman matron named Vanozia, by whom he had five acknowledged children. Neither in his manners, nor in his language, did he affect any regard for morality or decency; and one of the earliest acts of his pontificate was, to celebrate, with scandalous magnificence in his own palace, the marriage of his daughter Lucretia! On one occasion, this prodigy of vice, gave a splendid entertainment within the walls of the Vatican, to no less than fifty public prostitutes at once, and that in the presence of his own daughter, at which entertainment deeds of darkness were done, over which decency must throw a veil; and yet this monster of vice was, according to papists, the legitimate successor of the Apostles, and the vicar of God upon earth, and was addressed by the title of "*His Holiness*." Again I ask, is not that apostate church—of which for eleven years this Pope was the crowned and anointed head, and a necessary link in the chain of pretended Apostolic succession—is she not fitly described by the pen of inspiration "*Mother of harlots, and abominations of the earth*."—Rev. xvii. 5.

Cæsar Borgio, a licentious Cardinal of this holy church, was the acknowledged son of this infamous Pope. Alexander VI. and his son Cæsar, in order to get the money of a rich Cardinal, Corneto by name, had poison put into a bottle of wine, which the unsuspecting Cardinal was to drink at an entertainment, but by mistake, Alexander and Cæsar drank it, the former was killed and the latter had a narrow escape. We mention the case of Alexander VI., because he was one of the most prominent men at Rome at the very time Luther was born, (1483.) In view of such a state of morals as then existed in the Court of Rome, and indeed as will appear soon, throughout the whole Church, well might Dr. R. Southey, the Poet Laureate of England exclaim, "*Blessed be the day of Martin Luther's birth—it should be a festival only second to that of the nativity of Jesus Christ.*"

In order to see the full force of this remark, we must take a view of the state of morals and learning among the clergy, and the common people of that age.

By a long series of usurpations the Pope and higher clergy had wrested every particle of civil and religious liberty from the people. The common people, and even their rulers with them, were parcelled out by the Pope to the Bishops, as if they had been so many cattle, the bishop or his friends paid so many dollars, for such an amount of territory containing so many souls, and then his chief business was to wring so much money out of them, as was needed to pay perhaps for keeping so many concubines, and so many children, and so many horses and dogs.

The people of Germany, Luther says in his celebrated "Address to the Nobility of the German Nation," had to pay annually to the Pope 300,000 gold florins, no wonder says he that our nation is poor, the only wonder is that we are not in a state of starvation! And what, says he, do we pay this money for, or what do we get in return, but shame and derision! To form some idea of the greatness of this sum at that time, Luther says, Rome receives more money from us, than the government formerly received! And be it remembered this was not the money the poor Germans paid by way of support for Religion at home, but it was a kind of religious bonus they paid the Pope, for the privilege of belonging to holy Mother Church! Yes, for the glorious privilege of having their minds stupified, their morals degraded—the morals of their wives and daughters corrupted by a set of vicious and licentious confessors, and their heads cut off if they objected to the holiness and infallibility of the Church, and her wicked priests! One of the most lively pictures—a real daguerreotype of the state of the Church in the beginning of the sixteenth century, is given by Frederick Myconius, who was a contemporary with Luther, and a close observer of what transpired around him. "The passion (*i. e.* the sufferings and death) of Christ, and the atonement, were treated merely as a story, like the Odyssey of Homer. Concerning faith, by which the righteousness of the Redeemer, and eternal life are apprehended, there was the deepest silence. Christ was described as a severe judge, ready to condemn all who were destitute of the interces

sion of saints, and of pontifical interest. In the room of Christ were substituted, as Saviors and Intercessors, the Virgin Mary, like a pagan Diana, and other saints, who from time to time had been created by the popes. Nor were men, it seems, entitled to the benefit of their prayers, except they deserved it of them by their works. What sort of works were necessary for this end, was distinctly explained; not the works prescribed in the decalogue, and enjoined on all mankind, but such as enriched the priests and monks. Those who died neglecting these, were consigned to hell, or at least to purgatory till they were redeemed from it by a satisfaction made either by themselves or their proxies. The frequent rehearsing of the Lord's prayer, and the salutation of the Virgin, and the recitation of the forms called the canonical hours, constantly engaged the attention of those who undertook to be religious. An incredible mass of ceremonial observances was every where visible; while gross wickedness was practised under the encouragement of indulgences by which the guilt of the crimes committed was easily expiated. The preaching of the word was the least part of the episcopal function; rites and processions employed the bishops perpetually when engaged in religious exercises. The number of the clergy was enormous, and their lives were most scandalous!" This is not an isolated fact stated by a single historian, and he a friend of evangelical piety, but it is supported by the concurrent testimony of all respectable writers both protestant and papal, as well as by the acts of national diets in which Roman Catholic princes had the preponderating influence.

Look at the hundred grievances presented to the Pope's Nuncio at the Diet of Nuremberg,—and look too at the speech of Duke George at Worms, where he admits the corruption of the priests. Look too at the testimony of Erasmus, whom the Romanists never rank with the Protestants, only when he points out the licentiousness of the priests and monks, then he is a heretic! We will here give a dismal picture drawn by the spirited pen of Dr. D'Aubigne: "The annals of the age swarm with scandals. In many places the people were well pleased that the priest should have a woman in keeping, that their wives might be safe from his seductions. What scenes of humiliation were witnessed in the house of the pastor! The wretched man supported the mother and her children, with the tithe and the offering; his conscience was troubled, he blushed in the presence of his people, and his servants, and before God. The mother, fearing to come to want when the priest should die, provided against it beforehand, and robbed the house. Her character was gone, her children were a living accusation of her crimes. The children treated on all sides with contempt, they plunged into brawls and debaucheries. Such was the family of the priest! Those horrid scenes were a kind of instruction, that the people were ready enough to follow.

"The rural districts were the scenes of numerous excesses. The abodes of the clergy were frequently the resorts of the dissolute. Cornelius Adrain at Bruges, and the Abbot, Trinkler at Cappel, imitated the customs of the East and had their harems! Priests, consorted with abandoned



characters—frequented the taverns—played dice, and finished their orgies by quarrels and blasphemy! The Council of Schaffhausen prohibited the clergy from dancing in public, except at weddings; from carrying two kinds of weapons; and decreed that a priest who should be found in a house of ill fame, should be stripped of his ecclesiastical habits! In the archbishoprick of Mentz they (the priests) scaled the walls in the night, committed disturbances and disorders of all kinds in the inns and taverns, and broke open doors and locks! In several places the priest paid to the bishop a regular tax for the woman with whom he lived, and for every child he had by her! A German bishop who was present at a grand entertainment, publicly declared, that in one year *eleven thousand priests* had presented themselves to him for that purpose! It is Erasmus who records this.”

This is indeed a horrid picture! Paganism itself may be challenged for a counterpart! It is humiliating to our race to have to record such startling facts, and if the Romanists were not now, as they always have been, boasting of the moral purity of their priesthood, and extolling their celibacy, we would gladly throw the veil of oblivion over their former crimes.

As a confirmation of D'Aubigne, we subjoin another remark from Myconius, who was superintendent of Gotha from 1524 to 1541, we translate from Dr. Stang: “The number of the clergy was so great, (in the popish church before the Reformation,) that in the town of Gotha which does not contain more than seven hundred houses, (and

perhaps 3500 inhabitants,) there were no less than 14 canons, 40 priests, 30 Augustinian monks, 2 therminites, and 30 nuns, which this town had to support! (making 116.) These were looked upon as holy persons, who could earn heaven for us, and yet they led such scandalous and lewd lives, that a parallel can scarcely be found in the world. The marriage state was denied to them, and as they were destitute of all moral purity, they made up in adultery and sodomy for it—they carried on their debaucheries in a dreadful manner, and yet they could not be reached by the arm of the civil power, because they as ecclesiastics were under the exclusive jurisdiction of the Pope!" Prof. Tischer, one of the most eloquent of Luther's Biographers, says: "At the period of the Reformation, the corruption of the clergy, and the shameful abuses by which they had debased the holy and beneficent religion of Jesus, had been carried to the utmost extreme. The seductive artifices and schemes of the court of Rome for the purpose of establishing her supremacy, that she might domineer over the high and the low, over kings and subjects; that she might bestow countries and nations by arbitrary will—carry all the silver and the gold to Rome; and exercise absolute authority over the consciences of men and (as she attempted to do,) even over heaven! These were matters too palpable and outrageous not to excite attention, or to be any longer endured. The terrible and corrupting principle, that the people ought to be kept in a state of blindness, was every where reduced to practice. The holiness and infallibility of the Pope were preached up

as indispensable articles of a creed, in order to avoid the loss of eternal happiness. The divinity that was proclaimed was not a comforter, nor a deliverer, but an image erected for the purpose of inspiring terror; an idol that could not be appeased by any other means, than by gifts and offerings, and the punctual observance of insipid customs and lifeless ceremonies. The happiness of heaven depended on faith in the pope, and the Papal Church! From the vatican of Rome issued the terrific flashes of lightning which accompanied the excommunications and anathemas that were fulminated against those who vindicated the freedom of religious opinions, the most sacred right of man! The power of darkness, superstition and ignorance governed with absolute sway. The true doctrines of Christ were but little understood, and still less practised. Almost every clergyman was the priest of superstition, the servant of sensuality, and the devotee of the chase, and of drunkenness. Among a thousand of them, there was scarcely one who knew the truth, or loved it. And even that one, if perchance he did exist, was too timid and feeble—too soon pronounced a heretic—too soon exiled or murdered, to have it in his power to oppose the current of corruption, and communicate to others his better knowledge of the truth.

A certain outward pomp, the adoration of pictures, marching in solemn processions, the worship of consecrated objects, the reading and hearing of mass; half Latin sermons, rosaries, and a number of other follies,—meritorious deeds, as they were called, a blind slavish attach-

ment to everything that the Romish church believed;—the insipid recital of forms of faith; all these were called the worship of God! Cloisters, in which idle monks and nuns gluttonously fed themselves, being a great burden to the industrious part of the community where they wasted their lives in dreams, and carried on works of darkness, were considered holy edifices. The liberty of investigating religious truths, was wholly unknown. The sources of truth were denied to the people, and the avenues leading to her sacred altars, were barred. Blind laymen followed their blind clerical leaders, and the light of truth could not be endured by either.” And is not this true to the very letter, even now in papal countries—in countries unblest by the glorious revival, and sin-dissipating light of the Reformation? Look at Italy with her bland and lovely sky—her bright stars and her fertile soil—once under the iron auspices of Paganism the mistress of the world, now a nation of monks and nuns and beggars! Poor Italy! the malaria of the Pontine marshes has not been half as injurious to thee as the moral miasmata that arise from the putrified seat of the Pope! Italy with her Pope has for ages been engaged in damning, cursing and anathematizing other nations, that were holier and happier than themselves, and those bitter curses and awful imprecations that have been and still are launched forth against others, have rebounded and fallen like the fearful bolts of heaven upon themselves!

Here is a part of that awful, but to us innocent curse which his Holiness, (save the mark,) pronounces against

us once a year on Thursday before Good Friday, this is called the "Bull at the Supper of the Lord:" "In the name of God Almighty, Father, Son and Holy Ghost, and by the authority of the blessed apostles, Peter and Paul, and by our own, we excommunicate and anathematize all Hussites, Wickliffites, Lutherans, Zwinglians, Calvinists, Huguenots, Anabaptists, Trinitarians, and other apostates from the faith, and all other heretics by whatsoever name they are called, or of whatsoever sect they may be." Then follows the curse on this wise: "Excommunicated and accursed may they be, and given body and soul to the devil. Cursed be they in cities, in towns, in fields, in ways, lying or rising, standing or walking, running or sitting, sleeping or eating. We separate them from the threshold and from all prayers of the church, from the holy mass, from all sacraments, chapels and altars, from holy bread and holy water, from all the merits of God's priests and religious men, from all their pardons and privileges, grants and immunities, which all the holy fathers, the popes of Rome, have granted, and we give them utterly over to the power of the fiend! And let us quench their soul, if they be dead this night in the pains of hell fire, as this candle is now quenched and put out, and let us pray to God and to our Lady, and to St. Peter, and St. Paul, and Holy Saints, that all the senses of their bodies may fail them, and that they may have no feeling, as now the light of this candle is gone, except they come openly now and confess their blasphemy, and by repentance, as in them shall lie, make satisfaction unto God, our Lady, St.

Peter, and the worshipful company of this Cathedral Church." This is only a tithe of the curse. The whole ridiculous and impious farce is called "cursing by bell, book and candle." If I were a Roman Catholic, this one foolish, and unscriptural, and inhuman, yea, devilish practice, I think would be sufficient to convince me that the Church of Rome cannot be the Church of Him who prayed for his enemies! But curse away, thou mother of harlots; if God blesses, your anathemas amount to nothing! And let the reader bear in mind, that we are indebted to the labors of Martin Luther, under God, for our happy state—for our freedom from the molestations to which these curses subjected those who lived before his time. He bravely stood up and received the full shock of these thundering anathemas, and holding up the Word of God as a shield, he shattered their force, and now they fall harmless at our feet! The whole Protestant world has great reason to thank God that ever Luther was born!

But we have rather anticipated; let us return to the corruptions of the Church before the Reformation. It is an unpleasant topic, but fidelity compels us to dwell upon it. We have already had a glimpse of the Papal Court of Alexander VI., let us now remove the misty veil a little further.

Alexander VI., it is said, lived in the habitual commission of incest with his own daughter! It is said that most of the ecclesiastics had their mistresses, and all the convents in Rome were houses of ill-fame. And happy did that husband or father feel who could have his family un-

der the protection of a cardinal or a bishop, even at the expense of prostituting his own wife or daughter! The cardinals frequently boasted of the number and beauty of their children. Alexander boasted of the strength and beauty of his profligate son, Cæsar Borgio, and conferred upon him the Duchy of Benevento! This man Cæsar was, if anything, even worse than his father, and yet he was made Archbishop of Valencia, and Bishop of Pompeluna! As an illustration of the state of the Papal Court, look at the following scene, as quoted from Rancke's Lives of the Popes, by D'Aubigne. "Alexander VI., the Pope, had a favorite named Peroto, whose preferment offended the young Duke, (*i. e.* Cæsar, the Pope's son,) *Cæsar rushed upon him, Peroto sought refuge under the Papal mantle, clasping the Pontiff in his arms; Cæsar stabbed him, and the blood of the victim spirted in the Pontiff's face!*" This happened in the Pope's chamber. This then was the state of morals in the Court of Rome before the Reformation. And let it be borne in mind, the pride and boast of this Church is "*idem semper ubique,*" always, and everywhere the same! But were not the other popes better men? Those who lived about this time were all bad men; true there were few of them who committed their enormities in so unblushing and public a manner. Pius III., who succeeded Alexander VI., only acted pope twenty-six days—he had not time to show the world what he was. The poor old man had merely been elected to make room for his successor. Julius the II., who next occupied St. Peter's chair, was a cruel, blood-thirsty

tyrant—he was a kind of Papal Napoleon, who only wanted the genius and courage of the mighty Corsican, to make him what Macedonia's madman was, the conqueror of the world. He reigned ten years, and nearly all that time was spent in the field of battle amid scenes of carnage and blood! No less than 200,000 soldiers are said to have perished in the wars of this human monster! A contemporary French historian, says: "He acted more like a Sultan of the Turks, than as the Vicar of the Prince of Peace, and the common Father of all Christians." This military Pontiff died on the 20th of February, 1513, and was succeeded by Leo X. Of this rather more respectable Pontiff, we have spoken in the body of this work. His name is inseparably connected with the Reformation. He was the patron of the Arts and Sciences, but it is not likely that a man who believed that his soul would perish with his body, would pay much serious attention to religion. Clement VII. succeeded Leo X. He is called the old fox—he was a man of no moral principle. The two succeeding Popes, Paul III., and Julius III., were as unholy and immoral men as ever filled the Papal seat. These, O Romanism! be thy Gods, the men whom thy unholy and unchristian religion compels thee to worship!

Now if the heads of the Papal Church were so corrupted, so vile, what are we to expect from the inferior clergy and the laity? We will here introduce another quotation from Prof. Tischer: "But they (the Romish monks) were not merely burdens to the community, and traitors to



their country, but they were also addicted to the grossest vices and sensuality, and were corrupters of the public morals. In passing through a country, (on their begging excursions,) they cooled the libidinous ardor which in the lap of luxury they had cherished during half the year, and debauched married women and virgins. They accomplished their vicious designs under the cloak of Religion, and by making promises of absolution, even innocence fortified by the strongest sentiments of conjugal fidelity and of honor, fell a prey to those wandering, pious debauchees! In the very cloisters so much discord prevailed, and such outrageous indecencies were carried on by the monks and nuns, that it is impossible to relate them without blushing. Their lewd and vicious practices were so notorious, and so universally known, that they were no longer novelties, and had ceased to be topics of conversation! The cloisters often contended with the public brothels for the prize of superiority in acts of lewdness!" Horrid, horrid! Can this be true? True! yes, the half is not told. The Romish Church is "*idem semper ubique*," always and everywhere the same. Look at South America—the West Indies—Mexico—Spain—and you will find the truth of her boasted declaration, "always the same." And as it is in these poor priest-ridden countries, so it would be with us, but for the influence of Protestantism. The influence of Luther's writings has never penetrated into the dense gloom that still envelops those half pagan, half papal countries. As a confirmation of the above remark, let the reader examine ex-priest Hogan's visit to Mexico and Sa-

vannah. And the state of morals among the priests in South America, we have from our personal and esteemed friend, Rev. J. McCron, of New Jersey, who spent several years in the city of Lima.

“The lewdness of the priests must indeed have been great, when it was found necessary in order to deter them from making lascivious suggestions to females, even in the confessional, to threaten them with the punishment of a physical disability to pursue their unchaste practices.” A certain monk named John Schiphower, makes the following bitter complaint concerning the ignorance and immorality of the monks of his time: “They are hardly able to sing the requiem, and yet, like horned cattle, they rear themselves up and undertake to oppose learned men, and continuing in their asses’ behavior, still think themselves to be men of consequence. Let the bishops answer for it, who entrust to such persons, the feeding of the flock of Christ. The manner in which they live is equally objectionable. They much better understand how to draw liquor from goblets, than information from books. With drinking and carousing they sit in taverns; carry on gaming and illicit amours, and daily getting drunk. And these are priests, they are indeed so called; but they are asses!”

Yes, these are the holy priests of that unchangeable church which is “semper idem,” always the same! The effects of such outrageous conduct had the same tendency then as now; the priests were held in the utmost contempt—just as they are in France, and other enlightened countries.

Luther touches this subject, *i. e.* the deserved contempt in which the vicious priests were held by the people, with a master hand, in a letter to the Archbishop of Mentz. As one means of averting the awful calamities that seemed to threaten the Archbishops, he urges him to enter into the marriage state, and give up his worldly jurisdiction, for he was also a secular prince. The peasant revolution was at this time threatening to overturn everything. "Get married," says Luther, "and thus you can avert the threatened danger, you can thus escape the wrath of God, you can take the cause of the threatened insurrection from the devil, for it is now evident that the spiritual state is openly opposed to God and his glory, and it is not to be expected that God will cease to pour out his wrath and his punishment, as long as such shameful and horrid conduct is not separated from his holy name.

"Great God! if you bishops and princes had but looked after these things in time, if you had opened a way for the Gospel, and commenced suppressing the outward abominations, how nicely and quietly might it not have been accomplished by the proper authorities, but as you would neither hear nor see, and thought to sustain yourself with these foolish abominations, God has permitted it to come to pass, so that these follies must go down, thus God shows you that his word is more powerful than every thing else, and that his word must spread, though the world were a thousand times more formidable. In the second place, the common people are so far informed, that they well know that the ecclesiastical state is of no account, as is

very evident from the many songs, proverbs, and satires of priests and monks, which are written upon every wall, every ticket, and even found upon the playing cards! So that the very sight of an ecclesiastic is nauseous! Why then should you contend against the stream, and hold on to that, which you must at last abandon? The ecclesiastical state cannot stand, God himself has laid his hands upon it, and down it must go." The reader will bear in mind that by the expression "ecclesiastical state," (*geistlicher Stand*,) Luther means the state of exemption from the jurisdiction of civil law, and consequently from all legal investigation, into which the taking of a vow, or taking holy orders at once raised the priests, monks and nuns. This was as we have already seen, one prolific source of the moral evils under which the Church groaned. The Church then needed just such a man as Luther, a bold, fearless, and independent follower of Jesus Christ, who dared to speak the truth in defiance of all opposition. Volumes might be filled with the corruptions of the Church before the Reformation.

But we must give the reader a little more information on this subject before we dismiss it. Prof. S. S. Schmucker, D. D., my esteemed friend and preceptor, than whom perhaps few men in this country, better understand the corruptions of the Romish priesthood, says in his "Discourse on the Reformation." At an early day, after the introduction of celibacy, it became customary for the priests to keep single females in their houses as professed religious sisters. To suppress the disorders thus intro-

duced by these pretended friends of celibacy, it was found necessary to prohibit the priests from having any females in their houses, except their own mothers and sisters. But horrible to relate, from a decree of the Council of Moguntia, A. D. 888, we learn that some of them had children by their own sisters! Vide Gieseler's History, Vol. II. p. 112.

By a Canon of the Council of Ænhamense, A. D. 1009, it is expressly asserted, that some of them (i. e. the Romish priests,) had not only one, but even two or more women living with them; that their voluptuous indulgences constituted their principal object of pursuit in life; and that they did not blush to be engaged with prostitutes, even more publicly, more ostentatiously, more lasciviously, and more perseveringly, than the most unprincipled vagrants among the laity! Hundreds of thousands of young females were enticed into their nunneries under pretense of spending their life in religious seclusion. These nunneries were almost invariably in the immediate vicinity of the institutions of the priests, and in different instances where these institutions were torn down, subterranean passages were discovered conducting from one to the other!!

Clemangis, a distinguished French Catholic, who studied at Paris under the learned Gerson, and lived about fifty years before the time of Luther, gives such a description of the nunneries as we dare not spread out before the public in detail. After enumerating various particulars he adds, "what else are these nunneries than houses of prostitution?" So that in our day for a female to take the

veil, is the same as publicly to offer herself for prostitution. See McGavin's Protestant, Vol. II. p. 718. George Cas-sander, a (Roman) Catholic writer, born a few years before the Reformation, testifies, "that scarcely one could be found in an hundred of the priests who was not guilty of illicit commerce with females!"

Many of the Popes were among the most licentious and corrupt men to be found in the annals of human debauchery, and Pope Paul III. even licensed brothels, for a regular sum of money! In the third year of his papacy Paul III. (who reigned in the very midst of the Reformation,) granted a bull for publicly licensing brothels, and gave an indulgence for the commission of lewdness, provided the man paid a certain fine to the Holy See, and the woman a yearly sum for her license, and entered her name into the public register. In the days of this Pope (1534,) it is said there were 45,000 such women in Rome! This was the palmy time of Popery! And these are the golden days, those Protestants who encourage Popery, by defending her errors, siding with her priests, and sending their daughters to nunnery-schools, are endeavoring to bring back! Such, says Dr. Schmucker, "according to the testimony of Romish writers themselves, was the condition of the Church prior to the Reformation. What gratitude is not due from every friend of virtue or religion, that these corruptions have been banished from at least a large portion of the Christian world. What gratitude is not due from every father and mother, that our eyes have been opened to the corruptions of these nunneries, that

our daughters are no longer sent thither to be sacrificed to licentious priests! With what gratitude should we cherish the recollection of the glorious Reformation! And how faithfully should we labor by the dissemination of the word of God, and the spirit of piety among our fellow-citizens of all descriptions, to resist the progress of Popery among us!" Let Protestant parents beware how they encourage Popish Seminaries of learning, they may regret it, when it is too late. From what has now been stated we see, how necessary the Reformation was, and we see the wisdom and goodness of God in raising up, at that very juncture of time, just such a man as Martin Luther. We will now enter upon the life of this great, and useful man.

## CHAPTER I.

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### *Luther the Child, or the Ancestry, Birth, and Childhood of the Great Reformer.*

THE great purposes of Jehovah, in every age of the world, so far as human agency has been concerned, have been accomplished mostly by individuals of poor and humble origin. God has always made use of humble instruments in carrying forward the great and saving plans of his moral government, that no flesh should glory in his presence—that all the glory and the honor should be his, and his alone. “God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise, and the weak to confound the mighty, and base things, and things that are despised, and things that are not, to bring to naught things that are.” 1 Cor. i. 27. Dr. Dodridge has thus paraphrased this passage; viz: “But God hath chosen those things that are reputed foolish of the world, that he may shame the wise men of whom it is most ready to boast, and the weak things of the world, who pretend to no extraordinary strength hath God chosen, that he may by their heroic patience under the severest sufferings shame its mighty things, which have never been able with all their boasted fierceness to equal that meek fortitude with which we trace the footsteps of the Lamb of God. And ignoble



things hath he chosen, and things most commonly and scornfully set at naught among men, yea, and things which are not in the least regarded, but are overlooked as if they had no being hath God chosen, that he may abolish and annihilate things that are in the highest esteem, and made the most illustrious figure among the children of men, that his great end of humbling us might be more effectually secured, and that no flesh might boast of any advantage or distinction in his presence." This God has done in every age, and if it should become necessary he will do it again and again, until the "latter day glory" shall have been ushered into our apostate and ruined world! One of the most pleasing and delightful reflections to the Christian, is the wonderful and glorious manner in which God has interposed in every age, and in nothing has that interposition been more signal, than in raising up men from time to time of extraordinary piety, talents and energy. When the prospects of the Church were gloomy, when she was shrouded in mental and spiritual darkness, he always raised up men of heroic courage, of invincible fortitude—men of piety, talents and energy commensurate to her wants. Before the flood, when the Church was in danger God raised up Enoch and Noah to bless and save her by their zeal and piety.

More than 4,000 years ago, God selected from among the humble herdsmen in the plains of Shinar, a man of great piety and courage, and made Abram the father of mighty nations, and through him rescued his Church from the idolatry of the surrounding nations. He took Moses

from the dangerous waters of the Nile, and made him not only the greatest legislator in the world, but also the Reformer and Preserver of his Church. He took Joshua from an humble and obscure family, and made him at once the scourge of his enemies, and the Savior of his Church! David by the same Almighty power was transferred from a shepherd's cot to the throne of Israel, that he might through him and his illustrious family, further the benevolent designs of his Church. Esther, a lonely orphan—the child of a poor exile, was by the same Almighty Being raised to the august throne of the greatest monarch on earth, in order to save the Church from the malice of her enemies. So Ezra, and Nehemiah, and Daniel, were taken from the Jewish captives, and raised to high and honorable stations, that they might become the instruments of reforming the Church. And our own blessed Redeemer was born in circumstances of humble poverty—he was born in a stable—the ox and the ass were his companions. “He was rich, yet for our sakes he became poor, that we through his poverty might be made rich.” Christ in his own beautiful language says, “The foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have their nests, but the Son of man hath not where to lay his head.” Yes! the blessed Savior had not even his own beast to ride, nor his own house to shelter him from the cold, he was dependent upon the hospitality of his friends for the very bread he ate, and the clothes he wore.

The apostles too were chosen from among the humble poor. This was all done for wise purposes, there is a de-

sign, a wise and glorious design in every thing that God does. If God had carried forward his great and glorious plans of saving the world, through the instrumentality of the rich, the powerful and the great, infidelity and unbelief would have attributed the success and triumph of the Church, to the influence of wealth. As God is the same to-day, yesterday and forever, he carries on his great and mighty purposes in the same way from age to age, and judging from the past he will continue so to do, until all shall know him from the rising to the setting sun !

Thus too, Luther God's chosen instrument in rescuing his bleeding Church from the merciless dominion of the Pope, and reforming her doctrines and worship, and carrying forward the mighty purposes of his will, was of poor and humble origin. In the beautiful and poetic language of Prof. Tischer, we can say, "As a bright morning dawn is not always the precursor of a splendid day and a cloudless sky, so is an illustrious pedigree no indication of renowned deeds and great talents. The great instructress of mankind, the history of the world, presents us with exalted and beneficent men, who descended from parents of low degree, and whose own noble actions raised them to honor, usefulness and celebrity. A striking proof of this fact, we behold in the immortal Luther, whose parents were poor and humble."

God raised up Luther at the very juncture of time when his sinking church needed just such a man—a man of such talents, such courage, such faith, such energy and piety. Like some mighty and brilliant star he burst upon the earth

in her darkest and gloomiest hour! "Till Luther rose there was no power to cope with the Papal Church. There was a true Church, but she had no champion." How true!

This great and wonderful man was born and reared amid scenes of humble poverty. Luther during the last twenty-five years of his life occupied a larger share of the attention of Europe, than any man of his age; and since his death his fame has spread and widened until it has reached the remotest corners of the earth! What now is the fame of Leo the X., of Charles the V., of Henry the VIII., of Erasmus or of any other of his cotemporaries, compared with that of the humble monk of Erfurt? Luther is not the hero of one age, or of one nation, but of all ages and all nations. His fame has filled the world; and although upwards of three hundred years have rolled along since his death, his name and memory are still as dear to the hearts of millions in the 19th century, as they were to those of the 16th. And although no man that ever trod this earth, has been more slandered, and abused, and calumniated and maligned, and is even now more traduced and belied by the partisans of Rome, yet his fame is ever increasing, and will continue to increase, as the incalculable blessings of his labors in behalf of mankind, are more extensively felt, and better understood! His glory like the sun will never cease to shine, until the affairs of this lower world, shall have been brought to a close! He lives in the hearts and the affections of millions of freemen who too well know what would now be their condition if Luther

had never lived, and labored, and preached, and written, and prayed. His name and memory are impressed upon the very heart's core of Protestants. And what is it that endears Luther to the hearts of Protestants? It is the mighty intellect—the courageous spirit—the warm heart—the strong faith—and the fervent piety which characterized this great man. To say that Luther, taken all in all, was the greatest uninspired man that God ever placed upon this earth, is saying too little, and yet, more dare hardly be said. Dr. C. E. Stowe says: "There was probably never created a more powerful human being, a more gigantic, full proportioned man, in the highest sense of the term, than Martin Luther. In him, all that belongs to human nature, all that goes to constitute a man, had a strongly marked and characteristic development. He was a model-man, one that might be shown to other beings in other parts of the universe, as a specimen of collective manhood in its maturest growth." This remark may appear extravagant to some, but its correctness will be seen in the course of this memoir.

The individual who cannot admire the moral courage, the indomitable energy, the holy zeal, the unshaken faith, the transcendent talents, and the warm and fervent piety of a man like Luther, must indeed be dead to everything that constitutes man! Much has been written for, and against Luther, perhaps more for, and against him, than any other human being that ever lived. For 300 years he has been the subject of abuse, and the theme of eulogy, among the most refined and intelligent nations of the earth

—he has been praised by the Protestants and denounced by the Roman Catholics to a far greater extent than any man living or dead. Everything, therefore, that has even the remotest connexion with this great and good man, his parentage—his birth-place—the scenes of his childhood—the circumstances and associations with which he was surrounded—his education, and in short, everything which may have had any agency in the development of his physical, intellectual, or moral powers, must possess a deep and thrilling interest. We shall endeavor to be minute without being prolix in the facts we are about to state. And as hundreds of individuals, both friends and enemies, have written the life of Luther, we are at no loss for materials, whether the facts about to be stated are the most interesting, the reader must judge.

Near Eisenach, in Thuringia, in a quiet and romantic little vale, lay the humble, but beautiful village of Möhra. In this retired hamlet, far away from the noise and bustle of the great world, lived and died, nearly 400 years ago, an industrious and honest laborer, whose name was Henry Luther. Henry Luther would have lived, and died, and his name and memory, like that of millions of other excellent men who once lived and labored upon our earth, would have been forgotten if Martin Luther had not been his grandson. John Luther, the father of the great Reformer, was born in the same village, about the year 1460. About Henry Luther, very little is known; about John, we know a little more, but still not as much as we could wish. It is to be regretted that so little is known about

the moral training of the man, who, under God, raised such a son as Martin Luther. We all feel deeply interested in the parents of men of superior intellectual or great moral powers; hence we feel almost as much interest in the history of the parents of John Wesley, and Washington, and of Byron, as in the lives of those men themselves, for we all know what a great influence the habits of parents have on their children. The mother of John Wesley would no doubt have made a John Wesley out of Lord Byron, and Byron's mother would have turned the great apostle of Methodism into the petulant and misanthropic, though splendid poet! If we are to judge the tree by its fruits, John Luther must have been a great man. The whole world is immensely indebted to the humble miner of Mansfield, for raising such a son!

When John Luther had arrived at a proper age, and thought himself able to support a family, he looked around in the same humble sphere in which he himself moved, for a companion, to share with him the joys and the sorrows of life. He found such a companion in Margaret Lindeman, the daughter of a poor but honest peasant, who resided in Neustadt, a small village not far from Möhra. We do not know at what time they were married, but soon after their marriage they moved to Eisleben. Some say that Luther and his wife did not reside at Eisleben when their son was born, but that they had only gone thither to attend the annual fair; but this does not appear very probable; the distance from Möhra to Eisleben is about 75 miles, and was at that time a rough and unfre-

quented road ; we can therefore scarcely believe that Luther and his wife, sensible and prudent christians, persons whose piety would not find much pleasure in the excitement and hilarity of a fair, would venture upon such a journey almost in the dead of winter. The very situation of Margaret Luther must preclude such a supposition. More than this, Luther's earliest biographers say nothing about this, and Luther himself says, "I was born and baptized in Eisleben," and if his parents had only been on a visit thither, it is more than likely he would have stated so remarkable a fact.

There is no doubt but John Luther did move to Eisleben, and very probably intended to make it his place of residence, but not meeting with the success he had expected, he did not remain long, perhaps from April, 1483, to the same date, 1484.

John Luther, according to the testimony of his son, and of Philip Melancthon, the most famous man next to Luther of his age, was a remarkable man. Though but a miner, or as his son calls him, a "wood cutter," he had a strong and vigorous intellect, a large share of common sense, and for those days, a considerable stock of information. One evidence of his clear head and correct judgment, is the fact that he looked with the utmost contempt upon the swarms of indolent monks and nuns that infested the land, and ate out its substance, and corrupted its morals. Hence, when in after years his son became a monk, it almost broke his heart, and for a long time he refused to be reconciled to him. He was a man of true and



enlightened piety; he was pious in spite of the blighting and soul-destroying influence of popery. He was industrious, sincere, and upright; a man of strict integrity, he was firm and unbending in his purposes, and this made him a severe disciplinarian. There was nothing light-minded or frivolous about him, indeed he seems to have bordered a little on the stern. His firmness seems to have approached almost to obstinacy, a common fault with men of such rigid morals. This trait the son seems to have inherited in a large degree from his father, and this very trait was one of those rare and peculiar qualifications that fitted Martin Luther so preeminently for the stupendous achievements of his after life! John Luther was fond of reading, but as we may well suppose, books were then scarce, and his range must have been small. That John Luther was a good man, and an intelligent christian, is evident from a letter which Martin wrote to him in 1530. This letter shows the respect and affection of the great Reformer for his parents. "Dear Father: It would indeed afford me much pleasure if you and mother could pay us a visit, and my Katy also desires, with tears, that you would visit us. We would attend to you (in your sickness) in the very best way we could. I have sent my servant Cyriacus to see whether in your weakness you are able to come. For let come what will, life or death, I should like you to be near me, so that, according to the commands of God, I might discharge the duties of a son towards you with gratitude and affection. I pray to that heavenly Father, who hath made you my earthly

father, that in his boundless compassion he would give you grace and strength, and enlighten you by his Holy Spirit, so that you might be enabled to acknowledge and confess with joy and thankfulness the blessed doctrines of his dear Son, our Lord and Savior, to which in his mercy you have been called. And I hope you have indeed been called from the gross darkness and error of sin, into this light, and that God will graciously finish that which he has so happily begun in your heart, and keep you faithful unto the coming of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ. For God has sealed this work in your heart, inasmuch as you have been called upon to suffer reproach for his name's sake. You have suffered reproach and scorn, hatred, enmity, and peril, for his sake. These are the proper marks of a true christian, and show us that we are like Christ, and have his image stamped upon our hearts. (Rom. viii. 29.)

Let, therefore, your heart be joyful and happy in your affliction; nor need you fear to die, for we have a true and faithful friend in the other world, who has abolished sin and death for us, even Jesus Christ the righteous. Therefore "be strong and of good courage, fear not, nor be afraid of them, for the Lord thy God, he it is that goeth with thee, he will not fail thee, nor forsake thee." Deut. xxxi. 6. Again we have the encouraging promise, "Ask and ye shall receive." And in Acts ii. 21, it is said, "whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved." And the whole Psalter is full of such sweet and refreshing comforts, especially the 91st, which is an excellent Psalm for the sick to read. \* \* \*

If it should be the will of God that you should be denied the enjoyment of a better world now, and remain with us awhile longer in this miserable and sorrowful vale of tears, to share in our troubles, and sympathize with us in our misfortunes, God I hope will give you grace cheerfully to submit. For this life is nothing more than a vale of tears, in which we see and feel every day more and more its sorrows and afflictions, and there is no prospect of a termination to these sufferings until after we shall have passed into another world—then they must cease and we shall then rest sweetly in Jesus, until in the morning of the Great Day, he will come to wake us up. \* \* \*

I am truly sorry that I cannot be with you to comfort you in your affliction. All the family wish most affectionately to be remembered to you, and our dear mother, and all the rest. God's grace be with you now and forever. Amen. M. LUTHER.

This letter does honor to Luther's heart, and shows us that he considered his father an intelligent and enlightened Christian. John Luther was certainly far in advance of his cotemporaries. We may well imagine that in such a dark age, when the bishops, priests, monks and nuns, were nothing more than an ignorant rabble, it must have been a rare thing for a poor miner, who had to earn his bread by the sweat of his brow, to rise above the common multitude. More than this, the awfully corrupted system of religion under which he was educated, had a tendency then, just as now, to cramp the energies of the human mind, and to stunt the moral powers of the soul. Yet under all these

## L. THE INFLUENCE OF JOHN LUTHER UPON HIS SON.

unfavorable circumstances, the strong native powers of his mind triumphed over every difficulty. As John Luther could not read Latin, and as German Bibles were then scarce, and never circulated among the common people, it is not probable that the Bible was among his books; yea, from the fact that Martin never saw the Bible until he was of age, it is quite certain that John Luther had no Bible. The first Bible he saw was, no doubt, that translated by his son. Martin Luther translated and published Reuchlin's Latin version of the Psalter in 1517. This is a remarkable circumstance, that at least a portion of God's Word should be published simultaneously with the commencement of the glorious Reformation! Although the intelligent miner of Mansfield never distinguished himself by any literary effort, yet he wrote and impressed his own stern and unshaken virtues upon the mind of his Son, and his name and memory are immortalized in the fame and celebrity of that son, every step of whose education can be traced to the pious and enlightened mind, the warm and generous heart, the firm and energetic character of the father. It would have been an honor, yea, a very great honor, for the greatest potentate on earth, to be the father of such a son, yet this great honor fell to the share of John Luther! Ah! little did the poor miner of Mansfield think, when after the toils of the day, he would take his little son upon his knees, and listen to his innocent prattle, and have his soul thrilled with the innocent smiles of his first-born—and when he would fold his little hands together and teach him to pray—ah, little did he think that

that son would one day, even in his own life time, occupy a larger share of public attention than any other man on earth, and that he would one day, unassisted by armies or any human power, single handed and alone, shake and convulse to their very centres the mightiest kingdoms of the world! Yet so it turned out. Luther's mother, too, seems to have been an excellent woman. Melancthon says, she was a model to all the women where she resided. She was remarkable for her piety and her prayers. She seems, too, like her husband, to have been a woman of great firmness, and a stern disciplinarian. Martin Luther makes frequent and honorable mention of his mother. In 1531, when she was very ill, he wrote the following letter to her, which shows that she too, was an humble follower of the Lamb. It commences thus :

“ Grace and peace in Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

My very dear Mother, (the German is *Meine herzliche Mutter*) I have received the letter of brother Jacob, which informs me of your illness. It grieves me that I cannot be with you. Yet I will be, as it were bodily with you in this letter, and spiritually I am always with you. Although, I trust, your heart has long since been fully instructed, by the many and excellent preachers with which you are blessed, yet I feel anxious to discharge my duties, and show you that I am still your child, and you are my Mother. \* \* \*

In the first place, dear mother, you know that your affliction is nothing more than the gracious rod of your Heavenly Father, and that it is very light, compared with

that with which he visits the ungodly. Yea, and even light compared with that with which he sometimes visits his own dear children, when one is beheaded, another burned, another drowned, and so on. Therefore, let not your present illness trouble you, but receive it thankfully, as sent by his grace. And even if your present affliction should terminate in death, it is a light thing compared to the sufferings of our blessed Lord and Savior, who suffered not for himself, but for us.

In the second place, dear mother, you know the grounds of all comfort, and the foundation of all happiness. You know on whom you are to place your hopes in this, and every other affliction. You know that Jesus Christ is the corner-stone, and that he will never leave nor forsake us, nor permit us to be overwhelmed. He is the Savior of all—and especially of those who are in need, and in their need call upon him. “Be of good courage,” he says, “I have overcome the world.” Therefore, only be comforted in the Lord. “I live,” says the Lord, “and therefore shall ye also live, and your joy shall no man take from you.” May the Lord give you faith, a joyful and firm faith, that you may overcome this and every other affliction. I hereby commend your soul and body to the compassionate care of our God. Katy and all the children pray for you ;—some are crying, others are eating and saying, “grandmother is very sick.” The grace of God be with you. Amen. M. LUTHER.”

The letter is long, we have therefore, only given part of it, but what we have translated, shows how dutiful and af-

fectionate a son he was. Luther's mother seems to have been firm, but somewhat hasty in her temper. "One day," says Luther, "she chastised me on account of a horse, until the blood came." In German, "eines Rosses willen," perhaps for venturing too near a horse. Luther says, in after life, "My parents were very strict, and treated me rather harshly, so much so, that I became very timid; they no doubt thought they were doing right, but they had no proper discernment of character, which is absolutely necessary, that we may know upon whom, and when to inflict punishment. This, alas, is too often the case in the present age, many well-meaning parents have little or no knowledge of human nature, and often punish their children when they ought not to do it, and leave them unpunished when their present and eternal happiness requires it.

These, then, were the parents of Martin Luther, that great and good man, who, under God, did more for the world at large, than any other man that ever lived.

John Luther died on the 29th of May, 1530, and his wife Margaret, followed him to a better world on the 30th of June, 1531. They both lived to see their son second in importance to no other man in Europe.

But to retrace our steps. Martin Luther was born on the 10th day of November, 1483, at 11 o'clock at night. It being the eve of St. Martin's day, the child was called Martin, in honor of that Saint. The day after his birth, in accordance with the custom of that age, he was carried to the Church of St. Peter, and was baptized by effusion

with this baptism Luther was ever after perfectly satisfied. He was born in Eisleben, at that time a considerable village in Upper Saxony, where his parents then resided. He was born in the fall of 1483; in the spring of 1484, his parents moved to Mansfield. Mansfield is situated in the mountainous regions of Thuringia, about fifteen English miles North West from Eisleben. Here in this beautiful and romantic spot, surrounded by dark forests, and watered by the clear, pure streams that gush from the mountain-side, and blest with a salubrious atmosphere,—here Martin Luther spent the interesting period of his childhood. It was here he first learned to lisp that rich, copious and powerful language, in which he afterward convulsed the nations of the earth, and shook to its very centre the Papal Hierarchy! Luther's parents, when they first moved to Mansfield, were very poor. Luther says: "My parents were very poor; my father was a wood-cutter, and my mother often carried the wood upon her back, that she might earn bread to bring us children up." From this passage it would seem, that although John Luther was a miner by profession, yet he did not always work at that business, but sometimes also cut wood for a living. From a laborer, John Luther rose to the proprietorship of a furnace. Yea, we are informed that he owned four furnaces, (Schmeltz-öfen,) These of course, were not such large establishments, as our American furnaces generally are. We have stated above, that John Luther was a pious man, and as such he determined to give his son a religious education, and he never lost sight of this



object. It is said in the life of Luther quite recently published by the London Tract Society, "That John Luther was a man who lived in the fear of God, and that it was his custom to pray fervently, and loudly at the bed side of his child, that the Almighty would make his son a partaker of his grace, and would remember his great name, and promote the propagation of purer doctrine than was then taught, through the instrumentality of the child before him." This is indeed a remarkable and almost a prophetic prayer. How wonderfully did not God hear, and answer this prayer!

Little Martin was sent to school before he could cleverly walk, for we are told that his father and a young man by the name of Nicholas Oemler, often carried him to school. George Emelius had the honor of being Luther's first teacher. Luther seems from his earliest infancy to have been surrounded by circumstances and influences, that were calculated to make him a good and a great man. His naturally impetuous spirit was subdued, and his violent temper was early brought under a wholesome subjection. He was early taught to govern himself, which was of great importance to him in after life. At home the rod of correction was freely applied to his back, and at school he fared no better. It is said, that he was flogged fifteen times in one day at school! In this school he learned the Catechism, the Ten Commandments, the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and a few other prayers and some hymns. Here too, he learned to write, and commenced the Latin

grammar. In this school of affliction, for such it must have been to Luther, he made rapid progress—here in this humble school he laid the foundation of that splendid education, which in subsequent life astonished and electrified the world! Luther remained at Mansfield until he was thirteen years old, no doubt going to school all that time.

His early biographers say that he was a stout, brave lad, full of life and animation, but in consequence of the severe discipline under which he was trained, his spirit seemed to have been almost entirely crushed. When he was thirteen years old, he was exceedingly backward and æmorous. Yet we all know that his unconquerable spirit was not crushed, and his chainless mind was not subdued! His subsequent splendid career proves this. We are told that at this time he was stoutly set, and a healthy looking boy, with a fine florid complexion, a keen, falcon eye, light hair, and a prominent forehead. In after life, when worn down by severe study and unnumbered cares, he became thin in body, and his countenance was not so fresh. Erasmus Aber, who describes Luther when he was about thirty-three years of age, says, he was a man of ordinary size, about five feet eight inches high, rather stoutly set, and had a handsome figure. His countenance was benevolent and beautifully dignified and intelligent. There was something elevated in his face—his forehead was earnest, open, and determined. His countenance was thin and emaciated and pale, and in consequence of hard study and many cares, it looked sad. His voice was

clear, penetrating and cheerful. His look was pleasant and ardent, and not unfrequently gloomy.

But to return to his childhood. John Luther watched with the most anxious solicitude the development of the moral and intellectual powers of his promising son. He saw enough by this time, to convince him that Martin had a superior mind. His application was so great, his grasp of mind so quick, his memory so tenacious, his judgment so sound for a mere child, and his deportment so grave and dignified at the age of thirteen, that not only his father, but all who knew him, predicted something great and extraordinary in his future life. But neither his father nor any other person could possibly have had the most distant idea of the honors that awaited him in after life.

Luther's parents seem to have been very careful with his religious instruction, and so far as they understood the principles of religion, they communicated them to him. When Martin was thirteen years old, his knowledge of God was very limited, and even that little which he had was not very correct. He knew God only as a being of terror. Mathesius says: "That every time he heard the name of Christ mentioned he turned pale, for he had been represented to him as an angry Judge." "This servile fear," says D'Aubigne, "which is so far removed from true religion, perhaps prepared his mind for the glad tidings of the gospel, and for that joy which he afterwards felt, when he learned to know Christ as meek and lowly of heart." Philip Melancthon, in his life of Luther, says: "As soon as young Martin was old enough to learn, his parents taught

him very carefully the knowledge and fear of God, and as was then customary, they also taught him to read and write." The impressions made upon his mind by the example and instructions of his excellent parents, were never obliterated, the seed of truth which they so carefully sowed, brought forth much fruit, to the honor and glory of God!

Having now passed over the proper childhood of Luther, let us next look at *Luther, the youth and the student*

## CHAPTER III.

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### *Luther, the Student.*

IN 1497, when Luther was in his 14th year, his father sent him in company with John Reinecke, a lad of his own age, to the high school at Magdeburg. Melancthon says, "There were at that time pretty good schools in the towns of Saxony—schools in which grammar was correctly taught." The school at Magdeburg was an institution of some celebrity at that time, it was under the supervision of the Franciscans, who were very strict and rigorous in their rules, both with themselves and their pupils. The Franciscans were by their vows devoted to the visiting of the sick, and the burying of the dead. Their grey habits, and their dark scowls, were well calculated to impress the mind with gloom and melancholy. These austere, unrefined, and iron-hearted men, were perhaps not the best tutors for Luther. The high reputation these men had acquired for the austerity of their rules, and the sanctity of their manners, was no doubt one reason why John Luther sent his son thither. But the situation of Luther was not very pleasant, for he was obliged, according to the customs of that age, to beg his bread from door to door, and what is still worse, he could not even procure a subsistence in this way, for he had frequently to return at

night without a mouthful of bread. The pious Mathesius says: "When Luther was at Magdeburg he had, like many other honest, and even tolerably wealthy people's children, to beg his bread by singing his 'Panem propter Deum,' (Bread for God's sake.) That which is to become great, must begin small." Thus young Martin experienced hard times at Magdeburg, for he himself informs us, that he was often repulsed from the doors of the rich, and had to return late at night to his cheerless lodgings without his supper. We may well imagine how much the poor youth must have been discouraged under such circumstances! Luther was to be trained for future self-denial, and he had to bear the yoke in his youth. We do not know much about his progress in learning while at Magdeburg. The only advantage he derived from his being at this place, was this, viz.: while he was at Magdeburg, Andrew Proles, a pious and eloquent monk of the order of St. Augustine, was there preaching with great zeal and energy against the corruptions of the church, and the necessity of a reformation in religion. No doubt this circumstance had its influence upon the young student's honest heart. D'Aubigne says: "Perhaps these discourses deposited in the soul of the youth the earliest germ of the thoughts which a later period unfolded." This is indeed very probable, and if so, then the unpleasant year he spent at Magdeburg was not without its advantages. Young Luther bore up under his hardships, until he could bear them no longer. In his half-starved condition, and in deep distress of mind, he wrote to his father, informing him

how he fared. His parents felt deeply for their son, but were not at that time in a condition to assist him with money. They however invited him to come home, which he did, after having spent about one year at Magdeburg.

In 1498, when Luther was in his fifteenth year, his parents sent him to the high school at Eisenach. There were two reasons for sending him to Eisenach, the first was, that the grammar school there was very popular, and the second was, Mrs. Luther had relations at Eisenach; and as John Luther was not yet able to support his son at school entirely, they (the parents) very naturally expected the assistance of those relations in the education of their son. But in this they were sadly disappointed, for their relations were either too poor to assist him, or too heartless to regard the tender ties of consanguinity. At Eisenach poor Martin found out, what thousands since have learned, by painful and bitter experience, that it is a hopeless thing for the poor to depend upon their relations in time of need! Here at Eisenach, as at Magdeburg, poor Martin had again to sing his *Panem propter Deum*, and thus beg his bread from house to house. Indeed it would seem that at first he even, if possible, fared worse than at Magdeburg, for he informs us that one day in particular he was driven three times from the doors of citizens, and had to go to bed without a mouthful to eat! The custom of singing for bread is an old usage in Germany, and is still in vogue. When and how it originated we do not know, but it still exists, as we learn from the Rev. B. Kurtz, D. D., of Baltimore, who in 1847 saw and heard

the poor students singing for bread at Eisenach. Dr. Kurtz says: "When Luther was fifteen years old, we find him begging his bread by the exercise of his vocal powers, singing before the houses of the citizens. This was no unusual occurrence in that age, and was proverbially designated as obtaining bread for God's sake. Thus when God intends to qualify an individual for future usefulness and greatness, he previously schools him in humility. Luther still lives and reigns in this, as well as in many other of the time-honored customs of Germany. Some years since, when the writer stopt to dine at Eisenach, under the very shadow of Wartburg, a choir of scholars in their long black gowns, came under the window and sang several hymns. On inquiring into the cause, the waiter replied, 'This singing is an ancient practice, (eine alte herkommliche Anstalt,) established by Dr. Martinus Lutherus; we pay two dollars and a half a year, and for this the poor scholars must sing twice a week before our house, and so they receive their learning.' Many of the most illustrious scholars of Germany have received their education in this manner. Döring, whose edition of Horace was republished in London in 1820, and who was rector of a school at Guben in 1781, complains of having to sing before the houses of the citizens of that town on holidays; but adds, that the fees made up too considerable a part of his salary for him to discontinue the practice."

The situation of young Luther was truly painful. As he had to leave Magdeburg for want of bread, so he no doubt thought he would have to leave Eisenach also. In



his deep distress he called upon God. Here we may date that mighty conflict of soul, which continued until he was led, in true faith, to the feet of the Redeemer.

One day in particular, his sufferings seemed to have arrived at a crisis; he was out as usual singing for bread, but door after door was closed upon him. He was actually in want; in his deep agony of mind he had wandered he knew not whither—he stood motionless before a house absorbed in deep and painful reflections! O! must I, after all my cherished hopes, abandon my studies for want of bread—must I return to Mansfield, as I did from Magdeburg—is there no way for me—Oh God! in thee do I trust! Painful, agonizing thoughts! This was a gloomy hour for young Martin. But even these scenes of affliction were not without advantage to him. The deep inward life of Luther's soul was nourished by these calamities—he was tried in the furnace.

“One of Luther's biographers says: “These calamities had a tendency to develop that deep sadness whose seeds had been sown by the austere Franciscans at Magdeburg. Nevertheless, this painful condition was not without its importance to the inward life of Luther. Forsaken by the world, and abandoned to penury and want, grieved and mortified by the cold and unfeeling conduct of those upon whom he depended, under these circumstances his soul would naturally turn to a higher power—he would lift his heart in prayer to him who is the Father of all, and who careth even for the worm that crawls upon the earth. His helplessness amid the tenderness of his youth,

would naturally drive him to the throne of the Eternal! The agony of mind which he experienced, amid the joyful period of youth, had a tendency to urge him to seek the friendship of heaven."

But God saw that the miner's son must not abandon his studies, he must remain at Eisenach in order to accomplish the great designs of his providence. The church which was dear to him as the apple of his eye, was now, as it were, weltering in her blood! She had no champion. The promise had long before been given concerning her, that she should become "bright as the sun, fair as the moon, and terrible as an army with banners,"—that she should arise and shine—that no weapon formed against her should prosper—that after her long, long, and dark night of sorrow, her joy should come at last! And that poor, dejected boy that was now actually destitute of bread in the streets of Eisenach, was to be the honored instrument, in the hands of God, of accomplishing this mighty work! Look up, dejected youth, "the Lord will provide." That God who heareth the young ravens when they cry, and who has numbered the very hairs of your head, will not leave you without a friend and a home!

Whilst the painful thoughts of abandoning his studies were wringing his heart with agony, an angel of mercy, in the person of a pious and benevolent lady, appeared, and came to his relief! This was Elizabeth Cotta, the daughter of the Burgomaster of Eilfeld, and the wife of Conrad Cotta, a respectable citizen of Eisenach, who lived in St. George's street. This lady Elizabeth, (not as

D'Aubigne calls her Ursula,) in the chronicles of Eisenach is called the "pious Shunamite," in remembrance of her who so earnestly entreated the Prophet Elisha to eat bread with her. See II Kings iv. 8. This pious lady it appears was struck with the sweet and melodious voice, and the warm and eloquent prayers of young Martin at church. Melancthon says, "because she took a fancy to his singing, and his hearty prayers at church." He was a "stranger and she took him in, he was hungry and she gave him to eat." She called him into the house, perhaps only to supply his immediate wants; but on a more intimate acquaintance with the interesting youth, he was invited to become an inmate of the family. Luther, of course, joyfully accepted the kind and benevolent invitation, and thenceforth became a member of that interesting family.

The first great conflict was now over, the storms had subsided, and the heavens were clear and light, he took fresh courage, and went on his way rejoicing. Here in the Cotta family he was happy. He could now pursue his studies with pleasure and delight. He spent three years in this pious family, and no doubt both he, and the family were mutually pleased, and benefited by his residence there. The Cotta family never regretted the kindness they showed to the poor scholar. There is something very touching and eloquent in this whole scene, far surpassing the ordinary charities of life.

It is said by him, who spake as never man spake, of a certain woman who had done a kind act to him, that "wheresoever this Gospel shall be preached throughout

the whole world, this also that she hath done shall be spoken of, for a memorial of her." So the kindness of Elizabeth Cotta to the poor student will never be forgotten! No doubt, she was like a lady in England, of whom a celebrated writer says, "the patting of the little bare feet of the poor children that came to her house were music to her benevolent heart, and the very smell of their clothes reminded her of the breath of heaven."

Luther remembered the kindness of this family through life, he was not the man to forget a favor, or requite an act of benevolence with ingratitude. Many years afterwards when Luther's fame had reached the remotest corners of Europe, when he had become the most renowned man of his age, and when he was the ruling spirit of the most celebrated University in the world; a son of Conrad, and Elizabeth Cotta is sent to Wittenberg, Luther remembers the kindness of his benefactors, and as some little return of gratitude, he receives their son under his own roof, and at his own table.

Luther now made rapid progress in his studies, and came up fully to the expectations of all who were interested in his education. John Tremonius, (or Trebonius,) was then Rector of the High School, and the most distinguished teacher at Eisenach, he was not only as Melancthon says, "a good grammarian," but a gentleman of pretty extensive information, and possessed a kindly and benevolent heart. Under his tuition young Luther made rapid progress in his studies. During his residence at Eisenach, as a relaxation from severer studies Luther turned his attention to poetry and music. It was here he

laid the foundation of those splendid musical attainments, which he afterwards acquired. He improved his fine alto voice, he learned to play the German flute, and also performed on the lute (in German die Laute) a stringed instrument now almost or entirely gone out of ues. His knowledge and skill in music, not only proved a great source of pleasure to him, but contributed not a little to his future usefulness in furthering the great plans of Providence in reforming the Church. For when in after life the storms of persecution were raging fiercely around him, he found great pleasure in music. And his knowledge and skill in this science proved to be one of his most useful attainments in the great Reformation which he effected. It was his music, as much as anything else, that moved the heart of all Germany. Sir Philip Sydney, once said: "Let me make the songs of a nation, and I care not who makes its laws." Luther made the songs or hymns of Germany, and he also made her tunes. He wrote some of the best hymns in the world, and composed many tunes more than 300 years ago, that all the civilization and refinement of modern days have not made obsolete, and never will, tunes that will be sung with rapture and delight down to the last period of time. We shall speak of Luther, as a composer of music, and an hymnologist in another place, as we do not wish to break in upon the chronological arrangement of our narrative.\*

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\*Luther's musical talents were of the highest order, as an hymnologist and composer he occupies a high position. Rambach, Wachernagel and other distinguished German scholars have done ample justice to the great Reformer in this department. Dr. Stang gives us an account of all the

Luther while at Eisenach also learned the turning business, perhaps only as a pass-time. As a student, and a cheerful and pleasant companion, he was much beloved by his fellow students. His strong memory, his quick apprehension, and his severe application, soon enabled him to out-strip all his fellow-students. His progress was most apparent in the languages, and in the department of belles lettres. Latin and German poetry, and rhetorick seem to have been his favorite studies. The correctness of his habits, his diligence, and strict obedience to all the rules of the school, soon won the favor of all his instructors. But however rapid his progress, and pleasant his situation in the Cotta family, and however much beloved by his teachers, the ties that bound him to Eisenach must all be severed. His father had by this time improved in his worldly affairs, and as it was the long cherished wish of his

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hymns and music Luther composed, and Prof. Stowe has given an eclectic view of the whole subject in the *Biblical Repository*. But what we consider the best thing on the subject, is Luther's original collection of hymns and psalms, which is now before us. It is called, "Spiritual Songs and Psalms brought together by Dr. M. Luther, 1529." This book contains nearly all Luther's hymns, and was improved from time to time, in Luther's life time, until it became the famous "Wurtembergische Gesang Buch," with which most of our German preachers are well acquainted. The following hymns, are either translated from the Latin, or originally composed by Luther. The excellent funeral hymn, "This body let us now inter," Luther says in his preface to the hymn book, is not his "it is," said he, "an excellent hymn, and the production of a splendid poet (John Weise) but I don't want the honor of another man's labors." The following are Luther's hymns, viz:

1. "The Savior of the heathen comes," an Advent hymn—original.

2. The hymn "A Solis Ortu," translated thus,

Christ the Son of Mary,  
Shall be praised to the end of the world,  
As far as the sun, throws his rays, &c.

heart to see his son at a University, he determined to send him to Erfurt. We will now follow Luther, the student, to Erfurt, the most famous University in all Germany. Erfurt, the scene in which was acted the prelude to the stirring drama, in the eventful life of Luther. Here commenced that mighty struggle in his own soul which liberated him from the thralldom of Rome, and the dominion of sin, and emancipated a degraded and priest-ridden world, from the tyranny and bondage of the "*Man of sin.*" The foundation of Luther's splendid education, (as we have seen above,) was laid under the paternal roof, and continued in the humble school of Emelius at Mansfield, say six years, at Magdeburg one year, at Eisenach between three and four years, making eleven years—a pretty good time to prepare for the studies of a University. Luther went to Erfurt in 1501, when he was in his 18th year. He was

3. Praise be to thee, Lord Jesus Christ—original.

That thou did'st man become—Golobet seyst du Jesu Christ, dasz du Mensch geboren bist.

4. Vom Himmel hoch da komm ich her, &c.—original.

I come from the lofty skies

To bring you glad tidings.

5. Vom Himmel kam der Engel-schaar, Erscheint den Hirten offenbar, &c.—original.

The angel-host from heaven came

And appear to the shepherds on the plain, &c.

6. Der Hymnus, Hostis Herodes—original.

Was fürchtest die Feind Herodes sehr,

Dass uns geborn kömmt Christ der Herr

Er sucht kein sterblich Königreich,

Der zu uns bringt sein Himmelreich!

7. Der Lobgesang Simeons des Altvaters—original.

8. Christ lag, in Todes-banden,

Für unser Sünd, gegeben,—improved by Luther.

not now however to beg his bread, as he had done at Magdeburg and Eisenach, his father was now able to support him. But strange to tell even here Luther went through the form, and begged in a more degrading manner than he had ever done, as you will see presently! The most celebrated teacher of the scholastic philosophy in all Germany, was Dr. Judocus Trautvetter, he was a native of Eisenach, and rector of the University; under him Luther was led into all the intricate mazes of the Schoolmen. This man died at Erfurt in 1519, of a broken-heart, because he could not refute his former pupil's ninety-five Theses, and because he saw the absurd system of the schoolmen sinking and could not sustain it. The other most celebrated Professors at Erfurt were John Gryphius, and John Gravenstein, and one Bigand, this latter gentleman, says Luther, in a letter to the Elector of Saxony, "was a learned and

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9. Jesus Christus unser Heiland  
Der den Tod überwand  
Ist auferstanden, die Sünd hat er gefangen,  
Kyrie Eleeison!—original.
10. Der Hymnus, veni Spiritus Creator,  
Komm Gott Schöp Heiliger Geist—improved by Luther.
11. Veni sancte spiritus—translated thus by Luther.  
Komm heiliger Geist Herr Gott,  
Erfüll mit deiner Gnaden Güt, &c.
12. Nun bitten wir den Heiligen Geist—original.
13. Gott der Vater wohn uns bei—original.
14. The Ten Commandments in verse by Luther.  
Diess sind die heiligen zehen Gebote.
15. The Ten Commandments abridged.  
Mensch willst du leben seliglich,  
Und bey Gott bleiben ewiglich—original.
16. Das Deutsche Patrem,  
Wir glauben all an einen Gott—original.



pious man, and from him I learned much; among other things, he first informed me, that John Huss had been innocently and unjustly condemned." Luther commenced his studies in good earnest, he had laid a good foundation in the Latin at Eisenach, he was soon able to relish all the beauties of the best Latin writers. He read Cicero, Plautus, Virgil, Livy and others with great care. Cicero he had almost committed to memory.

Luther was an early riser, and even at this time commenced his daily labors with prayer. He adopted for his motto, "*To have prayed well, is to study well.*" Luther did not content himself, like too many students, by merely reading those great authors as a college task, but he tried to understand them fully,—to catch their spirit,—to make their thoughts his thoughts. Perhaps one of the most fortunate circumstances in his early life, was the fact that he

17. Our Lord's Prayer in verse—original.

18. On baptism.

Christ unser Herr zum Jordan kam—original.

19. Jesus Christus unser Heiland.

Der von uns den Zorn Gottes wandt—improved.

20. A song of praise.

Gott sey gelobet und gebenedeyet—original.

21. The 12th Psalm, *salvum me fac Domine.*

Ach Gott vom Himmel, sieh darein,

Oh God from heaven now look down—original.

22. The 40th Psalm.

Es spricht der unweisen Mund wohl—original.

23. The 46th Psalm.

Deus noster refugium et virtus,

Ein' veste Burg ist unser Gott.

This celebrated national Hymn, we have given an account of under the head of Augsburg Diet, which see. Dr. Stowe says, this hymn was not written as many suppose at the Diet of Worms in 1522. It was written

made Cicero his model. The reading of Cicero's orations, no doubt, kindled in his soul the first spark of that fire of eloquence which afterwards electrified all Germany, and startled a slumbering world into a more vigorous life! Not one of all that great master's pupils ever studied and copied Cicero so successfully. Luther was Cicero speaking in German. True, his ordinary style does not smell so much of the lamp—it is not so ornate, or so finely elaborated, but while it is deficient in the mere rhetorical graces of the mighty Roman orator, it was more soul-stirring, more powerfully overwhelming! Never was any language wielded with such tremendous effect, as the German by Luther! He read the plays of Plautus, and the poems of Virgil with much pleasure. Livy was also a favorite author with him. But most of his time seems to have been taken up with such works as Occam, Bona-

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at Coburg in 1530. We think Dr. Stowe is mistaken as to one fact in the case, the hymn in question was certainly written in 1530, but not at Coburg, or how could the party of the Elector of Saxony have sung it on their way to Augsburg? We have given a free translation in another place, those who choose can compare it with Mr. Mills' and judge for themselves as to the merits of our translation.

24. The 67th Psalm.

Es woll' uns Gott gnädig seyn—original.  
Be merciful O Lord to us!

25. The 124th Psalm.

Wär Gott nicht mit uns diese Zeit.  
Should God not at this time be with us.

26. The 127th Psalm.

Wohl dem der in Gottesfurcht steht.  
Happy is he who walks with God, or walks in God's fear.

27. The 130th Psalm.

Aus tiefer Noth schrei ich zu dir.  
From deep distress to thee I cry

ventura, Scotus and Thomas Aquinas. "Melancthon regrets that there was at that time nothing taught at Erfurt, but a logic beset with difficulties; and expresses the opinion, that if Luther had met with professors of a different character, if he had been taught a milder and more tranquilizing philosophy, it might have softened and moderated the natural vehemence of his character." Perhaps it might, but would the same ends have been accomplished? We think not. Every thing was then taught in strict conformity with the rules of Aristotle's philosophy. Aristotle was looked upon, even by theologians, as the prince of reasoners, he was considered a perfect model, no other mode of thinking could for a moment be tolerated in any seminary of learning. Luther had to study this false system, in order to demolish it, and no man that ever lived did more to break down the pagan influence of the mighty

This hymn and the music both composed by Luther, was sung with thrilling effect at his funeral at Halle. This is one of the best hymns ever written by any man. We do not like Mr. Mills' translation, it is too stiff and unpoetical, and spiritless, the same fault we find with his translation of "Ein' veste Burg ist unser Gott."

28. Das Deutsch Sanctus.

Isaia dem Propheten das geschah,  
Dasz er im Geist den Herrn sitzen sah—original.

29. A hymn for children.

Erhalt uns Herr bey deinem Wort—original.

30. Da Pacem Domine.

Give us thy peace O! Lord—translated  
Verleih uns Frieden Gnädiglich.

31. Nun freut euch lieben Christen g' mein.

Now rejoice dear Christians all.

To this hymn Luther composed that soul-thrilling music, called Monmouth in our note books.

32. A hymn of the Church—original.

Sie ist mir lieb die werthe Magd.

Stagyrite than Luther, and for this alone the whole literary world is under lasting obligations to him. Aristotle was studied not in the original Greek, but in Latin, for up to this time Luther knew but very little Greek, and had not studied Hebrew at all. These languages he afterward studied. Luther had excellent opportunities for improving his splendid mind; few men of his age possessed superior advantages. He had studied Grammar, German and Latin, Geography, History, Rhetoric, Mathematics, Philosophy, physical, mental and moral, (such as it was,) Chronology, Logic, Music, Poetry and Scholastic Divinity. This embraced nearly every thing that was studied in the fifteenth century, and even in the sixteenth, until Luther taught the world better.

He was a hard student, he studied late and early, his application was great, and his grasp of intellect immense. His memory was so strong, that it is said of him, that he retained nearly every thing that he read. His public con-

33. A funeral hymn—original.

Mitten wir im Leben sind  
Mit dem Tod umfassen.

34. The Te Deum laudamus—translated.

Herr Gott dich loben wir  
Herr Gott wir danken dir.  
Jehovah Lord we praise thee,  
Jehovah Lord we thank thee.

35. The German Litany. Kyrie Eleeison.

36. Latina litania correcta. This was a Latin chant of praise.

37. The celebrated martyr Hymn—original.

38. Hymnus O lux beata,—translated.

In all Luther composed and translated about 50 hymns, which was about one-fourth of all the hymns then used in the Church, and either composed or improved most of the tunes. His hymns and tunes assisted vastly in the great work of the Reformation.

troversies prove this fact, especially his debate with De Vio, and Dr. John Eck. He was a great reader, he read every thing as it came in his way ; he was in the habit of visiting the library of the University almost daily, and examining the books it contained. We have no means now of ascertaining the number of books the library of the University contained, the number was no doubt small, and not very valuable at that. It was during one of these visits that Luther met with a curious book, he took it down from the shelf, and wiped the dust from it. It was a large book with a parchment cover,—he opened it, and saw displayed in large red letters the words, “*Biblia Sacra,*” the holy Bible, a book that he had never seen before, yea he had never heard of such a book, although he was then twenty years old, and had been a member of the University nearly two years ! He was astonished and delighted to find such a treasure, he turned over its pages, and read with deep interest and unspeakable joy ! Here we may well pause a moment, and inquire can it really be possible that Luther had never seen a Bible ? It is even so. The Romanists try hard to get out of this difficulty. Dr. Spalding, in his review of D’Aubigne’s History of the Reformation says : “D’Aubigne professes to borrow all this fine history from Mathesius, a disciple and ardent and credulous admirer of Luther, and from M. Adam, another biographer of the reformer. It is a story absurd enough in all conscience, and too clumsily contrived even for a well digested romance. What ! Are we to believe that Luther, at the age of twenty, did not know that there was

a Bible, until he chanced to discover one in the library at Erfurt? And that he until then piously believed that the whole Scriptures were comprised in that choice selection of gospels and epistles, read on Sunday and festivals in the church service? He, too, a young man of great talent and promise, who had successively attended the schools of Mansfield, Eisenach and Magdeburg, and had already been two years at the University of Erfurt? The thing is utterly incredible, (not to Protestants,) and stamped with absurdity on its very face. Luther must have been singularly stupid, had he remained thus ignorant." We would here beg leave to inform Dr. Spalding, and all the Roman Catholics in the United States, that Luther himself asserts the fact of his finding the Bible, and of his never having seen one before he was twenty years old. It is not an invented romance of his biographers. If this statement, as made again and again by Luther, is not true then no fact in the history of the Reformation can be established. But the fact as stated by Luther, receives confirmation from the state of the papal church before the Reformation, as well as from the testimony of Carlstadt and Mathesius; the former says, "I was actually made a Doctor of Divinity in the papal church, before I had ever seen a Bible." And the latter declares that he never heard the Ten Commandments, the Symbols, the Lord's Prayer, or Baptism, read from a Roman Catholic pulpit, and he was twenty-five years old when he left the papal church. It is true a few small and imperfect editions of the Bible were published in German before Luther's time, for in-

stance in 1470 there was an edition printed, another in 1483, another in 1490. But these editions were very small, and not intended for general use. Princes and noblemen, and rich institutions, generally bought up the few hundred copies that were printed, and confined them just as the one at Erfurt, or the other that was chained at Wittenberg. The fact is, the Roman Catholic Church cannot exist where the Bible is at liberty. Popery and the Bible! —What a contradiction!

But to proceed with Luther's discovery of the Bible, he opened it at 1 Samuel, and read the first, second and third chapters. How strange, how wonderful! how simple, yet how sublime the narrative. He had read many thrilling legends of the saints, and many fine pictures drawn by heathen poets, but such a beautiful and touching scene he had never seen! It gave an account of Hannah—her son Samuel—his birth and dedication to God. It made a deep and powerful impression upon his mind. He returned again and again and read in this wonderful book; even his beloved Cicero, Plautus and Virgil sink into utter insignificance by the side of the Bible. D'Aubigne says: "*the Reformation lay hid in that Bible.*" Yes, this is true, that long lost and neglected Book was under God, in the hands of Luther, the *cause, manner and instrument of the glorious and ever-blessed Reformation!*

The Bible fell into Luther's hands at a favorable juncture; he was then reading law, to gratify his father, and had intended to devote himself to the legal profession.

But the finding of the Bible changed his destinies, and the destiny of the world. Without this, the world might have slumbered on another century. Luther loved the Bible, and read it through time and again, and that which made him so vastly superior, as a theologian, to all his antagonists, was the simple fact, that he was well acquainted with the Bible, and they were not. Soon after the finding of the Bible, Luther became a candidate for the first honors of the University, viz. for Bachelor of Arts, and in preparing himself for the examination, he applied himself so closely, that he brought a severe spell of sickness upon himself, and during this illness he became an awakened sinner. This seems to end his scholastic life.



## CHAPTER IV.

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### *Luther, the awakened sinner.*

WE will now contemplate Luther in his 21st year, as an awakened sinner. And in the first place, notice the means by which he became awakened; second, the state of his mind before his conversion.

It is a delightful task to trace the mighty workings of divine grace upon the sinner's mind from the first moment the heart is softened and melted into humble contrition, by the truth of God through the Eternal Spirit,—to watch the storms and convulsions of the soul, until it passes, through faith, into the calm and peaceful enjoyment of the light and liberty of the children of God! As Luther was an extraordinary man, every thing connected with him was extraordinary, but his conversion. But in order to get into the train of moral events, which led to his awakening, we must retrace our steps a little, and take a rapid glance at his religious training. His father and mother were pious, and had taught him to pray—they instructed him in religion so far as they understood it—they were very strict disciplinarians, and seem to have been so far successful in his moral training, as to keep him from the grosser vices of his age. Still he had a wicked and corrupt heart, like all other unrenewed sinners; he learned

some religious truths at home, and some at the school in Mansfield, where he learned the Commandments and the Catechism. At Madgeburg he heard the pious Augustinian Monk, Proles, preaching against the corruptions of the church—no doubt Proles taught the corruptions of the human heart, and the necessity of regeneration—at Eisenach he was in the pious Cotta family, where he, no doubt, heard something more about true religion—he then found the Bible—he then took sick and expected to die—and had no interest in Christ—no hope of heaven. While in this state, expecting to be called into the awful presence of his Maker, and that too, without an interest in Christ, he became dreadfully alarmed! He fasted, and prayed, and mourned, and wept, but found no comfort. Those that were about him did not understand heart-religion, and of course could not enter into his feelings. There was one old monk at Erfurt who seems to have known Christ by experience, Luther's case was made known to him; he went to see the young man—he understood his case, and spoke comfort to his troubled soul—he pointed him to Christ as the only Savior. "Be encouraged," says the old monk, "my dear Bachelor, you will not die on this bed; God will yet make you a great man, and you shall yet comfort many souls, for God sends the cross of affliction early upon those whom he loves, and those who are patient can learn much here." This simple sentence calmed the troubled and desponding mind of Luther. He soon after recovered in body and mind. He was not yet converted, he was only a little calmed. This was in 1503.

After his recovery he resumed his studies with his usual diligence, and made rapid progress. Yet his mind was not at ease—there was still something wanting. He was more attentive to the duties of religion—he prayed more fervently, and read more and more in the Bible, and saw every day more clearly the importance and necessity of heart-religion—he saw more and more the corruptions of his depraved nature. He however continued on in his studies for two years, i. e. till 1505, when two events occurred which led more fully to his conversion.

The first is the murder of his friend Alexis, the second the thunder-storm which overtook him. In 1505 Luther was made Master of Arts, which honor was at that time equivalent to “Doctor of Philosophy,” and gave him the right to lecture on Philosophy publicly. He availed himself of this right and lectured with applause on Natural Philosophy, and the ethics of Aristotle. But the dry system of a poor pagan philosopher, and the heartless notions of the scholastic divinity, could not satisfy the longings of his ardent soul. He wanted other and more spiritual food! He had already seen and felt himself a sinner, in the sight of a holy God, and he knew that as such he lay under the wrath of an offended Judge. He knew too, that he must have a personal interest in the blood of Christ or perish eternally! He was in a state of deep mental depression, when an event occurred which alarmed him still more. It was this: a young man, by the name of Alexis, an intimate friend of his, was murdered in the streets of Erfurt; as soon as Luther heard the report, he

ran to the spot, and found that it was true. He became much alarmed, and asked himself the question, "what would become of me, if I were thus suddenly called away?" After this his convictions of sin increased daily. He tells us himself that he "was seized with dreadful alarms of conscience, and the terrors of the grave." Luther was now studying law, but he soon lost all relish for that branch, and no doubt made up his mind to abandon it, and prepare himself for the church. During the Summer vacation of 1505, he went home (to Mansfield) to visit his parents, and perhaps to inform his father of the change that had taken place in his mind. But whether he and his father had any conversation on the subject, we do not know; Luther has said nothing about it. At the end of the vacation he returned to Erfurt, and on his way thither, when he was near the town, he was overtaken by a tremendous thunder storm—he endeavored to reach Erfurt, but did not succeed before the storm burst in upon him in all its terror! The fierce and terrific storm roared; the loud thunder came peal after peal, and crash after crash—and the bolts of heaven seemed to fall thick and heavy around him. Luther ran through the raging storm in terror and dread until he came near the walls of the Augustinian monastery, and overpowered he sank down upon his knees, and vowed, if spared, to become a monk!

These two events, viz. the assassination of Alexis and the thunder storm are often confounded with each other, but Melancthon, Mathesius, Selnecker and other early biographers, confirm the view we have given. At all events,

these two scenes made a deep impression upon his mind, and he became more dreadfully alarmed than ever. The question was now extorted from his anxious bosom. "What must I do to be saved?" The more he thought about his hopeless situation the worse he felt. As is generally the case with awakened sinners, Luther went about to establish his own righteousness. He must make himself better—he must prepare himself some way or other for God's favor—he must perform good works—he must mortify the flesh, and thus merit salvation. He longed for holiness of heart, and he knew this could only be found in Christ. But he had made a vow to become a monk; he will do that—he will leave this wicked and sinful world, and enter into a monastery, and there in that sacred retirement he can surely find rest—there among those holy and heavenly-minded men, he can find peace for his troubled soul! He had often read of the piety and heavenly-mindedness of hermits and monks—often too, when they could find rest no where on earth, they have found it within the sacred solitude of a cell. Luther had a vivid imagination, and no doubt he pictured to himself in strong colors, the nappiness of a monastic life!

Poor Luther! he had yet to learn that true happiness flows, not so much from the condition in which we are placed, as from the state of mind in which we are! However, he determined to become a monk. He can endure the agonies of an awakened mind no longer, he will therefore at once enter a monastery. The firm resolve is made; come what will I will become an Augustinian monk. He

finds some relief even in this resolution, he is now sure of happiness. He did not long consult with flesh and blood—his splendid prospects in life—the high and aspiring hopes of his father, must all be blasted. He looked upon the world and all its blushing honors, with contempt! He did not communicate his determination to any person. He was perhaps fearful that great efforts might be made to prevent him from carrying out his resolution, and in what he then thought a matter between him and his Maker, he did not want to be interfered with. Luther invited a number of his most intimate fellow-students to spend an evening with him in a social manner, as was then, and is still customary in German Universities. His friends came, and found Luther as cheerful and lively as ever. The evening passes away with great joy and hilarity, till near the close, when Luther informs them of his determination to become a monk. At first they do not believe him, some think he is only jesting. But his firm manner soon convinces them that he is really in earnest. They then expostulate and remonstrate, but all to no purpose; he is immovable. It is not probable that he informed them how soon he intended to enter the monastery. With sad and heavy hearts they separate. The young men to their rooms, and Luther is left alone! We may imagine him there alone, in the silent and gloomy hour of midnight, casting himself upon his knees, and once more taking a final adieu of the world!

He then takes Virgil and Plautus, no other books, and nothing else—he wants nothing to remind him of the

world. In the dead of the night he goes to the great gate of the convent with a firm step—he knocks, and is admitted. This was on the night of the 17th of July, 1505, (not as D'Aubigne says the 17th of August.) Luther was then in his 22d year. When the great door had been swung shut upon its huge hinges, and the harsh sounds had ceased to reverberate through the dark and dismal vaults and passages of that ancient pile—when all was hushed save the distant echo of the sentinel's measured tread, and the violent beatings of his own heart, Luther cast himself upon his knees and thanked God for his safe deliverance from a wicked and sinful world! Ah! thinks the young monk, I shall now find rest and peace—that sweet tranquillity for which I have sighed so long, will surely be found within these sacred walls! I have now left the world, and now I must be happy. But alas! poor deluded monk, thou hast taken thy wicked and unrenewed heart, which is the cause of all thy sorrows, with thee. Luther did not then know that there was but one way of salvation either in the world or the convent, and that way was through faith in Jesus Christ. But so it was, the great man had to pass through all the moral machinery of the religion of Rome, in order to test its efficacy, and discovery its insufficiency. If Luther had not done this, the advocates of popery would say, he did not understand their system.

Luther learned by sad and painful experience, that man is not saved by the deeds of the law, but by faith.

Next morning the news spread through the University, and through all Erfurt, that Martin Luther, the young Doctor of Philosophy, the most promising and splendid student in the University, had become a monk! Every body was astonished—the Professors of the University were mortified to think that a set of ignorant and beggarly monks should make such a fine conquest.

A number of students repaired to the convent to see Luther, but according to the rules of the order, no novitiate could be seen for thirty days, all remonstrance and expostulation were therefore at an end.

Luther immediately wrote to his father, informing him of the important step he had taken. But his father was highly displeased with the measure, and wrote an angry letter to his son; some say he came on himself to Erfurt to reclaim his erring son. He did not become reconciled with Martin for several years.

The monks were of course delighted with the idea of having the most talented young man of the University among their number. The young Doctor of Philosophy must now be humbled, he must despise not only the world but his talents and his learning. He must beg bread for us—his pride must be lowered. Thus, those ignorant monks were unconsciously preparing Luther for the mighty work God designed him to accomplish. As the youngest monk, he had to perform all the servile work in the convent. He had to sweep the rooms, wind the clock, keep the doors, and according to the testimony of Walch, he had even to scrub the sewers of the convent; (Er musste sogar die



Kloaken des Klosters ausfegen.) And then when he was done with his servile work, he had to take the bag and go through Erfurt and beg bread and cheese, and eggs and meat, and whatever he could get. If he was slow in starting, some well fed and jolly old monk, who was perhaps getting hungry, would cry out, "*Cum sacco per civitatem,*" (with your bag through the city !)

Luther continued this degrading work until the Professors of the University and the citizens generally remonstrated with the Prior of the convent, who after some time interfered in his behalf and he was treated differently. He was permitted to read and study. He turned his first attention to the Church Father, and studied with great care the works of St. Augustine, (whose name he assumed in his new state of existence,) this was the patron saint of their order. The reading of St. Augustine, and his partiality for that good man, may perhaps account for his peculiar views. In the early part of his life, Luther was strong in his Augustinian views, but we shall show the reader, in the course of our narrative, that the Great Reformer changed his views on the subjects of election, predestination, and the freedom of the will, long before he died. The aptness with which he quoted from the writings of St. Augustine, at Marburg and other places, shows how carefully he had studied his works. About this time he also read the works of William Occam, the great Parisian doctor, he who stood at the head of the Nominalists. He also read Duns, Scotus, Gerson, and Biel, and Thomas Aquinas. It was no doubt, whilst reading these authors

that Luther became disgusted with the scholastic theology, as well as the unmeaning mysticism which grows out of it. It must be borne in mind that Luther was an awakened sinner, and was now seeking rest and peace for his soul. No doubt too, the ignorant monks, who knew something of his state of mind, referred him to these several authors, as those who could show him the way of salvation. But he became convinced that neither the fathers, the schoolmen, nor the mystics, could point him to happiness and to peace. Their unmeaning jargon could not satisfy the honest and truth-seeking soul of the learned monk. Still the time he spent in studying the works of these schoolmen and mystics, was not lost, it was all turned to good account; for the knowledge he thus gained enabled him more successfully to demolish the whole rotten superstructure of Romanism.

In the library of the convent there was a Bible, but strange to state, it was actually chained fast! This is the way Romanism has always treated the *Word of God*; it either chains it, or burns it, or buries it in a dead language. To this chained Bible Luther often resorted, and drank from this fountain of eternal truth! May not this account for his disgust with the schoolmen?

As he continued reading the Bible, he became more and more interested in its truth. During the last few years in the University, he had commenced the study of the Greek language, he now also commenced the study of the Hebrew. In reading the Bible, he saw and felt the necessity of understanding the languages in which it was originally

written. He read the commentary of Nicholas Lyra, and from him got some little insight into the spiritual meaning of God's Word. The Bible now seemed more attractive than ever. He became so deeply absorbed in studying the sacred scriptures, that he neglected the duties of his monastic order. For instance, the rules of his order required him to say so many "*pater nosters*" every hour, to cross himself so many times in an hour, and to prostrate himself so often in the day before a crucifix, or before a picture of the Virgin. Some of these duties he had omitted. But he soon became dreadfully alarmed, for he was yet a poor deluded papist, and but for him, we might all now be just what he was! His conscience lashed him, and he soon returned to his prayers, and all the unmeaning ceremonies and duties his superiors imposed upon him. He discharged all the duties that were required at his hands, in deep sincerity, but all, all was in vain—there was no comfort for him. There was a wound in his heart that all the mummeries of popery could never heal! There was something wanting, of which as yet, he had no idea. The first comfort he found was in a work of St. Augustine, called the Spirit and the Letter, (*De Spiritu et Litera.*) From this work he seems to have caught the first faint glimmering of that truth which afterwards led him to the feet of Christ.

But his mind was very much perplexed and troubled. He now commenced comparing the writings of the schoolmen with those of the fathers, and with the Bible. This was one of the most useful labors of his life; for this more

than anything else opened his eyes to the enormous errors of the scholastic divinity. So intent was he upon his studies, that he scarcely took time to eat, and it is said that at one period he never went to bed for seven weeks in succession. The little sleep he got was upon his chair!

No poor monk ever labored with more sincerity and self-denial. He tried hard to merit salvation, he labored faithfully in accordance with the Religion of Rome, but all to no purpose. He prayed, he watched, he fasted, he mortified his body, and crucified his flesh, until his robust frame was worn down to a mere skeleton, and his once elastic and sprightly mind became dispirited and crushed! Sad and wan was now that once cheerful and animated countenance! Those once bright and piercing eyes, were now buried deep in their sockets—his weary limbs were now scarcely able to support his feeble frame! In the beautiful language of the Bible, “his soul was poured out like water, and there was no health in his bones.” His eyes were filled with weeping, and there was none to wipe away his tears! O! how sad his condition; there he was shut up in his lonely cell, and there was no eye to pity, and no arm to save, at least none that he knew. Methinks, that even now, after the lapse of more than three hundred years, we can still see the disconsolate monk in his cheerless cell at Erfurt, now upon his knees before a crucifix saying his prayers, and crossing himself most devoutly—now groaning in spirit and calling upon the Virgin Mary—now in turn upon all the saints—now casting himself upon the cold flags and most piteously be-

moaning his lost and ruined condition! Now exclaiming, in the deep and torn agony of his wounded heart, "O! wretched man that I am,, who shall deliver me from the body of this death." Luther was now fairly under the awakening influences of the Spirit of God.

He now clearly saw his lost and undone condition, but knew not yet how to escape the death that never dies. Luther in after life frequently refers to this tremendous conflict. He says: "I tormented myself almost to death, to procure for my troubled heart and agitated conscience, peace in the presence of God; but I was still encompassed with thick darkness and could find peace nowhere." And again he says: "If ever a poor monk entered heaven by his monkish merits, certainly I should have obtained an admittance there; all the monks who knew me will confirm this, and if it had lasted much longer I should have become literally a martyr through watchings, prayers, readings and other labors."

And again, "Though as a monk I was holy and irreproachable, my conscience was still filled with trouble and pain. I did not love that holy Being who punishes sinners. I felt a secret anger against him; I hated him.' Here we see the workings of the carnal mind. D'Aubigne says: "Luther did not find in the tranquility of the cloister, the peace he was in quest of. He wanted an assurance that he was saved, this was the great want of his soul, without this he could not rest. But the fears that had shaken him in the world, pursued him to his cell, nay more, they increased there, and the least cry of his con-

science seemed to resound beneath the vaulted roofs of the cloister. God had led him thither, that he might learn to know himself, and to despair of his own strength and virtues. His conscience enlightened by the divine word, taught him what it was to be holy, but he was filled with terror at finding, neither in his own heart nor in his life, the transcript of that holiness which he contemplated with astonishment in the word of God. Melancholy discovery ! and one that is made by every sincere Christian. He found no righteousness within, and none in outward actions. The more ardent Luther's natural character, the more powerful was his secret resistance to that which was good, and the deeper did it plunge him into despair."

Some twenty years afterwards, in explaining the 38th Psalm, and 21st verse, Luther seems to refer to his own painful experience, where he puts the following language into the mouth of the awakened sinner, "Forsake me not, oh, Lord my God, be not far from me, for I am desolate, alone and forsaken." "God," says Luther, "does not receive any but the forsaken—makes none whole but the sick—opens the eyes of none but the blind—makes none alive but those who are dead—makes none holy but those who are sinners—has compassion on none but those who feel their wretchedness and misery." When Luther was in the heighth of his agony—when his cup of misery seemed to be full even to the brim—and when he appeared to be rapidly verging into despair, the monks became alarmed for his safety. Still they urged him to a more rigid performance of his duties—he must pray more—fast

more—do more good works—mortify his body more, and thus appease the wrath of God. This was the religion of Rome then, it is the same now ; for the boast of Rome is “*idem semper, ubique,*” (the same always and everywhere.) That religion then as now, knew only one remedy for sin, and that is, works of satisfaction. Luther himself tells us what he did to merit salvation : “I resorted to a thousand methods to appease the reproaches of my heart, I confessed my sins every day, but all to no purpose.” With all his popish works, he was getting worse and worse. At last he shut himself up in his cell, and refused all intercourse even with his fellow monks, determined, as his Magdeburg biographer says, “to be alone with himself and the sorrows of his heart.” Here in this gloomy solitude, shut out from the whole world, and cut off from all human sympathy, he wrestled in dreadful agony alone with his God. Melancthon says, “often at this time, when he reflected upon the wrath of God, he was so overpowered that he became insensible, as though he were dead.” This says the same author, “he told me himself.”

Such was the intense agony of his soul, that at length his powerful mind, and once vigorous body, were both completely overpowered, and he sank down to the floor in despair ! The gates of hell gat hold upon him, and the deep waters of affliction had gone over his head ! There he lay like the smitten oak upon which have fallen the bolts of heaven, in dumb and speechless agony ! The greater part of the ignorant monks did not understand the nature of the mighty struggle that was then agitating Lu-

ther's mind. Some of them even ascribed his condition to the influence of the devil!

One day Lucas Edenberger, a friend of Luther, came to visit him—he had brought some singers with him, perhaps he had heard of his distressed state of mind. He found the door of the cell shut, Edenberger knocked at the door but received no answer, he then looked in at the key hole, and saw Luther lying on the ground upon his face. He forced open the door, and found him in a state of unconsciousness—they could do nothing with him until they struck up a familiar tune—the sound of singing soon brought him to himself, and he gradually recovered. But the sweet sounds of music could only give him a temporary relief, he needed something more to satisfy his drooping soul. Still Luther was unconverted, his agony of mind unabated, his sins unpardoned. The arrows of the Almighty, yea the barbed arrows of his truth, had sunk deep into the monk's heart, and no cure could be effected until they were extracted. As yet the poor distressed monk had become acquainted with no one who had experienced such a conflict! About this time, (in 1506,) Luther became acquainted with the celebrated John Staupitz; this was one of the most important events in the history of his life, for it was mainly through this excellent man that he became acquainted with the way of life, and it was through the same prudent and far-sighted individual, that he was brought out of the obscurity of the convent, and that his splendid talents were not lost to the world. Staupitz had himself passed through the same mental conflict, and that



too, like Luther within the walls of an Augustinian convent. John Staupitz was an experienced Christian, a profound scholar, a sound divine, a gentleman of noble birth, and a theologian of high standing in the church and the world. But he was too timid ever to become a reformer, the glorious reformation of the church was to be the work of his more illustrious protégé. Staupitz stood high in the affection of Frederic, the Elector of Saxony, he was present, as representative of Saxony, at the famous Lateran Council, and was at this time Vicar-General of forty Augustinian convents in Germany. It was during one of his official visits, (perhaps in the spring of 1506,) that he became acquainted with Luther. As soon as he saw the young monk, he at once suspected the cause of his emaciated and wan countenance—his sunken eye, and his feeble frame—he saw in every feature and lineament of his care-worn face evidences of the deep inward struggle of his soul. He inquired into his history and soon became deeply interested in the case of the distressed young monk. And well did he know how to deal with an awakened sinner. He approached the distressed monk in kindness and affection, and gently poured the balm of consolation into his wounded soul! The sweet and cheering words of the Vicar-General dropped like the dews of heaven upon the troubled heart of Luther. At length peace is to be restored to his distressed soul! Luther complained to Staupitz of the wickedness of his heart; “When I make a vow,” says he, “I cannot keep it on account of the wickedness of my heart.” “Oh,” replied Staupitz, “I myself have made thousands of vows, and

have not been able to keep them; if God will not be merciful to me, for Christ's sake, and grant me a happy death, I cannot, with all my vows and good works, stand before him,—I must certainly perish." "Look," continued he, "to the wounds of Jesus, to the blood he shed for you,—it is there you can see the mercy of God. Instead, therefore, of punishing yourself for your faults, cast yourself into the arms of your Redeemer—trust in him—trust in the righteousness of his life—in the expiatory sacrifice of his death; do not shrink from him, God is not against you, it is you who are averse to him. Listen then, to the Son of God, who became man in order that he might assure you of the favor of God." "But," says Luther, "how can I believe in the favor of God, as long as I am not really converted; must I not be changed before he will receive me?" "No," replied Staupitz, "there is no true repentance but that which begins in the love of God. If you wish to be truly converted, do not practice those mortifications and penances, but love him who first loved you." No wonder that the Roman Catholics call Staupitz a half-way Protestant. If the church of Rome generally had held the doctrines of grace, as here taught by Staupitz, there would have been no reformation necessary, at least on that doctrine.

Luther listened to Staupitz as though he heard a voice from heaven! New light at once bursts into his darkened mind, joy springs up in his soul; he is better satisfied, but still he is not yet a new creature in Christ Jesus. Luther had as yet not what he wanted, an evidence that

he was a child of God through Christ—he was not yet accepted in the Beloved! The storms and tempests, the convulsions and mighty thunderings of Mount Sinai had subsided, but the melting tones of Calvary had not yet thrilled his soul. Still he became more composed, so much so, that he resumed his studies. He commenced with St. Augustine, and studied him more thoroughly than before. He tried again to fathom the profound mysteries of the early fathers, and to unravel the intricate subtleties of the schoolmen. Staupitz checked him in his fruitless labors and made him a present of a Latin Bible, and told him to study that. He now commenced the study of the Bible in good earnest. He was particularly interested with Paul's Epistles to the Romans and the Galatians. From these he learned, that although his agony of mind was not so great as it had been, yet he was not in a state of justification. The passage, "Therefore being justified by faith, we have peace with God," seemed to perplex him much. He again became alarmed about the safety of his soul. Luther had no doubt been under the impression, that his sins had been pardoned, when the first transient gleam of hope had dawned upon his troubled soul, but like thousands since, he afterwards found that he had been mistaken.

About this time he was again taken with a severe illness. This was during the second year of his monastic life. He became very ill, he was not expected to live, he himself thought his days were at an end—he found himself in the very jaws of death, and that too, without a

well-grounded hope of heaven! During this illness, all his former agonies of mind returned with redoubled power—he was ready to sink into despair—there seemed no help for him—he seems to have forgotten all the cheering and heavenly instructions of Staupitz. When Luther was overwhelmed with the dreadful thoughts of his eternal ruin, an old monk entered into his cell and addressed him kindly, he himself had found comfort from the Creed, and he thought he would apply the same simple remedy to the afflicted brother. Calling Luther's attention to the Creed, he uttered the words, "*I believe in the forgiveness of sins,*" with emphasis and earnestness. "I believe," repeated Luther, "I believe in the forgiveness of sins." "Ah, but," exclaims the aged and pious monk, "you must not only believe that the sins of David or Hezekiah were forgiven, but that your sins are forgiven." "The commandment of God," says the old monk, "is that we believe in the forgiveness of our sins." "Hear," says the same individual, "what St. Bernard of the 12th century says, in his sermon on the Annunciation, "the testimony which the Holy Ghost applies to thy heart is this, thy sins are forgiven thee." Here faith first seemed to spring up in Luther's mind; his soul was now happy in Christ! He believed, and his sins were forgiven—it was then that God's eternal truth first flashed into his troubled soul! He became a new man from that hour. He was saved, and as D'Aubigne justly remarks, "he received salvation not from Rome, but from Christ himself," and we might add, he thenceforward belonged, not to Rome, but to

Christ! Luther's conversion seems to have been calm and quiet—there seems to have been nothing boisterous in it—he felt happy and joyful in his liberation from sin. From his extraordinary convictions, and his deep agony of soul, and his subsequent happiness, no one can doubt his genuine conversion to God. He could now go on his way rejoicing. God had thus led him by a way that he knew not, and was training him for a mighty work in after years. Luther now read his Bible with pleasure and delight. Soon after his happy change Staupitz, in speaking with him about his tremendous conflict, said, “dear Martin, you do not now know how useful these severe trials and temptations will be to you; God did not send these soul-afflictions upon you for nothing, you will see that God will use you for some great purpose.”

Luther gives us an account of his own conversion in his own simple but powerful language. “However blameless a life I might lead as a monk, I experienced a most unquiet conscience. I saw myself a vile sinner before God. I saw that I could do nothing to appease him, and I hated the very idea of a just God that punishes sinners. I was well versed in all St. Paul's writings, and in particular, I had a most wonderful desire to understand his Epistle to the Romans. But I was puzzled with the expression, “Therein is the righteousness of God revealed.” My heart rose almost against God with a silent sort of blasphemy, I said, at least in secret, with great murmuring and indignation, “was it not enough that wretched man, already ruined by the course of original depravity, should be oppressed with every species of misery, through

the condemning power of the commandment, but that even through the gospel, God should threaten us with his anger and justice, and thereby add sorrow to sorrow? I turned the above mentioned passage over and over my desire to know Paul's meaning was very great. At length while I was meditating day and night on the words, and their connexion which immediately follows, viz: 'The just shall live by faith,' it pleased God to have pity on me, to open my eyes, and show me that the righteousness of God which is here said in the gospel to be revealed from faith to faith, relates to the method by which God in his mercy justifies a sinner through faith, agreeably to what is written, 'the just shall live by faith.' Hence I felt myself to be a new man, and all the Scriptures appeared to have a new face. I ran quickly through them as my memory enabled me. I collected together the leading terms, and I observed in their meaning a strict analogy according to my new views. Thus in many instances the work of God, means that he works in us; and the power and wisdom of God mean the power and wisdom by which his Spirit operates in the minds of the faithful; and in the same manner are to be understood the patience, the salvation, and the glory of God. The expression, '*Righteousness of God,*' now became as sweet to my mind as it had before been hateful, and this very passage of Paul proved to me the entrance into Paradise."

Having now followed Luther through the first great conflict, let us next contemplate him as a preacher of the gospel, and a pious, holy and consistent follower of Jesus Christ.

## CHAPTER V.

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### *Luther, the Christian Preacher.*

THUS far we have contemplated Luther in the humble sphere of a private individual. True, all the various stages and incidents of his hitherto eventful and checkered life, had their influence and bearing upon his future destiny. We have seen, that the foundations of his moral and intellectual education were laid deep and broad. This was necessary in order to qualify him for the successful prosecution of the great work, which, in the Providence of God, was assigned him. We have already had a glimpse at the first stages of the great Reformation; for that Reformation had its life in Luther's regenerated soul! His religion was his most useful qualification; for without a deep and thorough knowledge of his own heart, and without clear and settled views of the plan of salvation, he never could have conducted the church of Christ in safety, through the convulsions of that stormy period.

But his splendid talents, and his vast fund of human knowledge, were also of great importance; for in the mighty conflict Luther had to grapple with all kinds of characters, and all sorts of minds, learned and ignorant, talented and stupid. In the hour of her peril Rome hunted up her most talented and learned sons, to defend her against the vigorous and tremendous attacks of Luther.

Never had the church of Rome met with such an enemy, such an extraordinary man—such a moral and literary phenomenon—a man of such talents—such knowledge—such aptness to teach—such eloquence—such invincible courage—such a memory—why, he could quote for hours the very words of the Prophets, the Apostles—the Church Fathers—the Schoolmen—Aristotle—Cicero—the Decretals, in short, everything seemed to be in his head, and at his finger's end. Luther met on the great polemic arena of the 16th century, such an array of learning, and eloquence, and sophistry, and worldly power, and impudence, as no other man had encountered, and he bravely mowed his way through them, and came out victorious. Tetzels, Eck, Alexander, Wimpina, Prierias, Hochstraten, De Rovera, De Vio, Latomus, Henry the VIII, Sir Thomas More, and even Erasmus, the great literary giant of the day, all these seemed but small and weak in the grasp of the sturdy monk. No earthly power could stand before him, for with the iron rod of his tremendous and merciless eloquence, he would beat down and crush all opposition. Let no one think that we put too high an estimate upon the learning and eloquence of Luther, the sequel will show that he cannot well be overrated.

We now come to that period of his life, where the splendor of his talents begin to appear. Frederic the Wise, Elector of Saxony, according to the fashion of those days, had founded a new University at Wittenberg in 1502. He was determined that this institution should be supplied with the best Professors that could be procured. John



Von Staupitz, as we have stated above, was one of the most accomplished and learned theologians in Germany, and stood high in the affections of the Elector. As the Elector had every confidence in Staupitz, he entrusted him with the important business of selecting Professors for his new University. And how well he succeeded in carrying out the designs of his Prince, is well known to the world. Such a brilliant constellation of learning, genius and piety, as he brought together at Wittenberg, the world had never seen. Luther had learning and talent enough himself to confer immortal celebrity upon any institution in the world. Staupitz, as Vicar-General of the Augustinians, was well acquainted with Luther, he knew the depth of his piety, the extent of his attainments, and the splendor of his talents. He therefore selected him as Professor of Mental and Nat. Philosophy, (*Weltweisheit, und Naturlehre.*) Luther felt it his duty to accept the appointment, and immediately repaired to the scene of his future labors. In October 1508, in the 25th year of his age, Luther commenced his splendid career as a public teacher at Wittenberg. At Wittenberg he took up his abode in the Augustinian Convent, for although he was now a Professor in the University, he did not cease to be a monk; and according to the religion of Rome, he could never cease to be a monk. The first duty assigned him, was to read lectures on the *Dialectics of Aristotle*. His lectures soon attracted attention. It was perhaps during the first year of his residence at Wittenberg, that the vigorous mind of the young Saxon monk, commenced to

grapple with the false philosophy of the mighty Stagyrte, whose erroneous system had swayed the minds of the whole civilized world for nearly 2000 years. Luther first broke the spell that had so long held the human mind in bondage. If Luther had never done anything more than liberate the christian mind from a pagan system of philosophy he would be fully entitled to the gratitude of all christendom. It is a pity, that none of his early lectures on Aristotle were preserved, we might see from them by what mode of ratiocination he proved the system of the famous Stagyrte wrong, and why he rejected his whole work. Luther soon got tired of lecturing on pagan philosophy; although as a lecturer he soon became very popular and attracted much attention, his lecture room was always crowded, but still he was not in his proper element. This will appear from a letter he addressed to his old friend, John Braun, vicar of Eisenach in 1509.

“I am, by the grace of God, quite well and pleasantly situated, with the exception that the study of philosophy is exceedingly irksome to me, and from the beginning I was anxious to exchange it for theology; I mean that theology which penetrates into the kernel of the nut, the substance of the wheat, and the marrow of the bones. But God is God;” Luther’s desire was soon gratified, he was appointed Professor of Biblical Theology in March 1509. He was now in his proper element, he now had time to study his beloved Bible. His lectures on the Psalms and the Epistles to the Romans, were received with great applause. In his lectures he followed no master but his

Savior, adopted no rules but those suggested by his own judgment. His fame soon spread—students, professors, citizens and strangers all flocked to hear the lectures of this extraordinary young man. Dr. Pollich who attended his lectures was so struck with one of his lectures on the Psalms, that he made the following remark, “this monk will put all Doctors to the rout, he will introduce a new style of doctrine, and will reform the whole church; for he builds upon the *word* of Christ, and no one in the world can either resist or overthrow that word, though it should be attacked by all the weapons of philosophers, Sophists, Scotists, Albertists, and Thomists.” And how correct the prediction! Luther’s fame spread far and wide, and soon students from all parts of Saxony, began to flock towards Wittenberg. Luther studied hard, he was at it late and early. And every lecture he delivered was more interesting than its predecessor—his fearless and independent manner, his eloquence, and above all the truth he taught, won for him the admiration of all who heard him.

In 1509, Luther became Bachelor of Divinity, he still continued to lecture with great applause. When his reputation was established as a public lecturer, Staupitz encouraged him to become a preacher, in the proper sense of that term. But being naturally, or perhaps by his education timid, he for a long time refused, until at last being overcome by the arguments and solicitations of his friend and patron, he reluctantly consented. Luther, like most great men, had as yet no idea of his own tremendous powers. He commenced republishing the gospel of

Christ, in a small wooden church that stood in the centre of the square in Wittenberg. His preaching produced powerful effects, the people in Wittenberg had never heard such preaching before—his manner,—his doctrines,—his earnestness, were all different from those of other preachers. Every body was anxious to hear him, and the little church which was only 20 by 30 feet, soon became too small to accommodate his hearers. No wonder the people were interested in his preaching, for the religion he preached was deeply imbedded in, and interwoven with, his very soul—his words flowed from his lips, and fell upon the hearts of his hearers like peals of thunder. In a short time he was elected town-preacher, and then he had a wider range for his pulpit talents. As a preacher, take him all in all, Luther never had a superior, and perhaps never an equal. His voice was manly and sweet, he could raise it or lower it at will, his elocution was faultless—his gestures were easy and graceful—his cadences were natural—his powers of conception were rapid—his imagination vivid—his knowledge of human nature almost intuitive, and his knowledge of his subject almost perfect; add to this a deep pathos and an overwhelming flow of feeling, and an eye that would reach into the very soul of his hearer, and you have the finished orator! Nature and art had combined their efforts, and made Martin Luther the greatest orator of ancient or modern days.

But in order to show the reader that this is not a mere fancy sketch, we will here adduce the testimony of others, and of those too, who cannot be accused of partiality to

the great reformer. All Luther's personal friends and contemporaries unite in declaring that his eloquence far surpassed all other orators of his age, and that it was equal if not superior to that of Greece and Rome in the days of Demosthenes and Cicero. And indeed some of his productions will compare advantageously with the orations of those two most eloquent men of all antiquity. And judging from the effects of his preaching, we mean the immediate—instantaneous effects, he was certainly superior to either. Neither the eloquence of Demosthenes nor Cicero, ever produced such striking effects, as Luther's at Wittenberg; after his return from Wartburg, when fanaticism, under Carlstadt and others, had thrown the whole city into confusion, in one week's time Luther had restored peace and order! D'Aubigne says, "His expressive countenance and dignified demeanor, his clear and sonorous voice charmed his hearers. The deep seriousness that marked the preaching of Luther, and the joy with which the knowledge of the gospel filled his own heart, gave to his eloquence an authority, energy and unction, which none of his predecessors had possessed." Frederick von Schlegel, an apostate Lutheran, and now universally acknowledged the most learned man in the Roman Catholic church, says: "Luther's eloquence was surpassed by few names, in the whole history of literature. He had indeed all those properties, which render a man fit to be a revolutionary orator. This revolutionary eloquence, is manifested not only in his half political and business writings, such as his address to the nobility of the German nation,

but in all his works. In almost all his works, we perceive the marks of a mighty internal conflict. Two worlds appear to be contending for the mastery over the mighty soul of this man, so highly favored of God and nature."

And as to his intellectual greatness, says the same Roman Catholic author, "I think there are few even of his own disciples who appreciate him highly enough. It was upon Luther and his soul, that the fate of Europe depended—he was the man of his age, and of his nation." This is a noble testimony to the merits of an enemy, and stamps Schlegel, with all his hankering after the honors of Rome, as a great man, and a correct thinker. The great bishop Bossuet, who was himself a splendid orator says, "Luther had a lively and impetuous eloquence, which delighted and captivated his hearers."

And Lewis Maimbourg, a Jesuit, who ransacked every nook and corner of Germany, and carefully and maliciously gathered up every legendary falsehood he could hear from ignorant and prejudiced Roman Catholics, and then published all this trash as authentic truth, even he is compelled to admit, and the admission seems to be extorted reluctantly, that "Luther possessed a quick and penetrating genius, his eyes were piercing and full of fire, his voice was sweet and vehement when once fairly raised." And J. M. V. Audin, a modern French Jesuit, whom Prof. Stowe, a few years since met in Germany, on the same malicious mission that had taken Maimbourg all over Germany, after all his misrepresentation is compelled to say, "Luther was the great preacher of the Reformation, he

possessed almost all the qualities of a great orator; an exhaustless store of thought, an imagination as ready to receive as to convey its impressions, and an inconceivable fluency and a suppleness of style. His voice was clear and sonorous, his eyes beamed with fire, his head was of the antique cast, his hands were beautiful, and his gestures graceful and abounding." And Florimond Raymond, a bitter enemy of all Protestants, says, "Luther was gifted with a ready and lively intelligence, having a retentive memory and speaking his mother-tongue with remarkable fluency, he was surpassed in eloquence by none of his contemporaries. Addressing his hearers from the pulpit, as if he had been agitated by some powerful passion, and suiting his action to his words, he affected their minds in a surprising manner, and carried them like a torrent whithersoever he would."

Keil, one of his admirers, says, "He had a clear lively countenance, and the eye of an eagle, his person was handsome, he was a sociable, amiable, sincere, hospitable, good-humored man, temperate in all things. As soon as he was asked the meaning of a passage in the Scriptures, he was ready with a reply—when he was asked for advice, it was soon felt who was the counsellor."

Mosellanus says, "in 1519, Luther was so lean in consequence of hard study, that nearly all his bones could be counted. His learning and acquaintance with the Holy Scriptures are incomparable. He never fails for matter in speaking, but has an uncommon fund of subjects and words

always ready." Mosellanus was a cotemporary with Luther and knew him well.

In controversy Luther gave no quarters, no field of action seemed to suit him better, he loved controversy, and his great controversial powers fitted him as much as any thing else, for the great work of the Reformation. No wonder that with such powers he attracted great attention even before the Reformation. He preached Christ and him crucified from his inmost soul.

In 1510, (some say 1511,) Staupitz sent Luther to the city of Rome, to settle some difficulties between some contending monasteries in Germany. Luther was highly delighted with the idea of seeing the holy city. In company of an Italian monk he started for the eternal city. In the neighborhood of Padua, they stopt in a monastery of Benedictine monks, the convent was rich and they were hospitably entertained. The monks were a set of jolly fellows, who loved good living more than religion. Luther was amazed when he found them eating meat on Friday, and disregarding all the rules of the order—he found also many women about the establishment, and from the plump red faces, and the gouty feet of the inmates, he suspected that they were "lovers of pleasure, more than lovers of God." One night particularly they had a sumptuous feast, the long tables groaned under the weight of the choicest viands, the wine sparkled in the glasses, and the whole brotherhood were rioting in luxury! Luther's soul sank within him when he saw this, for he had expected to find more piety in Italy than he had ever seen in Germany.



Luther in the honesty of his soul undertook to remonstrate with the monks, but at first they only laughed at him for what they considered his rustic simplicity. But when he continued to reproach them for their wickedness they became highly offended, and when he threatened to inform upon them, it is said they actually attempted to poison him. Early next morning he left the sinful brotherhood in disgust. He was now exceedingly anxious to see the Holy City, expecting to find a better state of things there. On the fourth day after they left the gluttonous monastery, Luther had the great pleasure of getting the first glimpse of the Eternal City—he was much excited, and cast himself upon the earth exclaiming, “Holy City I salute thee!” and then commenced singing a hymn to the Virgin Mary, and when he entered the city his heart leapt for joy. Poor deluded monk, thy vision of joy will soon pass away! Luther expected the very atmosphere of Rome to be holy, but alas! he was doomed to sad disappointment. He found little piety among the common people, less among the clergy, and still less among the higher dignitaries of the church. He found such a want of common seriousness—such levity—such profanity, as shocked his very soul! Luther had a soul that could admire the stupendous works of art, but he had no taste for its wickedness. He found, that Rome manufactured religion for other nations, and used none herself. In after life he said, “he would not take a thousand dollars for his visit to Rome.” He visited all the holy places, and like a good papist, attended to all the foolish ceremonies that were required.

One day he undertook to crawl upon his knees up Pilate's staircase, which was reported to have been miraculously transported from Jerusalem to Rome, but while he was climbing those steps, he thought he heard a voice like thunder speaking from the depth of his heart, "the just shall live by faith;" he started up from his knees heartily ashamed of the degradation to which his superstition had led him. D'Aubigne says, "this powerful text had a mysterious influence on the life of Luther. It was by means of that word, that God then said, "Let there be light, and there was light." Luther had often studied the Epistle to the Romans, and yet never had justification by faith, as there taught, appeared so clear to him. He now understood that righteousness which alone can stand in the sight of God; he was now partaker of that perfect obedience of Christ which God imputes freely to the sinner, as he looks in humility to the God-man crucified. This was the decisive epoch in the inward life of Luther. That faith which had saved him from the fear of death, became thenceforward the soul of his theology; a strong hold in every danger, giving power to his preaching, and strength to his charity, constituting a ground of peace, a motive to service, and a consolation in life and death.

But this great doctrine of salvation which proceeds from God and not from man, was not only the power of God unto salvation to Luther, it also became the power of God to reform the church. It was the same weapon which the Apostles of Christ had once wielded, and now, after long disuse, it was drawn forth in its original brightness from

the arsenal of Almighty God! At the moment when Luther started up from his knees from Pilate's staircase, transported with emotion at the word which St. Paul had addressed to the inhabitants of Rome, the truth, hitherto held captive and fettered in the church, stood up also to fall no more." Luther himself says, "But when by the spirit of God I understood these words—when I learned how the justification of the sinner proceeds from God's mere mercy by the way of faith—then I felt myself born again as a new man, and I entered by an opened door into the paradise of God. From that hour I saw the precious and Holy Scriptures with new eyes. This text was to me the very gate of heaven." It is indeed remarkable, that in the providence of God, Luther had to go to Rome, even to that wicked and corrupted city on seven hills—the mystical Babylon of Scripture, to learn fully and clearly, the doctrine of justification by faith, but so it was. Even the superstitions of Rome contributed to the glory of God in the liberation of Luther, and through him in the emancipation of the church! Luther was perhaps the first man who came down from Pilate's staircase justified!

When he said mass with a becoming solemnity, the Italian priests cried out with impatience, "Hurry, hurry, send our Holy Mother her son back quickly," thus profanely alluding to Transubstantiation. And when he heard the light-minded and profane, and even obscene conversation of the Roman priests, he was surprised beyond measure. Can this, thought he, be Rome, surely the Holy Father knows nothing of all this wickedness! Oh, thought

he, the great sanctity of the pope will cover all the sins of the priests. Luther had not yet seen the pope, for his holiness was absent from Rome when the German monk entered it. And where was he, was he out on a mission of mercy—like his professed Master was he going about doing good to the souls and bodies of men? No, he was out in the field of battle, teaching the poor duke of Ferrara, by “apostolic blows and knocks,” to respect the peaceful religion of Christ. The chair of St. Peter was then occupied by the warlike Julius II., a man destitute of all piety and virtue. Luther was present at the triumphal procession of pope Julius II., after he had conquered the duke of Ferrara in 1511. An immense concourse of people had gathered to see the military pope; when Luther saw him in his iron coat of mail, his waving plume, and surrounded by his armed cardinals and warlike priests, he looked on with astonishment, then turned away in disgust exclaiming, “Alas! alas! this pope cannot be the Vicegerent of Jesus Christ.”

Luther spent about a month in Rome, and when he left he was fully convinced that it was any thing else than a holy city. No doubt his visit to Rome had an important influence upon his whole subsequent life—for having lost his respect and veneration for Rome and her priests, he was prepared more fearlessly to examine the high pretensions of the pope. He returned to Wittenberg, and resumed the duties of his office.

Nothing of importance transpired for sometime, unless it be the fact that Luther was made Doctor of Divinity in

1512, by Carlstadt, who was then Dean of the University of Wittenberg. Luther was made a Doctor by the urgent solicitations of his friend Staupitz—the Elector of Saxony himself defrayed the expenses. He was not made Doctor of Sentences, but Doctor of the Bible.

On being made Doctor he had to take the following oath, viz: “I do swear to the utmost of my ability, that I will defend the gospel as long as I live.” How well he lived up to this oath, will be made to appear in the sequel.

In relation to his doctorate, he said in after life: “I, Doctor Martin Luther, was constrained to become a doctor. The papacy endeavored to spot me in the discharge of my duty, but you see what has happened to it, and worse things shall yet befall it. For by the help of God, I am resolved to press on, to force a passage through, and to trample dragons and vipers under foot.”

Luther was now a Doctor, he had sworn to defend the Bible against all errorists whatever. He soon saw that Aristotle, and Thomas Aquinas, and the Bible could not all reign at once; he plainly saw that if ever the Bible was to govern the religious opinions of mankind, the pagan philosophy and the scholastic divinity of these ruling spirits, must be crushed together. Aristotle ruled the minds of all civilized nations in the department of dialectics, and Aquinas in theology. Luther saw that the influence of these authors must be destroyed, and that the prophets and apostles of the Bible must occupy their places.

He spoke of these authors in a manner that at once

showed his doubts as to their infallibility, and soon met with the opposition of some of his fellow monks, who were great admirers of Aristotle and Aquinas. In a letter to his old friend, John Lange, of Erfurt, he says :

“Aristotle and the Theologians of the Sentences constitute the unprofitable study of this age, I desire nothing more than to lay open before all eyes this false system which has deceived the church, by covering itself with a Greek mask, and to expose its worthlessness before the world. ‘The writings of the prophets and apostles,’ says he, in another place, “are more certain and sublime than all the sophisms and theology of the schools.”

Luther was constantly engaged in the great work of rendering the systems of Aristotle and Aquinas unpopular, and exalting the word of God. He showed his students that the great business of a rational and immortal mind, was not only to be able to lay down a major and minor proposition with logical precision, or to make error appear as truth by a system of technicalities, then miscalled logic, or to find out how many devils could dance at once upon the point of a needle!—or whether the devil could walk over burning coals barefooted without scorching his feet!—he taught that the deathless mind ought to be occupied in nobler studies. And he soon succeeded in convincing them that he was right. Aristotle began to sink, and Aquinas lost his hold upon the affections of the thinking community. In the early part of the year 1517, Luther saw these false systems so far destroyed, that he could say, “Aristotle is on the wane, he even now is tottering,—the

lectures on the Sentences, (i. e. on Thomas Aquinas,) are received with distaste,—no professor can hope for hearers unless he teach the scriptural theology.” This was certainly going ahead pretty rapidly. He now lectured and preached almost constantly. His lectures and sermons were all full of the spirit of the Bible. The Bible was everything to Luther—he was a Bible preacher most emphatically—his beloved Bible, as he calls it, was his ruling passion—with his Bible he could prostrate all his enemies. In his preaching, Luther differed vastly from all his contemporaries, yea, and all his predecessors, for at least a thousand years. He imitated no man either in style or manner, he had no model, and he needed none.

Nor was his preaching in vain; it took effect upon the minds and hearts of many, both students and citizens. Many souls were awakened to the importance of eternal things, even before the Reformation properly commenced.

In 1515, Luther became acquainted with George Spalatin, court preacher of the Elector of Saxony, to whom he recommended the reading of John Taulerus, a celebrated Dominican, with whose writings he himself was much pleased, especially his work on homiletics. Bartholomew Bernhard, of Feldkirchen, a splendid young man, then Professor of Aristotle's physics, was among the first to receive Luther's views. Luther put forth some Theses in the name of Feldkirchen, on the ability of the sinner to obey the law, and the freedom of the will. In 1516, there was a public disputation at Wittenberg, under Luther's

eye, between Feldkirchen and Carlstadt, that produced a good deal of excitement.

The great church at Wittenberg, called "All Saints," had just been completed, it was to be a kind of Roman Catholic Pantheon as its name indicates ; the elector wished to have it filled with all manner of holy things. Staupitz was sent to the Netherlands to gather up all kinds of things in that line. During his absence Luther acted as Vicar-General—he had to visit as many of the Augustinian monasteries in Thuringia and Misnia as he could. Luther exhorted the monks every where to read the Bible, and look to Jesus Christ for salvation. This visit had its effect upon Luther's mind, it convinced him of the necessity of a different state of things, and it made him personally acquainted with many of the Augustinian monks ; and nearly all the little piety then in the church was found amongst them. Luther gained the affections of nearly all, and when the Reformation did take place these very monks were among the first to rally around their beloved Doctor. Hence this visitation seems to have been one of the links in the great chain of events, in the Providence of God, which led to the overthrow of error and superstition.

When Luther returned he resumed his labors, as lecturer and confessor and preacher and Vicar-General—he gives us an account of his labors in his own graphic manner, "I require continually two secretaries, for I do scarcely any thing else all day than write letters ; I am preacher to the convent, reader of prayers at table, pastor and parish minister, director of studies, Vicar of the Priory



(that is to say Prior ten times over,) inspector of the fish ponds of Litzkau, counsel to the inns of Herzberg at Torgau, lecturer on St. Paul, and commentator of the Psalms! I have scarcely time to say my prayers, or to sing an hymn of devotion, not to mention my struggles with flesh and blood, the devil and the world." This is part of a letter to his old friend Lange dated October 26th, 1516. What must have been his labors after the Reformation had actually commenced!

About this time, i. e. the fall of 1516, the plague broke out in Wittenberg. The whole city was in consternation, most of the professors and students, and many of the citizens left the city. Luther stood firm, and attended to his duties—his confidence in God was so great, that although his friends urged him to flee, he refused; his motto was let come to pass what will "God is God." It seems that he was then, in 1516, writing his commentary of Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, one of his most celebrated and useful works; a work that has been more extensively circulated in England and America, than perhaps any other of his works. When his friend Lange, the Prior of the Augustinian convent, urged him to leave Wittenberg in consequence of the plague, he wrote thus to him: "I do not know whether the plague will suffer me to finish (my comment) on the Epistle to the Galatians. Quick and sudden in its attacks, it makes great havoc, especially among the young. You advise me to flee—but whither shall I flee? I hope the world will not go to pieces if brother Martin should fall. If the plague spreads, I will send the breth-

ren away, in all directions, but for my part, I am placed here ; obedience does not allow me to leave the spot, until he who called me hither, shall call me away." Luther never expected that this letter, which he dates from a corner in the convent at Wittenberg, October 26th, 1516, would go forth to the ends of the earth, and show the world how strong and unshaken his confidence was in God. Yet the Roman Catholics say, Luther was only courageous where there was no danger ! Shame on such base vilifiers of the mighty dead !

In July, 1517, Duke George of Saxony, requested Staupitz to send him an eloquent and learned preacher. Staupitz knew of none more eloquent and learned than Luther, and of course sent him with the highest recommendations to that prince. Luther preached at Dresden before duke George and his court, on the 25th of July. His text was Matthew x. 20—29. His theme was the unreasonable desires and prayers of men, and the assurance of salvation. Luther as usual preached the truth, as it is in Christ. Duke George became highly offended, and from that day became an inveterate enemy to Luther. But the word was blest to the salvation of a noble lady, Madam de la Sale, connected with the court, who died a month afterward rejoicing in hope of the glory of God in Christ Jesus. Emser, the duke's secretary, invited Luther to supper in the Ducal palace—Luther went and found a large number of persons present. He was soon attacked by a Master of Arts from Leipsic. Luther never turned his back to an enemy or a friend—the debate was opened—the Leipsic master lost his

temper, and when Luther cornered him, he said, "Da pas-tum," i. e. give me my fees as a teacher, and I will in-struct you. At this ridiculous reply, says Luther, "We all laughed outright and separated. During the debate a Dominican monk listened at the door, and afterwards de-clared that he wanted to spit into Luther's face, but was restrained by the presence of so many noble persons. Luther returned to Wittenberg and resumed his arduous labors. Sometime after his return from Dresden, Luther put up 95 (he seems to have been fond of that number,) Theses on the freedom of the will. These Theses were founded on the Word of God, and of course could not be refuted. He sent them to Erfurt, and writes to his friend Lange, "Tell the faculty of Theology and all others, that I am ready to come among you and publicly maintain these propositions, either in the University or in the mon-astery." There was no man at Erfurt who felt himself able to cope with Luther.

Luther next sent those Theses to Dr. John Eck, whom he at that time highly esteemed, and who was one of the most learned and eloquent men of his age. But at that time Luther could not draw his friend out in debate. Eck was evidently not afraid of Luther, for afterwards these two Doctors fought many a hard battle. Eck was perhaps the most learned and adroit public debater that Luther ever had to encounter.

We have now followed Luther up to 1517, and have given a condensed view of all he did up to that period, much more of course might have been said and has been

said by others. But in what has been said, the reader will see how God prepared Luther for the great Reformation—every incident in his eventful life seems to have been necessary to qualify him for the great contest. We will now contemplate him as the Reformer.

*[The following text is extremely faint and illegible, appearing to be bleed-through from the reverse side of the page. It contains several lines of text that are difficult to decipher.]*

## CHAPTER VI.

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### *Luther, the Reformer. The commencement of the Reformation.*

LUTHER, as we have seen was busily engaged in the discharge of his several duties, as professor and preacher at Wittenberg. He well knew that there were many and grievous errors in the church—he knew that most of the priests were ignorant and vicious, and that the mass of the people were corrupted, but like hundreds of others before him he thought these were evils that could not be remedied—he thought them like thunder-storms unavoidable, and necessary evils.

He was a pious, a learned and an honest man, and endeavored in his sphere to do good to his fellow men, and to glorify God. He had experienced the sanctifying power of divine grace in his own soul, and being constrained by the love of Christ, he did all he could to lead others to that Savior, whom he had found. Luther up to this period had no idea of becoming a reformer, the church with all her errors seemed good enough for him. He had no idea, that there could be any church without a Pope. The Pope and the church seemed to him then, as it does now to thousands, one and inseparable. The church was at this time deeply corrupted, yes, rotten to her very core,

as the reader has seen in the first chapter of this work. Frequent attempts had been made to reform her errors in doctrine and practice, but all efforts seemed entirely useless. The church got worse and worse from age to age. When honest, pious and conscientious members of the church had the moral courage to express their sentiments freely, the scaffold, or the stake, or at least the dungeon would soon end the dispute. Luther knew all this, and therefore he never dreamed of falling out with the church.

Leo X., was Pope at this time, he was of an illustrious family, a friend of science, and a patron of the fine arts, but seemed to concern himself very little about religion—indeed he seems to have been quite a decent Pope compared with many of his predecessors. One of his own church says, “he never troubled himself about religion. There seemed to be peace and harmony throughout the whole church. Leo was slumbering at the head of the church, more intent upon improving the drama and the music of Italy, than his own morals, and those of his priests. The Pope was very extravagant and prodigal, he gave freely to all his friends and especially his relations, and needed much money to defray the expenses of his court, which was one of the most splendid in Europe!

The Pope in order to raise funds, published a bull proclaiming a general indulgence to all who would pay money for the completion of St. Peter's church at Rome. This was however only a pretext to raise money. This was not the first time the Roman Pontiffs raised money in this way; Urban II., in the eleventh century, first found

out this means of raising funds for the Roman See. The theory of the Roman Catholic church on this subject, is very ingenious and plausible, provided we admit certain absurd and unbiblical positions. According to the Papal theory, all the good works of the saints, over and above those necessary for their salvation, are deposited together with the infinite merits of Jesus Christ in one inexhaustible treasury. The keys of this treasury were committed to St. Peter and to his successors the Popes forever, either of whom may open it when he pleases, and by transferring a portion of this merit to any person, who pays a sum of money, may convey to him the pardon of his own sins, or a release for any one, in whom he may feel interested from the pains of purgatory. And be it remembered, that this is still the doctrine of the papal church; for she is "*idem semper ubique,*" and has never revoked this, nor any other doctrine, however absurd, which she held at any period of her history.

Leo X. was in need of large sums of money, and by the advice of his cardinals, he betook himself to this fund. Germany was farmed out to Albert, Archbishop of Mentz. John Tetzel, a Dominican Monk of Leipsic, a bold, daring, vicious and impudent old scoundrel, was engaged by the Archbishop to sell these indulgences. Tetzel was the very man to engage in such a mean business. He was upwards of sixty years old, a large, stout, portly looking fellow, and although over three score years of age, his age had made no alteration upon his plump and rubicund, sleek and pampered face. His voice, we are told, was

strong and silvery, and he was fluent, and possessed considerable genius for inventing strange and unheard of stories. As for conscience, he had none, and was entirely destitute of all moral principle. He was truly a shameless and immoral fellow. At Inspruch, however, this old "grey-headed vice," was near losing his worthless life.—He was there convicted of adultery, and was condemned to be put into a sack and cast into the river; and this righteous sentence would certainly have been executed, had not Frederick, the Elector of Saxony, interceded for him, and procured his pardon. We are told that although he was a monk, two of his own children travelled with him! This is another instance of the moral purity of the Romish priests—a fine comment upon the papal celibacy! Such was John Tetzal, the pope's agent. He received 80 florins a month, and all his expenses paid, and it is said he became very rich. He had been engaged formerly in selling another kind of indulgence, viz. the "Milk and Butter" indulgence, which gave the purchasers, during lent, permission to eat things otherwise prohibited by the church. Tetzal raised money enough, it is said, to build a bridge across the Elbe, at Torgau, and also to rebuild the Dome Church, at Freiburg, that had been burnt down. He was, therefore, acquainted with the business. The indulgences he now sold were pieces of paper printed at Rome, and no doubt blessed by the Pope, with the following inscription: "May our Lord Jesus Christ have mercy on thee, and absolve thee by the merits of his most holy passion; and I, John Tetzal, by his authority, and that of his



blessed apostles, Peter and Paul, and of the most holy Pope, granted and committed to me in these parts, do absolve thee, first, from all ecclesiastical censures in whatever manner they have been incurred, then from all thy sins, transgressions and excesses, how enormous soever they may be, even for such as are reserved for the cognizance of the Holy See, and as far as the keys of the Holy Church extend. I remit to you all punishment which you deserve in purgatory on their account, and I restore you to the holy sacraments of the Church, to the unity of the faithful, and to that innocence and purity you possessed at baptism, so that when you die, the gates of punishment shall be shut, and the gates of the paradise of delights shall be opened, and if you shall not die at present, this grace shall remain in full force when you are at the point of death. In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost. Amen.”

These papers were sold to all who could be induced, in any way or by any means, to buy them. Each sin had its price fixed, although the vender would generally adapt the price of an indulgence to the standing and character of the customer. The following is the valuation of pardons for some of the different sins of mankind. It is taken from the “Tax Book of the Roman Chancery.”

One who had taken a false oath, - - -	\$2.16
For stealing or robbing, - - -	2.88
For incest, - - - - -	1.80
For adultery, - - - - -	2.16
For procuring abortion, - - - -	1.80
For delivering a soul from purgatory, -	.24

There were many other sins taxed, with whose mention we cannot soil our sheets. This was the tax laid upon the common people. For kings, dukes, princes, bishops and noblemen, there was a different and much higher scale. The rule of conduct on the part of the Pope and Archbishop, seems to have been to extort all the money they could from the people. In some cases they took as high as two hundred crowns, which at that time was a very large amount of money. Money, money, and nothing but money, says a German author, was the beginning, the middle, and the end, of the Roman Catholic Church. And we might add, this is still the ruling and all-governing principle of the Romish hierarchy.

John Tetzal passed through all Saxony, from city to city, and from village to village, selling his wares.

When he entered into a city, there was generally as much parade as if a visiter from the other world had made his appearance. The church and convent bells would be rung—the military would turn out—the schools would be dismissed—the citizens, old and young, would turn out—all ordinary business would be suspended. Tetzal would select some favorable location, and would erect a huge red cross, with the Pope's arms displayed upon it—he would then raise his stentorian voice to its highest pitch, like a vendue-crier in a country village, when a large number were gathered around him, he would then commence praising his indulgences. Some of his remarks on those occasions have been preserved, and faithfully handed down to us: "This cross," exclaims Tetzal, "has as much efficacy

as the cross of Christ! Draw near, and I will give you letters duly sealed, by which even the sins you may hereafter desire to commit, shall all be forgiven. I would not exchange my privileges for those of St. Peter in heaven, for I have saved more souls with my indulgences than he with his prayers!

“There is no sin so great that the indulgence cannot remit it, and even if any one should, (which is doubtless impossible,) ravish the Holy Virgin, Mother of God, let him pay, let him only pay largely, and it shall be forgiven him. Even repentance is not indispensable.”

“But more than all this, indulgences save not only the living alone, they also save the dead. Ye priests, ye nobles, ye tradesmen, ye wives, ye husbands, ye maidens, ye young men, hearken to your departed parents and friends, who cry to you from the bottomless abyss, ‘We are enduring horrible torments! a small alms would deliver us, you can give it, and you will not. The very moment that the money clinks against the bottom of the chest, the soul escapes from purgatory and flies free to heaven.’” From this expression we have the German couplet

“So bald das Geld im Kasten klinget,  
Die Seele in den Himmel springt.”

Thrown into English thus:

As soon as the money doth klink in the chest,  
The soul flies away to the land of the blest.

Some say that this very couplet was painted on the great chest which Tetzels carried about with him.

Tetzel thus proceeded with his blasphemy, "O! senseless people, and almost like beasts who do not comprehend (know how to value) the grace so richly offered. This day heaven is open on all sides: and do you refuse to enter—when then do you intend to come in? This day you may redeem many souls! Dull and heedless men, with ten groschen you can redeem your father from purgatory. In the day of judgment my conscience will be clear, but you will be punished the more severely, for having neglected so great a salvation! I protest, that though you should have but one coat, you ought to strip it off, and sell it, to purchase this grace. Our Lord God no longer deals with us, as God, he has given all power to the pope." And then he would close by crying out three times, at the top of his voice, "*Bring your money! bring your money!! bring your money!!!*" "This," says Luther, "he uttered with such a dreadful bellowing that one might have thought some wild bull was rushing among the people, and goring them with his horns."

We are not to suppose that Tetzel was the only one who sold indulgences, there were many others in different parts of Germany, and even in other countries. But there was one by the name of Bartholomew, a Dominican monk, who seems to have out-tetzeled Tetzel himself. This man sold indulgences at Dessau, a large town in Upper Saxony, thirty-seven miles north of Leipsic. This man declared publicly that he had seen the blood of Christ flowing down the great red cross, which he had erected to attract the people, and those who doubted the truth of this story were de-

nounced, and cursed in the strongest and most unmerciful terms! There were other sellers of indulgences, but we confine our attention chiefly to Tetzel, because he was unwittingly the occasion of the Reformation.

Luther first heard of Tetzel in 1516. Some one told Luther that a man by the name of Tetzel was selling indulgences, and at the same time mentioned some of Tetzel's impious expressions, upon which Luther is said to have exclaimed, "God willing I will make a hole in his drum." In Saxony, the selling of indulgences was not so popular, Frederick and duke George seem not to have approved of so shameful a traffic. Tetzel however, came on to Jüterbach and Zerbst, where he made a great noise. Jüterbach is about fourteen miles from Wittenberg—many of the people of Wittenberg went thither to see this new thing, and when there, they were induced to purchase indulgences.

"One day Luther was at the confessional in Wittenberg, several residents of the town presented themselves; they confessed themselves guilty of great irregularities, adultery, licentiousness, usury, unjust gains. Luther reprov'd, rebuked and instructed. But what was his astonishment when those persons replied, that they did not intend to abandon their sins! The pious monk, shocked at this, declared that since they would not promise to change their habits of life, he would not absolve them. Then it was that these poor creatures appealed to their letters of indulgence, they showed them to Luther, and contended for their efficacy. But Luther replied, that he had nothing

to do with their paper, and he added; "if you do not turn from the evil of your ways, you will all perish." They exclaimed against this, and renewed their application, but the Doctor was immovable. "They must cease to do evil, and learn to do well, or otherwise no absolution." "Have a care," added he, "how you give ear to the indulgences; you have something better to do, than to buy licences which they offer you for paltry pence." Speaking on this subject afterwards Luther says, "Many persons went to Jüterbach and Zerbst to buy indulgences, and as sure as I am a redeemed sinner, I did not know what indulgences were." But in the confessional Luther found out what they were. Those poor dupes who had presented their indulgences to Luther, soon returned to Tetzal with the most bitter complaints against their inexorable confessor. Tetzal raved and swore eternal vengeance against Luther. He went into the pulpit, and poured out his wrath and the most dreadful maledictions, against any man that would dare to call in question the efficacy of his indulgences. More than this, he had several fires kindled through the day in Jüterbach, to signify what he would do, with any man that would oppose him in his business. Whether those same persons ever renewed their application to Luther we do not know, but very likely they did not, for on the following Sabbath, Luther preached on the subject in the church at Wittenberg. Some think this sermon was preached after the 31st of October, 1517. It is not important, whether it was before or after—at all events the sermon was printed and produced a profound sensation.

For the satisfaction of our readers, we here give a translation of Luther's sermon on indulgences, found in Tome I. Jena edition, 1560. It, like most of Luther's earlier sermons, has no text, and is styled, "A sermon concerning indulgences, 1517, by Doctor Martin Luther, Augustinian."

"Know ye, in the first place, that some new teachers, such as Mag. Sent., (I suppose the Master of Sentences,) St. Thomas and their followers, have given three parts to repentance; viz. sorrow, confession, and satisfaction, and although this division is not even according to their opinions, found in the Holy Scriptures, nor even in the writings of the old church fathers, yet we will let this go for what it is worth, and speak according to their views.

"Second. They tell you that indulgences do not take away the first and second parts of repentance, viz. sorrow and confession, only the third part, viz. satisfaction.

"Third. Satisfaction is further divided into three parts, i. e. prayer, fasting and alms. Prayer includes all kinds of works which properly belong to the soul, such as reading, reflection, hearing, and the like. Fasting includes every thing which belongs to the mortification of the body, as watching, fasting, wearing hard clothes, sleeping on hard beds, &c. Alms includes all kinds of good works, love, compassion and benevolence towards our neighbors.

"Fourth. It is considered by them an undoubted fact, that indulgence does take away the works of satisfaction, or destroys the necessity of making satisfac-

tion for sin, if the indulgence of the Pope takes away the guilt of sin, there remains nothing more for us to do.

“Fifth. It has been the opinion of many, that indulgence would even take away more than the good works imposed upon us, (by the Pope,) and even went so far as to suppose indulgence would also take away the punishment which the divine justice demands.

“Sixth. I leave this their opinion unanswered for this time. But I do say, that they cannot show from any passage of Scripture, that the divine justice requires or demands any punishment or satisfaction of the sinner, other than a true and heart-felt repentance and conversion, with the determination to take up his cross, and practise the good works mentioned above, (works that have not been imposed by any human authority.) For thus the Lord speaks by the prophet Ezekiel, iii. 20. “If the wicked man turn unto me, I will remember his wickedness no more.” So too, Christ pardoned Mary Magdalene and others; now I should like to know who can defend the opposite view, although some of the doctors have imagined it.

“Seventh. It is true, God does punish sinners sometimes according to his justice, or by suffering, brings them to repentance, as we see in the 89th Psalm, 30 to 34.

“Eighth. Therefore, we are not able to give a name to that supposed punishment—nor can any person know what it is, unless it is the punishment and works referred to above.

“Ninth. I say that if the Christian Church were this day to declare, that indulgences would take away more



than the work of satisfaction, yet it would be a thousand times better that no Christian should purchase, or even desire to have an indulgence, but the Christian ought rather to suffer the penalty and do the works required. For indulgence is, after all, nothing more than a dispensation, (or dispensing with,) good works, and salutary punishment, (or suffering,) which every Christian ought rather to choose than to avoid. It is true indeed, several of the newer doctors have found out two kinds of punishment, viz. *medicinas et satisfactorias*, i. e. one to make satisfaction, the other to heal. But we have more liberty to reject such nonsense than they have to imagine it, for all the pain or suffering God imposes upon us is for our improvement.

“Tenth. The objection, that the penances are too numerous, and the works too great for our short life time, and therefore, we must have indulgences, amounts to nothing at all. For God in his holy church will not lay more upon us than we can bear, as Paul says, 1 Cor. x. “he will not suffer us to be tempted above what we can bear,” and this tends not a little to the shame of the church, when we blame her for imposing more upon us than we can bear.

“Eleventh. Even if according to the spiritual law, a mortal sin does require seven years repentance, yet Christianity ought to leave that law undisturbed. \* \*

“Twelfth. It is said, I admit, that the sinner with the remaining penance is to be referred either to indulgences, or purgatory,—but there are a great many things said without any foundation.

“Thirteenth. It is a great error for any one to suppose he will make satisfaction for his sins, when God is at all times willing to forgive them for nothing, of his own unspeakable grace, and requires nothing more of us, than that we after that lead a holy life.

“Fourteenth. Indulgence is allowed on account of imperfect and idle christians, who will not be active in doing good works, and who have charitable impressions. Indulgence does not require any person to better himself, but indulges and encourages this imperfection. Therefore we should not speak against indulgences, but we ought not to encourage any person to buy them.

“Fifteenth. It would be far better and safer for the individual who wishes to give anything towards the building of St. Peter's (Church,) if he would give it without buying indulgence, for it is to be feared the person who buys indulgences gives his money rather for them than for God's sake.

“Sixteenth. It is a much better work to give to the needy, than to the building of a church. For it is much better to do a good work, than to leave many good works undone. But the object of indulgences is to induce us to leave many good works undone. That you may be properly taught, give me your attention. You should before all things, even before St. Peter's, or indulgences, give to your destitute neighbor, here in your own town. But if there should be no person here in your own town destitute, then if you have anything to give, give it to the churches, altars, ornaments, and plate, here in your own town; and if these

need no more, then if you have it to spare, give it to St. Peter's, or where you will. But you must not do this for the sake of indulgences. For St. Paul says, "he that provideth not for his own household, has denied the faith, (in German is no christian,) and is worse than an infidel." And you may take it for granted, that he who tells you otherwise is only deceiving you, and seeks your soul's salvation in your money purse, and depend upon it such an one would rather find pennies in your purse than souls. (This seems to be a hard thrust at Tetzl.) Then you are perhaps ready to say, I will never buy indulgences! I reply, this is what I have before said; this is my will, request, desire and advice, that you buy no indulgences. Let those sleeping, lazy christians buy indulgences. You attend to your own business.

"Seventeenth. Indulgences are not commanded, nor advised, but belong to that class of things which may be permitted or allowed. It is therefore no work of obedience nor of merit, it is a mere extract of obedience. (ein Auszug des Gehorsams.) Therefore, although we ought to prevent no one from purchasing indulgences, yet we ought to apprise all christians of the works and penances which are thereby omitted, and urge them to their duty.

"Eighteenth. Whether the soul is liberated from the fires of purgatory by indulgences, I do not know, nor do I as yet believe it, although several new doctors affirm it, but it is impossible for them to prove it, nor has the church yet determined that point. Therefore it is far better, and

far more safe for you, to pray for yourself; for your salvation will then be more certain.

“Nineteenth. I have no doubt in my own mind on these points, for they are abundantly founded upon the Holy Scriptures. Therefore you too ought to have no doubts, and let scholastic doctors be scholastics, the whole of them with all their notions, are not able to produce one solid, well founded sermon.

“Twentieth. Some no doubt will pronounce me a heretic, for the truth I have now advanced will no doubt be injurious to their chests, but I shall pay little attention to such bellowings, inasmuch as this will only be done by such as have dark brains, who have never even smelled the Bible, who have never even read the doctrines of christianity, who have never understood their own teacher, but who have been led into error by their own laughable and torn notions, for if they would have understood christianity, they would have known that they ought not to abuse any person, unheard and unconvinced. Nevertheless, the Lord give them and us a proper state of mind. Amen.”

We have given the whole of this sermon, with the exception of two short sentences, which did not appear clear to our mind. The reader will see in this sermon, that Luther had no idea of becoming a Reformer when he wrote it, for he had then a great veneration for the church of Rome. We think there can be no doubt but this sermon was preached after the 95 Theses were made public, and even after Tetzels first attack upon Luther.

Tetzel made a feeble reply to this powerful sermon, but this only made the matter worse.

We will now relate a very curious dream which the Elector of Saxony had, on the night of the 30th of October, 1517—he related it to his brother, duke John, on the morning of the 31st. “Having gone to bed last night, tired and dispirited, I fell asleep soon after saying my prayers, and slept quietly about two hours and an half. I then awoke and continued engaged till midnight with a variety of thoughts. I considered how I should keep the festival of All Saints, I prayed for the poor souls in purgatory, and besought God to guide me, my counsellors and all my people, into all truth. I fell asleep again; and then dreamt that the Almighty God sent a monk to me, who was the true son of St. Paul. All the saints accompanied him, according to the command of God, in order to testify to me of him, and to declare that he had not come with any fraudulent design, but that all he did was agreeable to the will of God. They asked me, at the same time, graciously to allow him to write something on the church door of the Castle of Wittenberg; which request I granted by the mouth of the Chancellor. Thereupon the monk went his way, and began to write, but in such large characters, that I could read from Schweinitz, (his country seat,) what he was writing. The pen that he used was so long that its extremity reached even to Rome, wounded the ears of a lion (Leo means a lion) that was couched there, and shook the triple crown upon the pope’s head. All the cardinals and princes running hastily to-

wards him, endeavored to support it. You and I brother among the rest attempted to support it; I put out my arm, but at that moment I awoke, with my arm extended in great alarm, and very angry with the monk who handled his pen so awkwardly. I recovered myself a little,—it was only a dream! After this I dreamt, that all the princes of the empire, you and I among the rest, were flocking to Rome, trying one after the other to break this pen, but the more we exerted ourselves the stiffer it became; it resisted as if it had been made of iron; at length we were tired. I then asked the monk, (for I seemed to be sometimes at Rome, and sometimes at Wittenberg,) where he had obtained that pen and why it was so strong? The pen, replied the monk, once belonged to the wing of a goose of Bohemia, a hundred years old. I received it from one of my old school-masters; its strength is such, that no one can take the pith out of it—and I myself am quite surprised at it! Suddenly I heard a loud cry; from the monk's long pen had issued a number of other pens. I awoke the third time and it was day light." If this dream be authentic, it is certainly very remarkable.

Luther had refused absolution to the holders of indulgences in the confessional—he had preached against them, but still Tetzal went on selling all he could. Luther then meditated another form of attack—not against the church of Rome, nor against the pope, nor against the archbishop, but against John Tetzal and his shameful traffic. Luther up to this time was a faithful and devoted Roman Catholic, and he thought in opposing Tetzal, he was ac-

tually doing the church a good service. As an evidence of this he wrote letters to the bishops of Meissen, Brandenburg and Merseburg, and also to Albert, arch-bishop of Mentz. Luther did not yet know the depth of the corruption of the papal hierarchy—he had no idea at that time that the arch-bishop had an actual interest in this unholy traffic. Some of the bishops to whom he wrote made no reply, others answered him, but in such a way as to have him understand that they considered him on dangerous ground—they told him plainly that in matters of this sort, in which the pope or any of his agents were engaged, they could and would not interfere—they advised Luther to take care how he meddled in such things. Luther had been thinking a good deal about the nature and tendency of indulgences. And in the honesty and sincerity of his soul, he had prepared 95 propositions, called Theses, on the subject. These Theses Luther himself nailed to the door of the church at Wittenberg on the 31st of October. This was done at noon not as D'Aubigne says, in the evening of All-Saints day, but at noon on the eve of All-Saints day, i. e. the day before All-Saints day—that day always comes on the first of November. That time was selected by Luther, because thousands of pilgrims were expected the next day to visit the Elector's new church, in which the many and precious relics which Staupitz had collected were to be exhibited. None of Luther's friends seem to have known any thing of his intention to challenge the world to discuss the matter with him—for in accordance with the customs of the day, this was a challenge for every person

and any person, to meet him in public debate. Luther perhaps at first only intended to make a University discussion out of it. These discussions were very common then.

These Theses produced a great excitement. On All-Saint's day the whole conversation was about them. The truth of those bold and daring propositions flashed like lightning upon the minds of men. But as the reader is perhaps anxious to see the Theses we will here transcribe a few of them.

*Ninety-Five Theses on Indulgences, by Doctor Martin Luther.*

They were originally written in Latin, we translate from the German found in Luther's works, Jena edition, 1560, which has been pronounced the best and most perfect of all his works.

1. Our Lord and Master Christ, when he commands us to repent, intends that our whole life, should be one of repentance.

2. Nor can, nor ought this, to be understood of the Sacrament of penance, i. e. of confession and satisfaction, as administered by the priest.

3. Nevertheless, he does not here speak of inward repentance alone, for inward repentance is of no account, unless it produces all kind of outward mortification of the flesh.

4. Repentance and sorrow, that is, true penitence, lasts as long as a man is displeased with himself, i. e. until he passes from this into an eternal life.



5. The pope neither intends, nor can he remit any other punishment than that, which he has imposed, according to his good pleasure, or in conformity to the Canons, i. e. to the papal ordinances.

6. The pope can forgive no debt, (Schuld vergeben,) but can only declare and confirm the forgiveness which God himself has given, except only in cases that refer to himself. If he does otherwise, the debts remain unremoved and unforgiven.

7. God forgives the sins of no one, whom he does not at the same time humble, and who is not willing to obey his confessor.

8. *Canones pœnitentiales*, i. e. the laws which refer to repentance and confession, are intended only for the living, and not for the dead.

21. Therefore, the preachers of indulgences are in error when they say that in consequence of the pope's indulgences, men are liberated from all sin and saved.

27. Those therefore, preach human folly (*Menschen-tand*) who say that as soon as the money falls in the chest, the soul is liberated from purgatory.

32. Those persons who expect to make sure their salvation by letters of indulgence, will together with their masters go to the devil.

33. We must guard carefully against those who tell us that the pope's indulgences are the most precious gifts and graces of God.

50. We must teach christians, that if the pope knew how the indulgence preachers extorted money from the

people, he would rather see St. Peter's church burnt to powder, than to see it built up with the skin, the flesh, and the bones of his flock.

51. We must teach christians that the pope, as is his duty, should give his own money, and if he had to sell St. Peter's church to raise money, to those poor people, who are now robbed of their last copper, by the preachers of indulgences.

52. To put our trust in indulgences for salvation, is to put our trust in a vain and lying thing, and even if the commissioner (indulgence-monger) or even the pope himself should pledge his own soul, to make it good.

53. Those who forbid the preaching of God's word in other churches on account of the preaching of indulgences, are the enemies of Christ, and of the pope.

54. Injustice is done to the word of God, when as much or even more time is taken up in the church, in preaching indulgences, than the word of God.

56. The treasures of the church, out of which the pope distributes indulgences, are neither recognized, nor pronounced satisfactory by the church of Christ.

59. St. Lawrence called the poor members of the church, the churches treasures, but he used the word as it was understood in his day.

62. The proper and true treasure of the church, is the Holy Gospel of the glory and grace of God.

63. This treasure is for the benefit of the most hostile and the most hated, for it causes the first to be last.

64. But indulgences are for the benefit of the most worthy for it causes the last to be the first.

65. Therefore the treasures of the gospel are nets, in which in former times the rich and respectable were caught.

66. But the treasures of indulgences are the nets by which in the present day the riches of the people are caught.

67. The indulgence which the preachers crack up to be the greatest grace, must of course be esteemed a great favor for it produces great gain and interest.

68. And yet this indulgence is certainly the very smallest grace, when compared with the grace of God, and the salvation of the cross.

69. It is the duty of bishops and pastors to receive with all respect the commissioners of indulgences.

70. But it is much more their duty, to have their eyes and ears open and to see to it, that those commissioners, do not preach their own dreams, instead of the pope's commands.

71. He who speaks against the pope's indulgences let him be accused and condemned.

72. But he who speaks against the foolish and impudent speeches of the indulgence preachers, let him be blessed.

75. To esteem the pope's indulgence so high as to suppose that if a person were (which is impossible) even to defile the Holy Mother of God, yet he could receive remission by those indulgences—is raving madness and folly.

76. The pope's indulgences, on the contrary, cannot take away the smallest daily sin, so far as the blame of it is concerned.

77. To say that St. Peter, if he were now pope, could not give a more perfect indulgence, is blasphemy against St. Peter, and the pope.

79. To say that the cross, hung about with the pope's arms, is as efficacious as the cross of Christ, is blasphemy.

80. The bishops, pastors and theologians, who approve of such words being used before the common people, will have to render an account to God.

We have omitted a number of Luther's propositions for want of room, but we have given enough to show the spirit and independence of the man. The proclamation of these startling truths, was the tocsin of war. The church became alarmed—the Theses were scattered far and wide, and kindled a fire everywhere, in every city, town and hamlet in Germany. They were carried, as an old writer says, “on the wings of the wind, as though the angels themselves had been the messengers.” They found readers and advocates everywhere, and soon became the all absorbing topic of conversation in all quarters. Princes and nobles, learned and unlearned, rich and poor, all became interested in them. Lorence von Bibra, of Wurtzburg, highly approved of Luther's Theses. Even Maximilian, the emperor, looked upon them very favorably. The emperor was anxious for a reformation in the church, and he told Frederick, the Wise, to take good care

of the courageous Monk, for says he, "we may yet stand in need of his services." Luther sent his Theses, together with a long and interesting letter, to the Archbishop of Mentz, but his letter and Theses were treated with silent contempt by that haughty prince. An evidence this that he did not then consider his Theses a declaration of war against the church. He also, sometime afterwards, sent his Theses and a very submissive letter to the Pope. His letter to the Archbishop is full of respect for his high office. This letter is dated All-Saints day, i. e. November the 1st, 1517. Luther says, among other things, "Men are carrying throughout the country the papal indulgences, under your grace's name. I will not so much accuse the clamours of the preachers, as the false opinions of the simple people, who when they purchase these indulgences, think themselves sure of salvation. This grieves me to the very heart. Great God! the poor souls committed to your care, most pious father, are thus led to death and not to life. The awful account your holy reverence will have to render for these souls, increases every day. Therefore I could hold my peace no longer; for no man can be assured of his salvation by the office of a bishop, unless he have this assurance through the grace of God. The Apostle Paul, in Phil. 2d chapter, admonishes us 'to work out our salvation with fear and trembling,' and St. Peter says, 'if the righteous scarcely be saved, where shall the ungodly and the sinner appear?' Yea, so narrow is the way that leadeth unto life, that God through the holy prophets Amos and Zachariah, calls those who are saved,

‘brands plucked from the eternal burnings,’ and Jesus Christ himself in many places says, it is a very difficult thing to be saved. Why then do the preachers of indulgences lull the people asleep, by preaching up false and lying fables of their own? Christ himself has nowhere commanded us to preach indulgences, but has enjoined upon us everywhere to preach the gospel.”

Thus the fearless and intrepid monk wrote to the highest ecclesiastical dignitary of Germany. The common people hailed Luther's Theses as indications of better days—they inspired them with the hope that the tyranny of Rome would not last forever. The people were heartily sick and tired of the outrageous traffic in their own sins—all they wanted was a champion who could embody their arguments in writing, and who dared to oppose their cruel and ghostly tax-masters! This Luther did, and no man that God ever created was better qualified for this work than he—he had every qualification in human perfection. Hence they were read with avidity everywhere,—all the talk everywhere was about Luther and his Theses. He has attacked the church say some—he must be a great man say others—he will surely be burnt exclaims a pious monk, who was well acquainted with the history of John Huss. “That's right intrepid monk,” exclaims the emperor Maximilian. “These Theses,” says Frederick the Wise, “are built upon the word of God, and cannot be overthrown—a great man that Luther, all true what Staupitz says about him—I am glad he is at my beloved University—he will raise it to great fame.” Thus every one had

some remark to make. Cursed be the man who wrote these heretical Theses, exclaims the Dominican—blessed be the monk of Erfurt, says the Augustinian.

Erasmus who for near forty years had been the great arbiter of every author's fate—and whose opinion was considered the end of all argument, on all questions of literary orthodoxy. This great scholar received Luther's Theses. The very first sentence attracted his attention—he reads on—and on to the end—he was highly pleased with the truth. But, as he was exceedingly cautious, and withal timorous and more far-sighted than most of his contemporaries, he was careful in making known his opinion about them. Still in one of his letters, he says, that he believed “that God had sent Luther to reform the Church.” The Elector of Saxony who was a particular friend of Erasmus asked him directly what he thought of the controversy between Luther and the pope, Erasmus replied “that in his opinion Luther was right, but it were to be wished he were more mild in his manner.” In one of his letters he says, “the cause of Luther is invidious because he at once attacks the bellies of the monks, and the diadem of the pope.”

In a letter addressed to cardinal Compegio in 1520, Erasmus opens his mind freely concerning Luther, “he possesses great natural talents, and has a genius particularly adapted to the explanation of difficult points of literature, and for rekindling the sparks of genuine evangelical doctrine,” and adds, “all the most serious and moral are pleased with his writings.” These were the opinions of

Erasmus before his controversy with Luther, after that he seems to have changed his opinions. Erasmus himself had assisted in raising the storm by which he was afterwards prostrated—he had himself written against the errors and ignorance of the priests—he had awakened the attention of reflecting men to the enormous abuses of Rome. But this matter fell into other hands, and we might say into abler and more honest and pious hands.

Erasmus was not the man to encounter opposition, at all events not the opposition of the great ones of the earth—and yet such was the nature of this controversy that he was obliged to take sides. He stood neutral for a long time.

Tetzel encountered Luther—but the attack was like that of the ass upon the elephant—next came Dr. John Eck, the most popular debater Rome could muster, he was older than Luther, and had fought many a hard battle of words—he came boldly to the charge—he did not know his man—a few strokes of Luther's merciless and iron-eloquence, laid the Doctor of Ingoldstadt low—then came the accomplished cardinal Cajetan—he came with mildness, and by blandness intended to disarm the erring monk—but Luther came with the hammer of God's word, and the Italian monk was done. He returned to Rome and told his master that the affair, which Leo X. had called a squabble between the monks, was a very important thing and must be attended to immediately—next came Miltitz an accomplished German nobleman—Luther soon unhorsed the valiant knight—next came all the learned doctors Rome could



muster, to Worms, to confute Luther—he vanquished all. There was one more great man; Rome valued his learning and looked upon him as a prodigy, and he was a prodigy, Rome must have his assistance, no man could hitherto stand before him. Rome felt that Erasmus was the only individual that could grapple with Luther. The pope, cardinals, bishops, kings, princes, all, all united in urging the “Great king of letters,” to write against Luther. Erasmus had read all Luther’s writings, and he saw that it would be no small undertaking to refute him—he knew that his Latin was not the best, but he felt the truth of his ideas. He hesitated a long time—he found at last that Luther was rising so rapidly, that his own glory would soon be eclipsed in the effulgence of Luther’s. At length it was reported that the mighty man of Rotterdam was to write against Luther. The church of Rome shouted for joy—victory must be the result. An eloquent writer says, “Of all the champions of Rome, this was the only one who could close in combat with the Augustinian monk, with any prospect of escape from his muscular and powerful arm. The pride of learning, popery, and despotism; armed by the superstitions and terrors of a deceived and infuriated church; cheered on by the plaudits and promises of earth’s greatest dignitaries, with the advantage of all his unequalled fame and influence; what had he to fear from an anathematized and off-cast heretic, a man cursed of the holy pontiff, the omnipotent vicar of Christ, and hateful to the haughty representative of the Cæsars! Could Luther have hoped for escape with such odds against him? A

lone monk, single handed, among whose friends were feeble hearts and weaponless hands, to meet the giant of the times, having the vantage ground and seconded by all the potentates of christendom ; what could have saved him from defeat and ruin? But with all this superiority Erasmus hesitated ; his courage was insufficient. Luther had time to fill all Germany with his popular literature, he gained the hearts of the common people. And when at length Erasmus advanced to the encounter, his blows fell on Luther as the breeze smites against the mighty Alps ; and the world resounded with laughter at his imbecility." The attack was so contemptible that Luther did not think it worth a reply, until urged by his friends—and when he did reply, the world saw that Erasmus was a small man compared with Luther.

We have thus briefly noticed Erasmus, we may perhaps refer to him again. We have rather anticipated the thread of our history. We will now return to the Theses of Luther. It is not to be expected that John Tetzel would let the 95 Theses of Luther pass unnoticed. He did not. He went to Frankfort, and Dr. Conrad Wimpina wrote for him 106 Theses, which he put up and promised to defend, and soon after he put up 50 more, making in all 156 Theses, containing about as many foolish, absurd, and blasphemous notions, as could well be compressed into that number. We will give the reader a few of those absurd propositions, in order to show, what were the doctrines of the church of Rome in the sixteenth century. And be it remembered by all Protestant readers, that the Romish

church believes now what she always did, and that John Tetzel was actually made a Doctor of Divinity for having defended these Theses :

“46. He who says that the preachers of indulgences err when they proclaim that men are pardoned by the pope’s indulgences, is in error

47. He who says that the pope cannot relieve the sufferings of the souls in purgatory, is in error.

65. He who teaches that any christian who has repented truly and been sorry on account of his sins, can receive complete and entire pardon, without indulgences, is in error !

75. He who gives to the poor and needy does well, but he who buys indulgences does better. He who teaches the contrary, is in error.

85. He who says, that those who expect to be saved through indulgences are deceived and belied, even if the pope should pledge the salvation of his own soul for their efficacy, is a great errorist !”

This was the miserable stuff, that Dr. Wimpina and Tetzel brought forward as argument against the powerful reasoning of Luther ! No wonder the people laughed at such champions. The Theses of Dr. Wimpina and Tetzel rather amused than alarmed Luther. “It seems to me,” says he, “at the sound of these invectives, that I hear a great ass braying at me.” This it is true may be considered very severe. Luther was a man—he was a wit—and as occasion required it he used his wit to some purpose.

On the 20th of January, 1518, the great disputation was to take place at Frankfort, on the Oder. Tetzal and Wimpina had drummed up all the Dominican monks in the surrounding country, upwards of 300 were present, besides the professors and students of the University, and many citizens. The first series of propositions referred to indulgences; the second to the power of the pope. The following are some of the latter.

3. Christians must be taught that the pope, according to the greatness of his power, is superior to the universal church and the councils, and that all are bound to obey his decrees.

4. Christians must be taught that the pope alone has the power to determine the meaning of christian doctrines, that he alone, and no other has the right to determine the meaning of Scripture, and he alone has the power to condemn the works and words of others.

5. Christians are to be taught that in matters of faith, and things pertaining to the salvation of the soul, he cannot err. These and others of a like import, were the propositions which Tetzal undertook to defend at Frankfort, where he never dreamed of meeting with an opponent. In this he was however mistaken. For John Knipstrow, a student of Frankfort, had read Luther's Theses, and felt and acknowledged their truth and power. He listened to Tetzal's foolish remarks—and when the fat Dominican repeated again and again, let any man dare to oppose these views—young Knipstrow arose and commenced replying—Tetzal became alarmed—it was evident to all present that

he had not written the Theses—for bad as they were, he did not seem to understand them. Dr. Wimpina had to take Tetzels place. Even Dr. Wimpina with all his eloquence had his hands full—he was frequently cornered, and to save himself and his friend Tetzels disgrace of an inglorious defeat, he as president of the disputation pronounced the debate ended, and John Tetzels the victor, and immediately conferred the degree of D. D. upon the unworthy and contemptible monk, as a reward for his wonderful and glorious victory! The poor young student Knipstrow was afterwards rusticated for his offence in replying as he did. He was banished to a convent in Pomerania, but afterwards he preached the everlasting gospel in that country, and did much good as a Lutheran preacher. Tetzels had a fire kindled in the evening at Frankfort and placed Luthers sermon and Theses upon it—exclaiming, “The heretic Luther ought thus to be burned alive.” D’Aubigne says the second series of Tetzels Theses marks an important epoch in the history of the Reformation. They changed the ground of the dispute, transferring it from the indulgence market to the halls of the Vatican—and diverted the attack from Tetzels himself to the pope. For the contemptible trafficker whom Luther had assailed and held powerless in his grasp, they substituted the sacred person of the head of the church. Thenceforward the dispute had reference not merely to a discredited traffic, but to Rome itself; and the blow, that a bold monk had aimed against Tetzels stall, smote and shook to its foundations the throne of the pontifical king. And any

man of discernment can see that Luther even up to this time had the highest veneration and respect for the pope and the church over which he presided. When he attacked indulgences, he of course expected the pope and the great doctors of the church to stand by him. Tetzels and Wimpina compelled him to attack the pope's pretended authority, sooner than he would otherwise have done. No doubt in due time Luther would have attacked the pretended authority of the pope, for the Reformation had its origin in the regenerated soul of the Saxon doctor. The new spiritual life of Luther, with his transcendent talents and invincible courage, must have impelled him sooner or later to attack the whole corrupted fabric of the papal church. Leo X. who was more intent upon some fine painting or some exhumed statue, had formerly said, "it is only a squabble among the monks, the best way is to take no notice of it," and at another time, "it is a drunken German that has written these Theses, when he is sober he will talk very differently." The pope however now began to think differently—he found no more remittances coming from Germany—he became alarmed. Sylvester Prierias, master of the pontifical palace, undertook, no doubt at the suggestion of the pope, to reply to Luther. This man published a work in reply to Luther, which he dedicated to pope Leo the X. In this work he speaks in a proud and haughty manner, he did not yet know the man he was attacking—he did not then know he was writing against the most powerful human being God had ever created—a man that had more talents than the whole papal court com-

bined—and more knowledge than a general council. “I should like to know,” says Prierias, “who this German monk is.” “I would like to know,” says he in contempt, “whether this Martin Luther has indeed an iron snout and a head of brass that cannot be broken?” The work of Prierias was in the form of a dialogue—Prierias was one speaker and Luther the other. The language of the Roman courtier is not so refined as we might suppose, “It is the nature of dogs to bite, I should fear thou hast a dog for thy father.” This language is more uncouth and scurrilous than any used by Luther himself. Here is a Roman Catholic sentiment, that ought to be written upon the hearts of all Protestants, especially those milk and water Protestants who are always making apologies for Romanists—it is the language of the pope, uttered by his mouth-piece Prierias, “*The Roman church the supremacy of whose power, spiritual and temporal, is vested in the pope, can restrain by the secular arm, those who having first received the faith, afterwards depart from it. The church is under no obligation to employ argument to combat and overcome rebels.*” These are still the opinions of the papal church. But, thank God, Luther has taught the world a different doctrine!

The attack of Prierias was the first that had any show of argument—he gave utterance to many sound truths, mixt however with much error. Luther did not answer him immediately, at first he thought it was the production of Ulrich von Hutten, a celebrated wit of that age, in this however he was mistaken. At length he replied—his re-

ply was based first on the Scriptures; secondly, on the church fathers; he showed clearly that the views of Prierias were not in accordance with the Bible or the fathers. Prierias sees and feels his littleness by the side of Luther—Luther was aroused and deeply excited at the sophistry of the pope's right hand man—he therefore made bare his powerful arm, and with one blow dashed the Italian monk to the earth! When Luther's reply reached Rome, Prierias no doubt formed a different opinion of the German monk who had a dog for his father—he found out too, that although he had no iron nose, yet his arm was made of steel! The war was now fairly opened. Luther had his hands full, he had no sooner shaken off one enemy before two or three others were upon him. The Dominican monks every where fulminated against him—he is not fit to live—he ought to be burned—this has always been the argument of ignorance. When bigots cannot refute they must persecute.

The next that attacked Luther, was Jacob Hochstraten, the Inquisitor General of Cologne. A man who had acquired some notoriety by his controversies with the learned and amiable Reuchlin. This man was at the head of the Dominicans, as Staupitz was chief of the Augustinians. Hochstraten spoke very hard against Luther, he echoed the sentiments of the Dominican order, "It is, (said he in the true spirit of an incarnate fiend,) high treason against the church, to suffer such a heretic to live, away with him to the scaffold." Luther soon replied to this popish monster. Luther's reply is dated July 13th, 1518. "God," says



Luther, “has raised up another enemy—but it is only raising up a new enemy out of an old one, viz : he whom I shall by permission call Jacob Hochstraten, the Inquisitor General, who is rightly called the chief of heretics. Who is a heretic, if thou Jacob Hochstraten art not one? You can, it is true, make a correct proposition, but your conclusions are always heretical! Your dialectics are truly wonderful! Why you make out the church itself heretical! The sun has never shone upon a more flagrant and shameful heretic than yourself! Therefore do thou, O! Leo X., thou merciful shepherd and father, send some other heretic catcher after the master of heretics, for if you don’t take care he will convert you and your whole church into heretics.”

The full force of this sarcasm will appear when we remember that the whole weight of Hochstraten’s argument was, that Luther was a heretic and that he ought not to live. Hochstraten never replied to Luther’s bitter and cutting sarcasm.

We shall now follow Luther to the meeting of the Augustinians at Heidelberg. Luther set out on foot in company with Urban, who was employed as a servant and guide. He was most affectionately recommended by the elector of Saxony to the count Palatine, Wolfgang, duke of Bavaria, and to the pious bishop of Wurtzburg. Luther was warmly received—and he was happy in the company of his friends. Staupitz was there, and Lange his old preceptor from Erfurt, and a number of other friends. The University of Heidelberg was famous at that day, and ex-

erted a wide spread and commanding influence over a great part of Germany and France. Luther of course was the great lion of the day—every body was anxious to see and hear the man that had written the ninety-five famous Theses. There was to be public debating—Luther must be the champion on the part of the Augustinians. Luther put up some Theses, which he called paradoxes, and challenged any or all the professors of Heidelberg to dispute with him. The following are some of his Theses:

1. The law of God is a salutary rule of life, and yet it cannot keep man in the obtaining of righteousness, but on the contrary impedes him.

3. Works of men, let them be as fair and good as they may, are yet evidently nothing but mortal sins.

4. Works that are of God, however unsightly and evil in appearance, have yet an endless efficacy.

9. To say that works done out of Christ are truly dead works, but not mortal sins, is a dangerous forgetfulness of the fear of God.

There were a number of others, but these few are sufficient to show what he had in view. He had nothing to fear from the professors at Heidelberg, he knew that they were yet under the influence of Aristotle and the Schoolmen. Five doctors undertook to dispute with him. These men had often debated before, but such a powerful man they had never expected to meet. Luther in his answers to their questions, and in replying to their arguments, attacked their authors, and clearly showed the combatants that the very authorities they cited knew nothing. It is

said that Luther was unusually mild and playful on this occasion. This was no doubt owing to the courteous and gentlemanly deportment of the other disputants. Four of the doctors retreated as soon as they could with honor. But the fifth, Dr. Niger, hung on and still kept up some show of opposition until at last he was fairly run out of arguments. Luther then made some more bold and startling propositions—the young doctor did not know what to say—at last he exclaimed, “If our peasantry heard such things, they would stone you to death,” upon which the whole audience burst out into a roar of laughter. Thus ended the controversy at Heidelberg, but not its effects. Luther acquired great honor at this place and did much good. Those interesting young men who listened to Luther’s arguments, were led to the knowledge of the truth, viz: Martin Bucer, John Brentz and Ehrhard Snepf. These three young men became powerful coadjutors in the glorious Reformation—they all became professors and authors of no mean celebrity. But besides these, many others became impressed with the importance of eternal things. When Luther was ready to return, the count Palatine gave him a very flattering letter to the elector of Saxony, in which he says, “the skill which Luther exhibited in disputing here, does your Wittenberg University great honor, and he is highly esteemed here by many persons.”

Luther was much benefited by his journey to Heidelberg, and encouraged in his work. Soon after his return to Wittenberg, he sent a letter together with his ninety-five Theses, to the pope. It may be proper to observe here

that Luther's Theses had not only been grossly misrepresented, but (perhaps) honestly misunderstood, he therefore felt in duty bound to explain them more fully. His explanations he called solutions. In these explanations he is very moderate, yet firm and decided. No doubt his friends Staupitz, Lange and Dr. Judocus, with whom he had spent some time at Heidelberg, urged this upon him. He wrote a letter, therefore, to John Staupitz, the Vicar-General of the Augustinians, and requested him to send it to the pope. He wrote a letter also to the Bishop of Brandenburg, but did not, as D'Aubigne says, forward his letter to the pope through that prelate, but through Staupitz, as the original letters will show, which are printed in Luther's Tomes, and are now before me. To Staupitz he says, "I hope, therefore, your reverence will receive my simple writings, and forward them to our pious pope, Leo X., in any way that may be convenient for you, that they may be pleaders and intercessors for me, against the invidious flatterers who are blowing strange things into his ears."

Luther's letter to the pope is a noble specimen of writing, for fearless, bold and independent thought, it is unsurpassed, among human compositions it has no equal. Luther wrote two letters to the pope, the first on the 22d of May, 1518, and the other on Trinity Sunday, being a week later, as he says, "my writings to Staupitz," perhaps he sent them both together. We will give extracts from both.

“Most worthy father in God.—It is now some time since a new and unheard of doctrine concerning the apostolic indulgences began to be preached in these parts ; the learned and ignorant were troubled by it, and many persons requested me to give my opinion from the pulpit or in writing about this novelty. At first I kept myself silent and neutral, but at last, things came to such a pass, that the pope's holiness was compromised. What could I do ? I thought it my duty neither to approve nor condemn these doctrines, but to open a discussion on this important subject, till such time as the holy church should pronounce upon it.

“No one presenting himself for a discussion, and my Theses being considered not as matter of debate, but as propositions dogmatically asserted, I find myself obliged to put forth an explanation of them. Deign, therefore, to accept these offerings that I present to you, most clement Bishop. And that all may see that I am not acting presumptuously, I entreat your Holiness to take pen and ink and blot out, or throw into the fire, whatever may displease you. I know that Christ needs none of my labors or services, and that he can easily, without my instrumentality, make known the good tidings in his church. Not that the denunciations and threats of my enemies alarm me ; quite the contrary. If they were not so wanting in prudence, and lost to shame, no one should hear or know anything about me. I would immure myself in a corner, and there study alone for my own profit. If this matter

is not of God, it will not certainly be to my honor, nor to the honor of any man, but will come to naught."

The second letter, dated May 30th, 1518, runs thus : "I hear, most holy father, that evil reports are circulated concerning me, and that my name is in bad odour with your holiness and your household. The report is that I have attempted to lessen the power of the keys, and the authority of the supreme bishop. I am called heretic, a schismatic, an apostate, and all manner of hard names, yea and I am condemned as an impudent fellow and even a blasphemer. I am obliged to see what astonishes, and hear what alarms me. But I have one great comfort, my conscience does not condemn me, and this is the rock of my joy. But I will pass on to the thing itself, and I hope your holiness will hear me, who am so unskilful in these things, yea, I am but a child, and need instruction. Within these few days past, commenced the preaching of the apostolical indulgence, or jubilee, and this thing has come to such a pass, that the preachers of indulgences think that they can say what they please under the protection of your holiness' name, (with which they alarm and terrify the people,) and they have got so far that they teach all manner of foolish things, and even ungodly, blasphemous and heretical lies, by which they bring shame and contempt upon the spiritual government. \* \* \*

And they are not satisfied to speak without shame and pour out their poison, but have published and circulated among the people a little book, in which they establish and

confirm their heretical and profane lies. And they try to make it the duty of the confessors, by an oath to teach the same things. While every letter of their book stinks of their avarice and selfishness, I will not hold my peace. I speak the truth, and not one of them can defend himself, or can deny my statements, for their book is at hand, but they still go on as the prophet Micah says, chap. iii. ‘And I said, hear I pray you, O! heads of Jacob, and ye princes of the house of Israel: is it not for you to know judgment? Who hate the good and lose the evil, who pluck off their skin from off them, and their flesh from off their bones. Who also eat the flesh of my people, and flay their skin from off them, and they break their bones, and chop them in pieces. Thus saith the Lord unto the prophets, that make my people err, that bite with their teeth, and cry peace. Hear this ye heads of the house of Jacob.’”

This severe and cutting reproof Luther applied to the heads of the church! It must have fallen like a clap of thunder upon the pope’s ears!

He then proceeds, “Nothing is heard in all the taverns but complaints of the avarice of the priests, attacks on the power of the keys. I call all Germany to witness. When I heard these things, my zeal was aroused for the glory of Christ—if I understand my own heart, my young and warm blood was inflamed. I represented the matter to certain princes of the church, but some laughed at me and others turned a deaf ear. The terror of your name makes all powerless. Thereupon I published this dispute. This then holy father is the action that has been said to set the

whole world in a flame. And now what am I to do? I cannot retract what I have said, and yet I see that this publication draws down upon me on all sides an inexpressible hatred. I have no wish to appear in the great world—for I am unlearned and have but little genius or talents, and am far too inconsiderable for such great matters, more especially in this illustrious age, when Cicero himself, if he were living would be constrained to hide himself in some dark corner. But in order to appease my enemies and satisfy my friends, I here publish my thoughts. I publish them, holy father, that I may dwell the more safely under your protection. All those who desire it may here see, with what simplicity of heart I have petitioned the supreme authority of the church to instruct me, and what respect I have manifested for the power of the keys. If I had not acted with propriety, it would have been impossible that the serene lord Frederick, duke and elector of Saxony who shines foremost among the friends of the apostolic and christian truth, should have endured, that one so dangerous as I am said to be, should continue in his University of Wittenberg. Therefore most holy father, I throw myself at the feet of your holiness and submit myself to you, with all that I have and all that I am. Destroy my cause, or espouse it; pronounce either for or against me. Take my life or restore it, as you please; I will receive your voice as that of Christ himself, who presides in and speaks through you. If I have deserved death, I refuse not to die. The earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof. May he be praised forever and ever. Amen."



Thus spoke Luther to the pope, in 1518, but afterwards, when he found out that the pope was as bad as the other prelates, he spoke differently. Look at his language to the pope when explaining the Theses :

“ I care little what pleases or displeases the pope. He is a man like other men. There have been many popes who have not only taken up with errors and vices, but things yet more extraordinary. I listen to the pope as pope, that is, when he speaks in the canons, or regulates any matter conjointly with a council, but not when he speaks his own mind.” And again, “ The pope holds a rod of iron, and thus offers himself to the view of christians, not as a tender father, but as an awful tyrant.” Such language had never before been used in reference to the supreme pontiff!

The letter accompanied by the Theses, and these severe remarks, was dated Trinity Sunday, 1518.

But Rome had already marked Luther for her victim. The first thing the pope did, was an attempt to deprive Luther of the protection of his friend and patron, the Elector of Saxony. In April, 1518, the Cardinal Raphael de Rovera, wrote a letter to the Elector, in the name of pope. This letter I have not been able to find, but I take it for granted, that such a letter was written, from the Elector's reply which is now before me. The Elector acknowledges the receipt of Cardinal Rovera's letter, written April 3d, 1518, and received July 7th, of the same year. The Elector says, in reply to the pope, “ that he would never do anything that would in any way injure the holy

universal church." But at the same time he says, "I never did, nor do I now, find myself able to refute Dr. Luther's sermons or writings." Luther had some intimation of the contents of this letter, for on the 15th of April, he preached a sermon at Wittenberg. In this sermon he referred to the threatened excommunication of the pope. "No one," says he, "can reconcile the fallen soul to God, but the Lord. No one can separate a man from communion with God, but man himself, and that by his own sins. Blessed is that man who dies under an unjust sentence of excommunication. Whilst, for righteousness' sake, he suffers a cruel judgment from men, he receives from God the crown of everlasting happiness." D'Aubigne says, "Some loudly commended this bold language, others were yet more enraged by it. But Luther did not stand alone; and though his faith needed no other support than that of God himself, he had called up on all sides a power that protected him from his enemies. The voice of this man had been heard by the whole German nation. From his sermons and writings issued beams of light, which awakened and illuminated his cotemporaries. The energy of his faith rushed like streams of fire upon the frozen hearts of men. The life which God had given to this extraordinary man, was imparted to the dead body of the church." Luther was now the man of his age, every eye was directed towards Wittenberg. Every sermon he preached electrified the nation. The human mind was stirred to its inmost core. The old and time honored ceremonies and errors of the church, were rapidly falling away. Rome

had already taken the alarm. The Emperor of the Roman empire, Maximilian, was then holding a diet at Augsburg. The Sultan Selim, the Turkish Emperor, after being successful in his wars in Egypt, Syria and Armenia, it was feared might invade Germany and Hungary. This was one object for which the convention or diet was called; another was this, the emperor was old and infirm, and he wished to have his grandson, Charles, king of Spain and Naples, installed Emperor of the Roman empire, Frederick, of Saxony, was opposed to the election of Charles to this high station. While the emperor and princes were at Augsburg, Luther would of course be the object of many remarks, some in his favor, others against him. Maximilian, in order to win the pope over to his side, wrote a letter to his holiness, urging him to put an end to the disputes which had excited all Germany, and declaring his willingness to carry any measure the pope might propose, into prompt execution. The complaints of Luther's enemies, and the emperor's letter, seemed to have roused the attention of the pope. He found that Luther was no drunken German monk, and that the thing could no longer be tolerated. The Roman Catholic church had never had any difficulty in extirpating her enemies, and of course none was now to be apprehended. Luther was to be treated, as all others who had dared to think for themselves had been, he was not to be reasoned with, but punished.

On the 7th of August, 1518, Luther received a summons to appear at Rome. This summons seemed to trouble every other person at Wittenberg more than Luther him-

self. He seemed calm and tranquil amid the raging storm. "God is God," was his motto. All he wanted was to have his case tried in Germany. To Rome his friends would not permit him to go, for they all remembered the fate of John Huss. Spalatin, the elector, and the University, all remonstrated with the pope against Luther's going to Rome. They had no objections to his being tried in Germany before any tribunal, but they did not want him to go to Rome. The letters of Spalatin and the members of the University are now before me, but as we have so many other things to present, we will pass them by. These letters show how high Luther stood in Germany. Cardinal Cajetan was still in Germany trying to excite a war against the Turks, and he no doubt requested to have the settlement of this little difficulty committed to his hands. On the 23d of August, the pope commissioned his legate Cajetan to settle the difficulty with Luther.

This letter we will translate in order to show our readers the merciful spirit of popery. "As it has come to our ears that a certain fellow by the name of Martin Luther, a monk of the Order of St. Augustine, has taught some errors contrary and injurious to the holy Catholic church; and as he has published some infamous and scandalous books—and as he is stubborn and disobedient, and will not hear the holy Roman church, which is the mistress of the faith—and as we wished to punish his stupidity and wickedness in a fatherly manner, we requested our dear brother Jerome, bishop of Asculan, that he would cause the afore-said Martin Luther to appear before him and be examined

on the articles in question, and punish him accordingly. But we have recently been informed that the said Martin Luther has abused our kindness and compassion, and has become more stupid, and that he has become more stubborn and haughty in his evil ways and heresies, and that he has published other errors which have not a little alarmed our mind. Therefore by virtue of our episcopal office, in order to meet these heresies, and prevent the poison from spreading—we authorize you by these presence, as soon as you receive this writing without delay to force and compel the said Luther, who has already been declared a heretic by Jerome, bishop of Asculan, to appear before you. And to accomplish this you will call in the aid of our dear son Maximilian, the emperor, and all the potentates of Germany, and when you have taken him and got him into your power, you will secure him well until you hear further from us—that he may appear before us, and the Apostolic See. But if he comes before you in a state of penitence and acknowledges his errors, and asks pardon for his wickedness, we authorize you to receive him to the bosom of the church which never closes her arms to any who will return. But if he should persist in his stubbornness and resist the civil power, and you should not be able to get possession of his person, we give you power to proscrib him in all places in Germany. We give you power to curse him and all his followers, and publicly to excommunicate him—and to call upon all christians to consider him cursed and excommunicated. And in order the more speedily to extirpate this poison, you will excommunicate

all the prelates, religionists, orders, universities, communities, counts, dukes and princes, (the emperor Maximilian excepted,) who shall neglect or refuse to seize the said Martin Luther, and his followers, and send them to you under proper custody. But should (which may God forbid) the above mentioned princes, &c., shelter the said Martin Luther and his followers, or give them publicly or privately, directly or indirectly, aid or advice, we lay an interdict on those princes, &c., with their town boroughs, countries and villages, where the said Martin Luther shall take refuge, as long as he shall remain there, and three days afterwards. As to the laity, if they do not obey your orders, without any delay or hesitation, we declare them reprobate, unable to perform any lawful act—they shall be denied christian burial, and deprived of all feoffs which they may hold either from the Apostolic See, or from any lord whatever.”

This tremendous bull, six months prior to this time, would have thrown all Germany into convulsions; it would have been considered the greatest calamity that could have fallen upon a poor superstitious and pope-ridden land—but now it fell harmless at the feet of an humble priest at Wittenberg. Such had been the change in the public mind in less than one year! Thus Rome had made bare her strong arm, that arm against which no earthly power had been able to stand for centuries. Luther was to be crushed at once. But the humble monk of Erfurt was protected by an arm stronger than Rome—God was with him, and all the power and ingenuity of Rome could not crush him

The position of Luther at this time is more sublime than that occupied by any other man that ever lived! It was at this juncture of time that Luther and Melancthon became acquainted with each other. This circumstance had a powerful influence upon the Reformation. Melancthon arrived at Wittenberg on the 25th of August, 1518. Luther was at first disappointed when he saw Melancthon, but he soon changed his mind, and ever after looked upon him as the greatest man living. And Melancthon loved Luther with a brother's devotion. In Luther he saw a moral power, and a grasp of intellect that he had never before seen; he says, "if there be any one that I love and embrace with my whole heart, it is Martin Luther." Such were the feelings of the two greatest men of the sixteenth century. They were both men of extraordinary piety and talents, and although their talents were widely different, they labored together in harmony. Some are under the impression that Melancthon had greater talents and more learning than Luther. But this is not the case, this impression has perhaps been made by the Roman Catholics after the Diet at Augsburg in 1530. Melancthon on that occasion seemed more willing than Luther to be reconciled to the Roman church, and this raised him in their estimation. The Reformation never would have been brought about without Luther, all other men were only secondary agents in that great work. Luther was the starter of the project, and the ruling spirit as long as he lived, all eyes were directed to him, and when he died there was none to take his place. Luther as we have already seen was bold.

daring, impetuous, and energetic. Melancthon was the reverse, fearful, timorous and gentle, almost to a fault. "Luther communicated vigor to Melancthon, Melancthon moderated Luther." They were like the positive and negative agents in electricity, by whose reciprocal action an equilibrium is maintained. If Melancthon had not been at Luther's side, the torrent might have overflowed its banks; when Luther was not by, Melancthon faltered and gave way even when he ought not. Both were upright, open-hearted and generous; both full of love for the word of eternal life, and both proclaimed it with a fidelity and devotion, which governed their whole lives. It would be interesting no doubt to the reader to have, in this connexion, a short account of Melancthon, but our limits will not admit a digression. We esteem him a very great man, but inferior to Luther. But to proceed; early in the fall of 1518, Luther received the summons from cardinal Cajetan to appear before him at Augsburg. Luther's friends all became alarmed and tried to prevent his going thither. But as it was the wish of his protector Frederick, duke of Saxony, he felt it his duty to go, let the result be what it might. He feared no man on earth. Cardinal Cajetan was a man in high repute for learning and piety, but he was the Vicar-General of the Dominicans, and was therefore not the man to settle this difficulty. For the Dominicans were all opposed to Luther. Luther says afterwards in 1520, in a letter to the pope, "With a single word the difficulty might have been settled at Augsburg, as I had then promised to be silent, if silence were imposed upon



my enemies, (i. e. the Dominicans,) but this ambitious man was not satisfied with this." The cardinal who was an Italian, had such high notions of the pope, that he thought Luther would soon submit, but in this he was mistaken—he thought too that the Germans were a set of ignorant and stupid fellows, but before he was done with Luther he found out his error. He himself was reputed the most learned man at Rome, but he found himself a very small man by the side of Luther. The conference between Cajetan and Luther is fully given by D'Aubigne, we will therefore not enter so fully into it.

Luther started on foot for Augsburg, on the 28th of September he reached Weimar, this was the city where the elector of Saxony held his court. Luther spent the Sabbath here and preached a sermon from Matt. xviii. 1—11. Luther then started on foot for Nuremberg, where he borrowed a monk's frock from his friend Wenceslaus Link, his own being rather shabby. Two men from Nuremberg, Link and Leonard, an Augustinian monk, accompanied Luther; when about fifteen miles from Augsburg, Luther got very sick, his friends became much alarmed and hired a carriage to take him on. Luther reached Augsburg on the 7th of October. On the 8th, Urban de Serra Longa, one of Cajetan's courtiers, came to sound Luther—but he found that nothing would be done. Luther as yet had no safe conduct, his friends Peutingier, Langemantel Adelman and Dr. Auerbach, Counsellors at Law, insisted upon his demanding a safe conduct. As the emperor Maximilian was yet in the neighborhood of Augsburg, a safe conduct

was obtained, no doubt by the request of Cajetan himself as he then had no doubt at all of bringing Luther to submission very soon.

On one occasion, Urban de Longa said to Luther, "you imagine no doubt that the elector will take up arms in your favor." "Not at all," says Luther. Then says Urban, "when all forsake you where will you take refuge?" Luther made a Spartan, yea more than a Spartan reply, "Vel sub cœlo vel in cœlo," (either under heaven, or in heaven.) The poor Italian hypocrite was amazed at such a reply, he was not able to enter into the sublime thoughts of the noble Saxon. On Tuesday the 11th of October, Luther made his appearance before the haughty legate of the pope, who was by virtue of his office then the pope's representative, and the same honor was to be paid to him which belonged to the Roman pontiff himself. He entered the cardinal's palace without fear, he was not the man who was afraid of flesh and blood. The amount of the first meeting was, that the cardinal and Luther disputed about certain points—the cardinal wanted Luther to retract, and Luther declared he would not unless he was convinced from the word of God that he was in error. They met again and again, and before the conferences were over the cardinal found that such another man as Luther he had never met. Luther frequently confounded him, and raised the laugh against his eminence. On this occasion, Luther showed much of his learning and invincible courage. Luther at last got permission to present his views in writing, this he did, but the legate wanted him to recant not to ar-

gue the point. When the legate found he could not influence Luther to recant by threatenings or promises, he dismissed him with the harsh command that he should never appear before him again until he was willing to recant. Thus ended Luther's first contest with the pope. But the effects of this conference were tremendous, all Germany felt interested in the fate of Luther, all looked for his death, but he had thus far triumphed as to return to Wittenberg. The pope for once was baffled, there was now some hope for human liberty! This occurrence helped on the Reformation very much.

On the 20th of October, Luther left Augsburg early in the morning, but before he left, he appealed from the pope ill informed, to the pope better informed. He had met the powers of Rome and vanquished them, and his departure assured the cardinal that he would not hold his peace until he had shaken the very pillars of the papal throne! The conference between Luther and Cajetan, gives us a splendid exhibition of the Reformer's talents, and fearless intrepidity. At one time, when the crafty Italian could not maintain his position by argument, he attempted to intimidate the noble Saxon by his loud and boisterous volubility, he raved and stormed for half an hour in the most boisterous manner, so that Luther could not get in a word. Luther saw through the whole/trick, and the next time he appeared before the legate, he was determined to pay him in his own coin. The conference had scarcely commenced when the legate attempted the same game; but Luther raised his tremendous voice, and paying no atten-

tion to anything the legate said, poured such a torrent of words forth, that the haughty Italian was glad to give up that mode of argument! No wonder Cajetan replied to Link, when he requested the cardinal to renew the controversy with Luther, "Ego nolo amplius cum hac bestia loqui, habet enim profundos oculos et mirabiles speculationes in capite suo." (I do not wish to speak any more with this wild beast, for he has penetrating eyes, and strange thoughts flit across his brains.) Luther, as we stated above, left Augsburg early in the morning of the 20th of October. After a fatiguing journey of eleven days, he reached Wittenberg on the 31st of October, just one year after he took the first step in the great work of the Reformation. The joy of the citizens, professors and students at Wittenberg, was unbounded. When Luther first went to Wittenberg, in 1508, the University contained less than an hundred students, in 1516 it had increased to two hundred, but in 1518 the number was nearly eight hundred. This shows the unbounded popularity of Luther; he was indeed the great man of his age!

Cajetan, as may well be supposed, was mortified when he found that his plans were frustrated. He immediately wrote to the Elector of Saxony, urging him to send Luther at once to Rome, or to drive him from his dominions. This letter was sent to the Reformer by Frederick, and it induced Luther to send a correct statement of the whole conference at Augsburg. This was a masterly statement, and it made a deep and favorable impression upon the Elector's mind, so much so, that he became more warmly

attached to Luther than ever. He immediately wrote to the pope, and informed his holiness that it could not be expected that a man like Luther should retract his opinions, unless he was in error, and that if he was wrong, surely there was learning enough at Rome to refute his errors; and stated very positively that under existing circumstances he could not expel him from his dominions, or send him to Rome. The Lord influenced the heart of this great prince to protect Luther, just at the time he needed his assistance. Luther had now a little leisure to review his conduct during the past year, and to contemplate calmly his true position and prospects! Everything seemed dark and gloomy, and a heart less brave and stout than his would have sunk under such appalling circumstances. But he never shrank from duty, he felt that he must defend the truth as it is in Jesus, come what will. Still he saw that at Wittenberg he could not remain, he knew that his remaining at Wittenberg would endanger the peace of his beloved sovereign, perhaps involve him in a war. As to his own life, that never seemed to give him any uneasiness. He therefore, made up his mind that he would leave Germany, and go to France, where he might, with many other learned doctors that were then under the censures of Rome, enjoy the liberty for which his soul longed. The University of Paris had appealed to a general council, Luther had done the same at Augsburg, and he very naturally expected the doctors of Paris to sympathise with him in his difficulties.

When Luther communicated his intentions to his fellow professors at Wittenberg, they were filled with deep and heartfelt sorrow ; they of course remonstrated, but in vain, he had made up his mind. Luther had even gone so far, as to inform the congregation at Wittenberg that he intended to leave them, and affectionately commended them to the protection of heaven. But before he took his departure, he received a letter from his sovereign that he should remain where he was, until further informed. The conference at Augsburg, as may readily be supposed, produced considerable excitement at Rome. What, thought the proud mistress of the world, shall a poor monk of Germany defy and baffle all the learning and power of the pope and cardinals ? In every conflict he had come away the conqueror, this was too bad, too humiliating, he must now be crushed at once, his proud spirit must yield—the pope issued a bull, in which the sale of indulgences was recognized as being in accordance with the doctrines of the church. This was intended as a death-blow against Luther, but like all the thunders of the Vatican, it fell harmless at his feet ! No earthly power could move him !

Rome saw her error in appointing De Vio, or Cajetan, who was the chief of the Dominicans, to settle this difficulty. Leo X. became more and more alarmed every day—Luther was gaining strength, and every effort of his mighty mind, made the papal throne totter and shake.

Charles von Miltitz, a German nobleman, a gentleman of fine talents and polished manners, was sent to Germany early in the year 1519, to reduce the refractory monk. In

order to conciliate the favor of the elector of Saxony, and thus facilitate his labors, he was commissioned to present that prince a consecrated golden rose, which was considered a mark of the pope's favor. Frederick had for years solicited this favor, but now when it came in the form of a bribe, he cared but little about it. He was too good and honest a man to be influenced in this way. He positively refused to do anything against Luther. "Convince him that he is wrong," says the noble hearted elector, "and he will retract as he has promised." Luther and Miltitz met at Altenburg.

It may be proper to state at this point that before the negotiations of Miltitz properly commenced, an event in the providence of God occurred which considerably changed the aspect of things. This was the death of the emperor Maximilian, he expired on the 12th of January, 1519. Frederick, elector of Saxony, thus became by virtue of the Germanic constitution *ex-officio* emperor of the German empire. This increased the political importance of Frederick, and as the pope had other matters in view at the time besides the surpression of heresy, he did not feel disposed to fall out with the administrator of the empire. The pope at once relaxed his severe measures, and the Reformation gained strength every day. Luther says, referring to this period, "the tempest was hushed and the papal excommunication was thought light of."

John Tetzel at this time lived at Leipsic; Miltitz summoned him to appear before him, and give an account of the shameful manner in which he had spoken of the efficacy

of indulgences—this was only a scheme to lull Luther. But Luther was not so easily gulled, he knew his man. And before Miltitz was done with Luther he knew something about him too.

As Luther entered the room in the house of Spalatin, in Altenburg, Miltitz received him very politely and addressed him thus: "Is it possible that this can be the man, of whom I have heard so much, who has drawn all the world after him, and deprived the pope of some of his most important adherents? Why Martin, when I heard of your fame, of your learning, at the inns as I travelled, I thought you were some crusty old theologian sitting by the fire side, whereas I find you in the prime and vigor of life. I perceive you are so favored by the people that, had I brought twenty-five thousand armed men, I could not force you to Rome! But this is not to be thought of, it is for pacific measures I am sent to consult. After we have settled our differences it would be a pleasant thing if you would take it into your head to return with me to Rome. It is a pity you do not know Leo; your prejudices would melt away before him." Luther replied, "I have no prejudices against the pope, independently of his measures, on the contrary, a most earnest desire to be at peace with all the world, I have been driven into these broils by mere necessity."

"Just what I have always said," replied the nobleman, "and what the pope himself thinks. In the beginning of this business, he said to Dr. Eck who complained of you, brother Martin is a man of fine genius." Luther was on his guard, he weighed every word he uttered, yet he was



so far influenced by the mildness of the courtier as to write a submissive letter to the pope. For this his enemies have reproached him, and branded him as a hypocrite. We will here subjoin Luther's letter to the pope:

“Most Holy Father! May your holiness condescend to incline your paternal ear, which is that of Christ himself, towards your poor sheep, and listen with kindness to his bleating! What shall I do most holy father! I cannot stand against the torrent of your anger, and I know no way of escape. They require of me, that I should retract. I would be prompt to do so, if that could lead to the result they desire. But the persecutions of my enemies have spread my writings far and wide, and they are too deeply engraven upon the hearts of men to be erased. A retraction would only still more dishonor the church of Rome, and call forth from all a cry of accusation against her. Most holy father, I declare it, in the presence of God, and of all the world, I never have sought, nor will I ever seek, to weaken by force or artifice, the power of the Roman church or of your holiness. I confess that there is nothing in heaven or earth that should be preferred above the church, save only Jesus Christ, the Lord of all; therefore your holiness will please not to listen to foul-mouthed slanderers, who say other things of Luther. And I will cheerfully promise your holiness, that I will drop the matter of indulgences and keep silent on that subject, provided my enemies do the same.”

This letter breathes the sentiments of Luther, personally he could have nothing against the pope, and if his enemies,

who were all those who sold indulgences, would quit the abominable traffic that had roused his soul into action, would he have any cause to complain? His point would then be gained. Cajetan and Miltitz were not satisfied with Luther's concessions. This very fact shows that they did not then, in the estimation of the papal party, amount to any thing. The only difficulty now was to get him away from the protection of Frederick, the elector of Saxony. They therefore endeavored to get him to Treves. Miltitz invited him thither on the 3d of May, but Luther being aware of their object refused to go. Miltitz in the end, like his predecessor, accomplished nothing. The only thing he did was to break the heart of poor old Tetzal, whom he visited at Leipsic, and in looking over the account of his indulgence money found him a defaulter to a large amount, and reprimanded him so sharply that Tetzal took sick and soon after died, a poor outcast from God and man. It is said of Luther, when he heard of the illness of John Tetzal, that he wrote a kind letter to him, and thus showed the goodness of his heart to his bitterest enemy. It is said by some that he even visited him personally, but there seems to be no proof of this. After the conference with Miltitz, the court of Rome was so much engaged with political matters, that Luther seems to have been forgotten. He continued his labors as preacher and professor at Wittenberg. And as he had appealed to Rome for a General Council, we must wait a while to see the result of that appeal, and the political fogs which have gathered over Europe must first subside. In the meantime Luther's repu-

tation spread all over Europe—the fame of the University was getting greater every day. There were at this time eight hundred students at Wittenberg, and the choice students of Germany.

We will now direct your attention to the celebrated debate of Leipsic. This is perhaps the most famous debate of the sixteenth century, and is exceedingly interesting. Luther himself gave the elector of Saxony a minute and correct account of the whole proceeding. Dr. Eck, a professor at the University of Ingoldstadt, of high repute for eloquence and sophistry, and a warm advocate of popery. This man had been on terms of friendship with Luther, and as he was considered the most powerful debater of his age, he looked with a jealous eye upon the wide-spread fame of the learned professor of Wittenberg. Eck it would seem had full confidence in the powers of his eloquence to floor any man in Germany; he had been engaged in many a hard fought scholastic battle and had carried away the prize in Hungary and Lombardy. Luther's rising fame offended the proud orator, and he was determined to meet him in debate, and with him to meet an enemy was to conquer. Dr. Eck had published his "obelisks," in which he reflected severely upon Luther, who according to the arrangements entered into between himself and Miltitz, was not to reply. And it is supposed to have been the desire of Frederick of Saxony, that Luther should keep quiet for a while. But Andrew Bodenstein, or as he is often called Dr. Carlstadt, a man of more impetuosity than judgment,

replied to Dr. Eck's "obelisks," and this led to the controversy at Leipsic. Eck did not care much about Carlstadt, Luther was the man he had in view, Carlstadt seemed too small game for him. Before the preliminaries of the discussion were fully settled, Eck put forth thirteen propositions or Theses, which bore directly upon Luther. Luther wrote to Eck and informed him that he would take up his challenge and meet him at Leipsic. The truce was at an end, for Luther had only promised in his letter to the pope, to be silent on condition that his enemies would do the same. He wrote to duke George, within whose dominions Leipsic was, for permission to hold this discussion. As the supremacy of the pope was the main subject, the duke who was a warm friend of popery, and as he knew something about Luther's powers of controversy, (for he had had a specimen at Dresden,) he refused his consent. Luther then made up his mind to attend the discussion between Carlstadt and Eck at all events, and conduct himself according to circumstances. Luther was not the man to back out. Duke George was very anxious that the discussion between Eck and Carlstadt should go on. But he seems to have feared Luther, and perhaps had been urged on by De Vio and Miltitz, to refuse his consent to the discussion between Luther and Eck.

On the 24th of June, Luther, Melancthon, Carlstadt, duke Barnim, of Pomerania, who was then a student at Wittenberg, John Lange, Nicholas Amsdorff, and about two hundred students from Wittenberg arrived at Leipsic. Eck and his party had been at Leipsic several days. As

soon as Eck learned that Luther had arrived, he visited the Doctor of Wittenberg, and the conversation that passed between them on this occasion, shows plainly that Eck did not care so much about meeting Carlstadt in debate as Luther.

The following conversation took place :

Eck. How is this doctor, I understand you refuse to dispute with me?

Luther. How can I, since the duke forbids me?

Eck. If I cannot dispute with you, I shall take very little interest in discussing with Carlstadt—for it is to dispute with you that I have come to this place. If I get the duke's consent, will you take the field?

Luther. Yes, only get the duke's permission and we will meet.

Dr. Eck waited upon the duke and urged him to give his consent. "It is proper," said he, "that the arguments should bear upon the principal party—if Luther be unhumbled, every thing is still to be done; if he is overcome all is at an end." And after Eck assured the duke repeatedly that he could defend the pope's supremacy against any thing Luther or any other person could say, his consent was obtained. Luther was delighted with the idea of flooring Dr. Eck.

The discussion between Carlstadt and Eck commenced on the 25th of June, 1519. The dispute between them, Luther says, lasted eight days, chiefly on metaphysical points, on the freedom of the will, and its cognate doctrines. In this long debate Carlstadt maintained his positions nobly.

At length on the 4th of July, Luther and Eck got into close quarters. The excitement in Leipsic was very great, the primacy of the pope was to be discussed in the midst of a Romish and highly excited population, and the pope was according to the agreement of the debaters to be the umpire. What hope could Luther have of success when the whole population, the duke, the professors, and all were against him? Eck had formerly boasted of the strength of his memory—he would not agree in the discussion with Carlstadt, that any books should be used—and on a metaphysical subject such as the will and its moral powers, his sophistry would be of great service to him, even if his memory was not so good. But when he got into contact with Luther, on a different subject, where historical and dogmatical facts were required he found it quite different. He had encountered many a learned doctor, but such a doctor as Luther he had never met. He found that Luther remembered more than he had ever read. On one occasion, Eck undertook to establish his position by a quotation from one of the fathers. The fathers, said Luther, are not opposed to me—they say as I do; and Luther quoted St. Augustine and St. Ambrose, so fully, so correctly, and so pointedly, that Eck became alarmed and was driven from his position by his own weapons, in such a manner as at once to convince every intelligent man in the house, that he was not able to cope with the great Doctor of Wittenberg. “Ah,” says Eck, “you see the learned Doctor of Wittenberg has entered upon this discussion after having prepared himself well for it. You must excuse me if I

should not be able to produce so much learning as he." This was a very humiliating confession to come from the ablest debater in the papal church, the great popish bully who had most ardently sought for an opportunity to humble the pride of Luther. The fact is Luther was no better prepared on the subject now under discussion than on any other. Dr. Eck was fairly at his wit's end, he was a used up man, and he never after sought an opportunity to humble the pride of Luther. No wonder he said that Luther had a devil under his gown. When he was fairly floored, and lay as it were at the mercy of his powerful antagonist, and found he could not maintain his position any longer, he resorted to the mean and contemptible expedient of exciting the prejudices of the Romish audience against his conqueror, by calling him a Hussite and a Bohemian! This produced quite an excitement against Luther, but Eck in the end made but little out of it. The subject of the pope's supremacy occupied four days.

On the 8th of July, they commenced the subject of purgatory. Luther at this time himself believed in purgatory, but he denied that the doctrine was taught either in the Bible or by the early fathers. It was while discussing this point that he said of Dr. Eck, "my learned opponent runs over Scripture, as a spider runs over water without touching it."

On the 11th of July, they came to the doctrine of indulgences. Here Eck stood no chance at all. Luther said to Frederick of Saxony, "this part was nothing but child's play." Afterward the doctrines of repentance,

priests' absolution and satisfactions, were discussed. Luther closed the debate with these words, "Dr. Eck avoids the Holy Scriptures, as the devil flees from before the cross. For my part, I prefer the authority of the word of God."

This famous discussion lasted twenty-one days, and produced great excitement. This discussion had a great effect upon the progress of the Reformation. As is usual, each party claimed the victory. But Eck himself acknowledged that in some points he was prostrated.

Mosellanus, who was present during the whole discussion, and took notes, says, "Eck has obtained the victory in the opinion of those who do not understand the question, and who have grown grey in scholastic studies, but Luther and Carlstadt remain masters of the field, in the judgment of those who have learning, intelligence and modesty." This discussion awakened the minds of men, as much as any one circumstance that occurred in Luther's life time. Numbers of prominent men were brought over to his views, in consequence of the truths he uttered during the discussion; among others, Duke George, of Anhalt, John Sellarius, Poliander, and Caspar Cruciger, all men who figured conspicuously in the Reformation. These were but a few of Luther's trophies. Soon after the discussion, more than one half of all the students went over from Leipsic to Wittenberg.

It is also said that this discussion was the means of interesting Melancthon, and bringing him out a more decided friend of the Reformation. These were part of the con-



sequences of that lengthened war of words. Soon after this discussion, Dr. Eck hastened to Rome to procure Luther's condemnation. What he had failed to accomplish in debate, i. e. the humbling of Luther, he thought the pope could do, but in this he was mistaken, for Luther was under the protection of a mightier power than the court of Rome. He was fighting the battles of the Lord, against the enemies of his church.

One circumstance occurred about this time, that must have been painful to Luther's heart, it was this, John Staupitz, the warm and long cherished friend of Luther, being old, and it would seem not willing to encounter the gathering storm, withdrew from Luther and would not answer his letters. But in this case Luther could say, as in others, "God is God."

Miltitz who had been watching with deep interest the Leipsic discussion, and who had expected much from the high reputation of Dr. Eck, was of course much disappointed with the result. In October of the same year he met Luther at Leibenwerd. Miltitz still thought a reconciliation must be effected between Luther and the pope, but finally he gave it up.

Luther had prostrated all his enemies, there was none able to stand before him, God was with him. It was about this time he published his celebrated commentary on Paul's Epistle to the Galatians—this is one of his most famous works, and shows how much he was taken up with the views of St. Augustine. Subsequently however, he changed his views on this subject. St. Augustine was an absolute

CXCII. STAUPITZ REFUSES TO ANSWER LUTHER'S LETTERS.

predestinarian ; these views Luther abandoned in his riper years. Luther was now thirty six years old, and in consequence of hard study was very lean, and had a thin face ; Mosellanus says, "he was so thin that one could almost count his bones."

We shall now introduce Luther to the emperor Charles V., at the Diet of Worms. This is perhaps the most thrillingly interesting circumstance of his whole eventful life. Here we see Luther in his true character, here we see the great model-man in contact with the highest powers of the earth !

## CHAPTER VII.

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### *Luther, the Champion of the Truth.*

WE now come to notice Luther in conflict with the highest powers of the earth, and if we have admired his noble bearing and his invincible courage in the minor skirmishes in which he has been engaged, we shall admire him still more when we see him grappling with earth's proudest potentates!

But before we introduce Luther to the Diet of Worms, we must attend to a few other interesting incidents in the history of his eventful life, which had an important bearing upon the Reformation. After the famous discussion at Leipsic, Luther continued his investigations of popery, the light of truth shone brighter and brighter into his mind, he daily saw more and more of the corruptions of the church. He became daily more spiritual in his preaching, his fame increased every day, the students increased in number almost daily, until every house in Wittenberg was full of boarders. It is said that the lectures of Luther and Melancthon were attended by about two thousand hearers, not all students I presume. The following sermons and tracts of Luther were published in 1519—20. 1. A Short Guide to Confession. 2. A Sermon on Usury. 3. A Sermon on the Sufferings of Christ, advocating the use of

the cup for the laity. 4. A Sermon on Excommunication. 5. A Sermon on Marriage. 6. Instructions respecting certain articles alleged against him by his enemies. 7. A Sermon on Prayer. 8. A Sermon preached at Leipsic. 9. Another Sermon on Usury. 10. A Sermon on preparation for Death. 11. An Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation. This is the most splendid production of Luther's pen, and for powerful reasoning and real genuine eloquence is not surpassed by any writer of ancient or modern days. We regret exceedingly that our limits will not permit us to translate this powerful address. This address did perhaps more than anything else to rouse the public mind of Germany. It was a mortal blow at the papal church. And I know of no work whose publication at this time would be a more powerful argument against popery in the United States. It is said that in a few weeks after it was issued, 4,000 copies were sold! 12. A Sermon on the Mass. 13. A Sermon on the freedom of a Christian man. 14. Exposition of certain articles in the Sermon on the sufferings of Christ, or the Sacrament of Christ's body. 15. Protest and Appeal. 16. Answer to a paper published under the seal of the official at Stolpen. 17. A Sermon on Good Works—this is a powerfully written sermon. 18. On the Papacy of Rome. 19. On Eck's new Bulls and Lies. 20. Against the Bulls of Anti-Christ. 21. Why the Pope and his Disciples have burnt Dr. Martin Luther's books. 22. Grounds and Reasons of all the Articles which are unjustly condemned by the Romish Bulls. 23. A short exposition of the Holy

Lord's Prayer, comprehending both what is expressed and implied. 24. A short form of the Decalogue, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer.

These works can all be seen in Luther's Tomes—Tom. 1, from page 138—370—making in all about 480 folio pages—the leaf in Luther's Tomes, the Jena edition, counting a page. This was Luther's work in about eighteen months' time. This will give the reader a fair idea of the immense labors of Luther. And let it be remembered, that his writing was not as with us, like pouring water from one vessel into another. It was all original with him, he had to strike out new plans and new arguments and on most of his subjects he had no books to refer to. He had to draw upon his own resources. And these writings almost in endless variety, will be read with as much interest now as they were three hundred years ago. There is nothing stale or obsolete in Luther's writings, and they are as well if not better adapted to the papal controversy in the nineteenth century, than any other works whatever. Prof. C. E. Stowe, in the *Biblical Repository*, July 1844, has given a catalogue of Luther's works from Seckendorf's Appendix. And the reader will be astonished to learn, from the works referred to, that from 1517 to 1546, Martin Luther, in addition to all his other labors, wrote four hundred and fifty-three books, tracts and sermons! Some of the tracts and sermons it is true were small, but others were quite large. And the amount of learning and knowledge displayed on the various subjects handled by him has never been surpassed, and perhaps never equalled by

any man. His works abound in striking and original ideas, and appear like an immense casket studded with the most brilliant and sparkling gems! But we are not now writing a eulogy, but a history of Luther. Perhaps we will give Prof. Stowe's catalogue at the end of the volume.

Soon after the discussion at Leipsic was ended, Dr. Eck hastened to Rome and was joined by De Vio and other enemies of Luther, who all urged Luther's condemnation. All that had tried their hands at argument with Luther found him invincible, there was no debating with him as with other men, every weapon that was raised against him he broke to pieces. There was one argument more to be tried, and that was the thundering anathemas of Rome, but such was the genius of this astonishing man, that when that at last came it had lost its power and fell harmless at his feet.

We have stated above that the emperor Maximilian was no more. His place had to be supplied. The candidates for this high office were Frederick, the elector of Saxony; Charles V., king of Spain; Francis I., king of France; and Henry VIII., king of England. The pope was opposed both to Charles and Francis, they already possessed too much power for him, and he would have preferred Frederick. The imperial crown was offered to Frederick, but he declined, and used his influence in electing Charles V. This magnanimity laid the emperor under great obligations to Frederick. He offered him 30,000 crowns but the noble elector refused it. The court of Rome again tried to influence Frederick, elector of Saxony, to with-

draw his protection from Luther. But the steadfast elector refused all overtures. "Convince him that he is in error and he will recant," was his reply to all the pope could say. Luther knew that the pope would condemn him. In June, 1520, his address to the nobility of the German nation appeared, this was intended by Luther to break the force of the pope's Bull, it excited the strongest sympathies in his behalf—such was the love for Luther and the enthusiasm in his favor, that nothing could lessen his influence among his countrymen. On the 15th of June, 1520, the famous Bull against Luther was confirmed by the court of Rome. Luther knew this transaction as soon as the news could be carried to Germany, but it was not officially communicated to him before October. Caraccioli and Aleander were commissioned to carry this Bull into execution. Dr. Eck came with these high functionaries and acted as their agent. He first published the Bull in Germany. This very fact was one means of weakening the effects of the pope's Bull. Luther attacked the Bull, not as coming from the pope, but as coming from Eck. Dr. Eck expected to meet with marks of favor everywhere in Germany, for the active part he had taken in the condemnation of Luther, but during the eighteen months he had been absent, Luther had effected a mighty revolution in the feelings of the people. Eck and his Bull were everywhere treated with contempt. In September, 1520, Luther appealed to the emperor in a powerful letter, but received no hope from that quarter. The first thing he did after being officially informed of the pope's Bull, was to appeal from the sent-

of the pontiff to the superior authority of a general council, in this he appeals from his holiness as a rash, iniquitous, tyrannical judge, as a hardened heretic and apostate, as an enemy, as Antichrist, and as an opposer of the sacred Scriptures, and as a proud and blasphemous despiser of the sacred church of God."

Soon after, he published two tracts against the pope, in which he turned the whole proceedings of the court of Rome into a ridiculous farce. He calls it Dr. Eck's bull. "How," says he, "can it be possible that so base and unchristian a composition, should be the production of the holy pontiff, and his learned and pious cardinals? If indeed, the fact should turn out to be so, if indeed, the bishop of Rome should be actually found to rage against me in such a manner, I must then rejoice that I suffer in so righteous a cause." The fact is, Luther used very severe language, but he was provoked to it, and this he thought was the most successful way of meeting his enemies. He lived in a rude and tumultuous age, and wrote amid the most exciting scenes; he was belied and slandered, and calumniated, and persecuted in the most outrageous manner, and this had a tendency to sour his disposition, and sharpen his pen. He knew his cause was just, he knew it was the cause of God, and this made him bold, and vigorous, and uncompromising in his attacks upon the "man of sin." Luther was not blind to his own faults, nor did he deny that his language was sometimes harsh, and his style rough. He thus apologizes to his friend Spalatin: "I own I am more vehement



than I ought to be ; I have to do with men who blaspheme the truth of the gospel. I have to deal with wolves, with those who condemn me unheard ; without admonishing or instructing me, and who boldly utter the most atrocious slanders against me, and against the word of God. Even the most insensible soul might be moved to resistance by their unreasonable conduct ; much more I, who am by nature of a quick temper, and have very irritable feelings, and am very apt to exceed the bounds of moderation. I cannot, however, but be surprised, whence this novel taste arose, to call everything spoken against an adversary, abusive language. What think you of Christ ? Was he a reviler when he calls the Jews an adulterous and perverse generation, a generation of vipers, hypocrites, and children of the devil ? And of St. Paul, who calls the enemies of the gospel, dogs, and seducers, and children of the devil ? Why does not St. Paul gently soothe the wicked, rather than thunder at this rate ? A mind conscious of truth, cannot with easy indifference, endure the obstinate enemies of truth. I see that all persons demand moderation of me, and especially my adversaries, who show least of it themselves. If I am too warm, I am nevertheless frank and candid, which cannot be said of my enemies." In another letter to Spalatin, he justifies his severe and cutting rebukes, thus : " Popery will never be reformed one tittle, by writings that give no offence, that make no attack ; —in a word, writings that do not bite. The popes consider these very gentle and civil admonitions as a kind of servile cringing, they are content to be feared, and con-

tinue in their wicked courses, as though they had an absolute right to remain incorrigible." And the fact is, no other kind of writing than that employed by Luther, would ever have roused the whole sleeping church into action. No man that ever lived knew better what to write, and how to write! Every stroke of his pen seemed like a spark of lightning, and electrified the heart of Germany! It is an easy matter for his enemies to speak against his harshness, but where is the writer to be found who ever produced half the effect by milder means. Judging from the tremendous effects of his writing, we must conclude that Martin Luther wrote and spoke in the best way!

We now come to notice one of the most bold and daring steps ever taken by any man. A step whose conception and execution, show how intrepid and fearless Luther was. The pope had ordered in the Bull of excommunication, that Luther's writings should be burnt and he himself and all his adherents should be outlawed. The pope had ordered Luther's writings to be burnt, in order to bring contempt upon the Reformer; Luther was determined to return the compliment and to pay the proud prelate in his own coin. He had formed the daring project of burning the pope's Bull!

On the 10th of December, he nailed an advertisement to the walls of the University—in this all the professors, doctors and students were invited to attend at the eastern gate, near a large cross that stood there. A great many attended, a pile of wood had been erected, one of the party

set fire to the pile, Luther approached the blazing pile and threw into it the Canon Law, the popes' Decretals, the Clementines, the Extravagants of the popes and a portion of the writings of Dr. John Eck and of Emser. When these were reduced to ashes, Luther took the pope's Bull of excommunication, held it up and exclaimed with a loud voice, "Since thou hast afflicted the Lord's holy one, may fire unquenchable afflict and consume thee," and dashed it into the flames. This was indeed a bold and daring step. Luther had an object in view in thus treating the pope and his Bull or brief of excommunication, with contempt. He says, "My enemies by burning my books, may have disparaged the truth in the minds of the common people, and occasioned the loss of souls; for that reason I have burned their books in my turn. Hitherto I have only been jesting with the pope."

The war between the pope and Luther was now fairly commenced—one year before, the contest would have been an unequal one—the pope's finger would have crushed not only the poor monk at Wittenberg, but the greatest monarch in christendom—but the writings of Luther had already paralyzed the papal arm. Luther by this daring act declared himself free and independent of Rome and her bishop. Now there was no retreat for Luther, it must now be seen, whether Luther or the pope, truth or error, right or might will conquer. This step encouraged Luther's friends, but it struck terror and dismay into the hearts of his enemies. The burning of the pope's Bull was Luther's declaration of independence, and to carry out his

principles he had to risk "his life, his fortune and his sacred honor." After this Luther speaks without reserve of the pope and the errors of popery, he closes in upon the pope in mortal strife! He now knocks his arguments about the pope's head as he had formerly done about Eck's. "Luther," says Milner, "in order to convince the world that the measure he had just executed, with so much firmness and intrepidity, was not a hasty thought, or the ebullition of a sudden gust of passion, immediately selected thirty articles from the code of papal laws, as a specimen of the iniquitous contents of the books he had burnt, upon which he wrote short and pointed remarks, and circulated them in the form of a tract." "Let no man," says he, "be so far seduced as to reverence the volumes which I have burnt, on account of their great antiquity or their high titles. Let every one first hear and see what the pope teaches in his own books, and what abominable, poisonous doctrines are to be found among the *sacred spiritual laws*, and then let him freely judge whether I have done right or not, in burning such writings."

The following articles were selected among others, viz :

The pope's books, says Luther, teach

1. "That the pope has the power to interpret scripture, and teach what he pleases; and no person is allowed to interpret in a different way."

2. "The pope does not derive power, and authority, and dignity, from the scriptures, but the scriptures derive power, and authority, and dignity from the pope."

Luther then affirms, that comparing together the different parts of canon law, it amounts to nothing less than this, viz : “ *That the pope is God on earth, above all that is earthly or heavenly, temporal or spiritual; that all things belong to the pope, and that no one must venture to say, what doest thou.*” Such was now the language of the Reformer, and such were the startling facts which rung from side to side of the German empire. The Roman pontiff must have been greatly mortified, when he heard with what contempt his Bull was received in Germany. The papal court saw that things were coming to a fearful pass. Shall a poor friendless monk withstand all the thunders of the Vatican? The pope had commissioned Marino Caraccioli and Jerome Aleander, two of the most learned and accomplished gentlemen of his court, to operate upon Frederick, Elector of Saxony, and the young emperor. Although cardinal Cajetan and Miltitz had failed, they anticipated no difficulty in their mission; in this, however, they were sadly disappointed. In connexion with the pope’s Bull against Luther, we first notice the celebrated German nobleman, Ulric von Hutten; he published the Bull with severe and cutting remarks, calculated to lessen the influence of the papal cause. But we shall soon notice him again, and the conspicuous part he played in the great moral drama of the sixteenth century. All Germany was soon awakened; the sluggish mind of Germany was moving. And how could it be otherwise? In every conflict Luther was master of the field, and he was aided by the keen wit and withering sarcasm of Ulric von

Hutten, and by the rude but stirring poetry of Hans Sachs, and the pencils of Lucas Cranach and Albert Dürer.

The celebrated painter, Lucas Cranach, or Kranach, painted a set of pictures, with the title, "Christ's Passion, and Antichrist." Luther composed the inscriptions for these prints, and it is said they produced a powerful effect. The work of the Reformation was rapidly spreading all over Germany. Luther was the moving spirit of the whole land, all eyes were fixed on him; when any of the friends were discouraged, he would cheer them up. D'Aubigne says, "Luther thus, like a consummate general, kept a watchful eye upon the face of the battle; and while fresh combatants were continually rushing forward at his bidding, into the thickest of the fight, he failed not to mark where his followers were beginning to give ground; nor was he slow to rally them again beneath their adopted standard. His warning voice resounded far and wide. Letter followed letter, in rapid succession. Three printing presses were constantly employed in multiplying copies of his various writings; his sermons passed from hand to hand, through the whole nation—supporting the agitated penitent at the confessional—giving courage to the faltering convert in the cloister—and asserting the claims of evangelical truth, even in the abodes of princes." This great man was laboring not for himself, but for others; he was doing God's work. He might have given up the contest, and pronounced the simple words, "I recant," and he would have been honored and almost idolized at Rome.

Let us now look into the workings of his own heart.

“I am,” says he, “the champion of God’s truth, I am a sworn doctor of the Bible, and I will defend my dear Bible.” In a letter to Pellican, of Basel, he writes, “Thou doest well to pray for me. I cannot give myself up as I ought to holy exercises; thou doest well in exhorting me to moderation, I feel the need of it, but I am not master of myself; an impulse of I know not what nature, hurries me away. I bear enmity to no man, but I am so beset with enemies myself, that I cannot be sufficiently on my guard, against the seductions of Satan. Pray for me.”

Luther was not only a great man, but a good man. He was enthusiastic, but not fanatical, and he imparted his own enthusiasm to his countrymen. He impressed his own image upon his nation.

The young emperor was at Aix-la-Chapelle where he received the crown of Charlemagne—the elector of Saxony and all the other princes of the Germanic empire were there to witness the splendid pageant of the coronation—owing to the existence of the plague in Aix-la-Chapelle, the whole body of crowned heads removed to the ancient city of Cologne. Cariccioli and Aleander, the pope’s nuncios were there too, and the great Erasmus was there. The object of the nuncios was to work upon the mind of the young emperor. They plied him hard. “We must burn Luther’s writings,” said Aleander to the emperor. The emperor replied, “if that will be of any service to our ancient religion, let them be burnt.” Well but says this wicked agent of the pope, “We must also have an

imperial edict sentencing Luther himself to death." The emperor replied to this, "Raised, as I have been so recently, to so lofty a station, I cannot without the advice of my counsellors and the consent of the princes of the empire, strike such a blow as this against a faction so numerous and so powerfully protected. Let us first ascertain what our father, the elector of Saxony, thinks of the matter, we shall then be prepared to give our answer to the pope." Every thing now depends upon the elector of Saxony.

The two nuncios went to the elector and demanded: 1. That Luther's writings should be burnt. 2. That Luther himself should either be punished as a heretic by the elector or be given up to the pope."

Frederick replied, "This is a matter of too much importance to be decided instantly, our determination in regard to it shall be duly communicated to you."

On the 4th of November, Frederick demanded that Luther should be furnished with a safe conduct, and be permitted to answer for himself before a tribunal composed of learned, pious, and impartial judges." To this the emperor agreed, and after a good deal of squabbling, the two papal commissioners also gave their consent. The hand of God is here seen in the conduct of the wise and prudent elector of Saxony. Frederick stood by Luther, and without his aid at this period, we cannot see how Luther could possibly have escaped his relentless persecutors. The emperor had no sympathy for any one that would not yield implicit obedience to the pope. He unquestionably



considered Luther a heretic, and felt it his duty to obey the pope in all things. But God overruled all things for his own glory and honor. The Diet was accordingly appointed on the 6th of January, 1521, at Worms. Nuremberg was the proper place for holding the Diet, but as the plague was then raging there, Worms was selected. This was the first Diet convoked by the young emperor, and it was a splendid gathering—such as Germany had not seen for many a long day!

Some idea of the vastness and splendor of this Diet may be formed, when we state that there were present one emperor, one arch-duke, six dukes of kingly rank, twenty-four dukes of high standing, eight margraves, three nuncios, thirty bishops, five royal commissioners, besides learned doctors and counsellors without number. Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, was there with a train of six hundred cavaliers; if the other princes had trains in any way approaching this, there must have been from twenty to thirty thousand strangers at Worms. Every prince wished to make the most splendid appearance. Charles had agreed at Cologne, that Luther should appear at the Diet, and be heard, this seemed the dictate of common justice. But after the members of the Diet had assembled, the Romish party did not want Luther to appear—they well knew what he was, and even Aleander, the most learned and eloquent man in the papal church, felt himself unequal to the task of refuting Luther. He could talk very boldly and eloquently in Luther's absence, but in his presence he was mute. The emperor wrote to the elector of Saxony, and

ordered him to bring Luther to the Diet. The cautious elector was afraid that Luther would not be safe, but as the emperor had given the order, it must be done. But the nuncios of the pope were determined if possible to prevent Luther's appearance at Worms. Charles was young, and seems to have been entirely under the influence of the papal priests, he changed his mind again and wrote to the elector, that, "as Luther was already excommunicated by the pope, he must not appear at Worms." Alexander was very busily engaged in procuring the condemnation of Luther, he wrote to Rome and had another Bull of excommunication issued against the Reformer. Luther was exceedingly anxious to appear before the Diet, and there plead his Savior's cause—he wrote thus to the elector, "I am ready to repair to Worms, I am ready to answer for myself, for it is not in the spirit of recklessness, nor for the sake of worldly profit, that I have taught the doctrine which is laid to my charge; I have taught it in obedience to my conscience, and to my oath as a doctor of the holy scriptures. For God's glory have I taught it—for the salvation of the christian church—for the good of the German people—for the rooting out of gross superstition, and grievous abuses—for the cure of innumerable evils—the wiping away of foul disgrace—the overthrow of tyranny, blasphemy and impiety in countless forms." These noble sentiments show us the motives which actuated Luther in the great struggle. It was not a mere squabble among the German monks, or a desire to raise one order of monks above the other, as some of Luther's enemies have stated.

No, he had a higher, a holier and nobler object in view—it was the emancipation of the human mind from the dominion of sin, and the thralldom of popery !

John Glapio, the confessor of the Emperor, was a man who had great influence over the young king of Spain ; the pope gained him over to his side by presents and honors conferred, he was a shrewd and far-sighted fellow, with as large a share of hypocrisy as any princely confessor needed. He was appointed by his master and Aleander, to sound the friends of Luther on the subject of a compromise. He applied to George Brück, sometimes also called Pontanus. Brück was one of the Elector's confidential friends and counsellors. Glapio had a long interview with Brück, in which he professed the greatest friendship for Luther, speaking in the highest terms of his talents, and requesting Brück to use his influence to get Luther to retract only what he had said against the pope, in his tract called the "Babylonian Captivity." His object was to prevent Luther from coming to Worms; the poor ignorant minions of the pope felt their weakness in the hands of Luther, and they were afraid they would have to argue with him. Hence they urged his condemnation, as the best way to refute him. But Pontanus behaved very prudently and cautiously, the wily confessor made nothing out of him. Aleander again used all his influence and power with Charles to prevent Luther from coming to the Diet. On the 13th of February, the eloquent nuncio, Aleander, was permitted to speak in the name of the pope, and if possible to convince the German princes that Lu-

ther was a heretic, and ought to be burnt. It was an important task, and no man in the Romish church was better qualified to perform it than Aleander. The nuncio spoke for three hours with great eloquence and power; he made out Luther to be everything that was seditious and treacherous. "But," exclaims Aleander, with a burst of eloquence, "why should I enumerate all the crimes of this audacious monk? He sins against the dead, for he denies the existence of purgatory;—he sins against heaven, for he says he would not believe an angel from heaven; he sins against the church, for he says that all christians are priests;—he sins against the saints, for he treats their venerable writings with contempt;—he sins against the councils, for he calls the Council of Constance an assembly of devils;—he sins against the civil power, for he forbids the punishment of death to be inflicted upon any who have not committed a mortal sin. There are some people who say Luther is a man of piety. I will not impugn his private character, I will only remind this assembly that it is a common thing for the devil to deceive men under the appearance of sanctity." "Luther," says Aleander, "will allow himself to be set right by no one. Long ago the pope summoned him to Rome, but he appeared not. The pope then required him to appear before his legate at Augsburg, and he did appear there, but not until he had obtained a safe conduct from the emperor, that is to say, when the legate's hands were tied, and the use of his tongue only allowed him." "O!" exclaims the orator of popery, turning towards the emperor, "I beseech your imperial

majesty, not to do that which would only reflect dishonor on your name. Meddle not with an affair in which the laity have no right to interfere. Discharge the duty that properly devolves upon you. Let Luther's doctrines be proscribed by your authority throughout the empire—let his writings be everywhere committed to the flames—shrink not from the path of justice. There is enough in the errors of Luther to warrant the burning of an hundred thousand heretics! And whom have we to fear? The multitude? Their insolence makes them formidable while the battle is delayed, but when it comes their cowardice will render them contemptible! What are these Lutherans? A motley rabble of insolent grammarians, licentious priests, disorderly monks, ignorant advocates, degraded nobles, misled and perverted plebeians. How greatly superior is the Catholic party in numbers, in intelligence, in power? An unanimous decree of this illustrious assembly, will open the eyes of the simple show the unwary their danger, determine the wavering, and strengthen the weak-hearted. But if the axe be not laid to the root of this venomous plant, if the death-blow be not dealt against it—then I behold it covering Christ's heritage with its branches, changing the vineyard of the Lord into a howling wilderness, converting God's kingdom into a haunt of wild beasts, plunging Germany into the same wretched condition of barbarism and desolation to which Asia has been reduced, by the superstition of Mohammed." This oration was calculated to make a powerful impression upon the minds of the princes.

There was not one friend of Luther among all the princes in the house, for Frederick, the Elector of Saxony, was not present, he did not wish to hear his beloved monk abused. Aleander's speech seems to have made a powerful impression upon the assembly. What would we not give if Luther had been there to reply to this famous orator. But in the presence of Luther, this nuncio would not have spoken as he did, he would have been more guarded. Rome had now been fairly and ably represented; all the embellishments of rhetoric, and the ingenuity of talent, and all the powers of oratory had been used in her defence.

Duke George, although no friend to the Reformer, was friendly to a reformation. He made a speech which, although it was in one respect on the same side of the house, was the counterpart to that of Aleander. Duke George spoke thus, "The Diet must not lose sight of the grievances, of which it has to claim redress of the court of Rome. How numerous are the abuses that have crept into our dominions. The Italian courtiers are daily inventing new regulations to favor the monopoly, the sale, and the leasing out of ecclesiastical benefices, a multitude of offences connived at, a scandalous toleration granted to rich offenders, while those who have not wherewithal to purchase impunity are severely punished—shops for the sale of indulgences opened in every street and square of our cities—the officials of the bishops oppressing men of low degree with penances for blasphemy, or adultery, or drunkenness, or profanation of this or that festival—but never address-

ing so much as a rebuke to ecclesiastics, who are guilty of the same crimes,—penances so devised as to betray the penitent into a repetition of the offence, in order that more money may be extracted from him. All shame is laid aside, and one object alone incessantly pursued. Money and evermore money! Profligacy and avarice go hand in hand. The officials, (i. e. the confessors and acting priests,) summon women to their houses on various pretenses, and either by threats or presents endeavor to seduce them, and if the attempt fails, they ruin their reputation. O! it is the scandal occasioned by the clergy that plunges so many poor souls into everlasting perdition! A thorough reform must be effected. To accomplish such a reform a general council must be assembled.” This is hard language; as severe as any Luther used, but although duke George did not like Luther on account, it is said, of his Augustinian views, yet he had imperceptibly caught Luther’s spirit on this subject. The means which the duke proposed for reforming the church, had been tried in almost every age, and every new effort only made the matter worse; Luther was aware of this fact, but the duke was not. Our Roman catholic friends of the present day, who say that no reformation was needed in the sixteenth century, will do well to refute duke George, and those who thought with him at that time. The speech of duke George produced a deep impression, other members of the Diet stated other grievances. At last to give an expression of their views and feelings, a committee was appointed to take this matter in hand. This committee enumerated one hun-

dred and one grievances, which they presented to the emperor. This unexpected movement saved Luther. The whole assembly now were of opinion that Luther ought not to be condemned without a hearing. The speech of duke George was the means of making many friends for Luther. The emperor now came to the conclusion that Luther must appear and acknowledge himself the author of the books which were ascribed to him. When the pope's nuncio heard this he became dreadfully alarmed, he went to the emperor and addressed him thus, "You say there is to be no disputing with Luther; but how can we be sure that the genius of this audacious man, the fire that flashes from his eyes, the eloquence of his speech, the mysterious spirit that animates him, will not excite a tumult. Already there are many who revere him as a saint, and his image is every where to be seen encircled with rays of glory, like those which surround the heads of the blessed." I quote Pallavicini, from D'Aubigne. This shows what the nuncio feared, viz. the eloquence of Luther. This is perhaps the highest compliment ever an enemy conferred upon Luther!

On the 6th of March, 1521, the emperor affixed his signature to Luther's summons. Caspar Sturm was appointed to bring Luther from Wittenberg. On the 24th of March, the herald reached Wittenberg. Luther's friends were much alarmed, but he himself was calm and tranquil. Luther made his arrangements as soon as he could, and on the 2d of April, he was prepared for his journey. Luther was accompanied by Schurff, Amsdorff, and Suaven, they



travelled in a waggon with a cover. On his way he past through Leipsic, Naumburg, Weimar, and Erfurt, at this place he was received with marked attention—here he spent the Sabbath, and it being Easter he preached a powerful sermon from John xx. 19, 20. When they left Erfurt, Justus Jonas joined the party. Luther took very sick at Eisenach, but soon recovered and continued his journey. The people hailed him every where as he passed along. Some exclaimed they will burn you at Worms—Luther boldly replied, “*Though they should kindle a fire, whose flame should reach from Worms to Wittenberg, and rise up to heaven, I would go through it in the name of the Lord, and stand before them—and confess the Lord Jesus Christ.*” On the 14th of April, Luther reached Frankfort. As he approached Worms, his enemies became more and more alarmed. Consternation was depicted upon the countenances of the papal party, every effort was made to prevent his coming to Worms. Aleander the pope’s nuncio, Albert the archbishop, and Glapio the emperor’s confessor, were dreadfully alarmed, and it was determined among them that another effort should be made to prevent Luther from coming into Worms. They laid a trap for him at Ebernburg, but he was determined to go to Worms. Spalatin himself, the friend of Luther, became alarmed, and sent him a message that he should not enter into Worms. Luther replied to the messenger, “*Go tell your master, that though there should be as many devils at Worms as there are tiles upon the houses, I would enter in!*” This shows the true character of the man, and yet a minion of the pope

has the hardihood to say that Luther was only bold and courageous where there was no danger." Where in all the annals of ancient or modern history will you find such courage and intrepidity as Luther displayed on this occasion?

On the 16th of April, he entered Worms—it is said that two thousand people met him at the city walls and escorted him to his lodgings. His appearance at Worms produced more excitement than the emperor's. Every body, friend and foe, wanted to see the courageous monk. On the 17th of April, Ulric von Pappenheim, the marshal of the empire, cited him to appear before the Diet at 4 o'clock in the afternoon.

Ulric von Hutten wrote to Luther on the 17th of April from Ebernburg, for he was then under the pope's displeasure and was afraid to go to Worms, but he encouraged Luther by writing thus, "The Lord hear thee in the day of trouble; the name of the God of Jacob defend thee, and send thee help out of Zion; grant thee according to thine own heart, and fulfil all thy counsel. Psalms xx. O! beloved Luther, my venerated father, fear not, but stand firm—fight valiantly the battles of Christ." Bucer, who was with Hutten at Ebernburg, came to Worms and remained with Luther. Before Luther went to the Diet he offered up the following prayer, which was overheard and recorded by his friends, and it is a touching and sublime prayer. We translate this prayer as literally as possible from the original German. "Oh! God, oh! God, oh! thou my God do thou stand by me against the reason and wis-

dom of the whole world, do thou do it! Thou must stand by me, and thou alone! This is not my work, but thine. I have nothing to do here, before these great lords of the world on my own account. I would gladly pass my days in rest and peace, and be unmolested. But the cause is thine O! Lord, and it is a righteous and everlasting cause! But do thou support me, O! thou faithful and eternal God. I depend on no human aid. Hast not thou called me to this work, and I am certain of it! Yes, this is thy will! This is not my doing, I never thought of myself to oppose such great lords. So do thou support me for the sake of thy dear Son Jesus Christ, who shall be my protector, my defence, and my strong tower, through the power, and strength of the Holy Ghost! Lord where remainest thou? Thou my God where art thou? Come, oh come, I am ready to lay down my life with the patience of a lamb, for this is a righteous cause, and it is thy cause. I will never be separated from thee. This I have resolved upon in thy name; the world shall never force my conscience, and if it were full of devils—and if this body which is the work of thine hands, should be trodden down upon the earth, and be cut to pieces; for I have thine own word and Spirit for this. Not only the body, but the soul is thine, and will be thine forever. Amen. God help me. Amen.”

This prayer gives us a glimpse into the inmost soul of Luther—it shows us whence he derived his strength. It shows us too, that the Reformation was, not the work of man, but of God. This is a specimen of the moral sublime, such as is seldom seen! And this is the kind of faith

we now need in the church! This prayer it is said calmed the mind of Luther. At 4 o'clock, the marshal of the empire came for Luther—but such was the throng that it was impossible to get along—they had to take Luther through gardens and allies—the streets were lined with people; such was the anxiety to see this famous doctor, that many people were seen on the roofs of the houses! At last they arrived at the place where the Diet sat, but it seemed impossible to enter the building, it was so thronged with people—there were more than five thousand people there. In one of the halls he was met by George Freundsberg, a brave soldier who had fought many a hard battle—this old soldier tapped Luther on the shoulder and exclaimed, “Little monk, little monk, thou art making a march, such as neither I nor any other captain ever went through in the bloodiest battles! But if thy cause be just, and thou art sure of it, go forward in the name of God, and fear nothing.”

Luther was now ushered into the most august assembly on earth—there was assembled the wealth, the talent and the refinement of all christendom. There were about two hundred persons immediately connected with the Diet, besides thousands whom curiosity had led thither. Luther was, (as may readily be imagined,) at first a little agitated—but he soon recovered from this temporary excitement—it was merely the flush of excited feeling that for a moment fluttered a little warmly and strangely about his heart, and crimsoned his manly countenance! So the iron-nerved warrior when entering the field of battle, may feel a little agitated, and when the first platoon is fired, his courage

returns. The marshal of the empire whispered in his ear, that he should not speak, until he was asked a question. Luther's appearance in the Diet produced quite a profound sensation—every eye was fixed upon the bold and courageous monk. Now let us pause a moment, and contemplate Martin Luther, the son of an humble miner of Mansfeldt, standing before the Roman emperor and the pope's representatives—God had directed his steps by a strange Providence! And sustained him in that trying hour! When the excitement had subsided, Dr. John Eck, (not the famous Doctor of Ingolstadt,) but the chancellor of the archbishop of Treves, stepped forward and said, addressing himself to Luther. "Martin Luther, his sacred majesty has cited you before his throne, and requires you to answer these questions." The chancellor then pointing to a bench, on which were piled 20 volumes of books, said, "do you acknowledge those writings to have been written by you." Secondly. "Are you prepared to retract these works, and the propositions they contain, or do you persist in what you have therein advanced." Jerome Schurff, Luther's advocate, immediately exclaimed in a voice loud enough to be heard in the whole house, "Legantur tituli librorum." "Let the titles of the books be read." This was a master stroke of legal tact; Schurff had heard Aleander's famous speech against Luther in that assembly, he had heard that smooth-tongued nuncio, declaring that Luther was opposed to good works, yet one of the books now before the assembly was a volume on good works.

After the chancellor had read the titles, Luther spoke first in German, then in Latin, thus: "Most Gracious Emperor, Princes and Lords! Your Imperial Majesty has proposed two questions to me. The first is, whether I acknowledge all the books that bear my name, to be mine? Second, whether I am willing to defend those which I have written and published, or whether I am willing to retract what I have written. I will answer these questions with as much brevity and correctness as I can. In the first place, I must acknowledge the above mentioned books as mine, I can never deny them. But that which follows, viz. whether I will defend or retract every thing I have written? As this is a question concerning faith and salvation, and belongs to the Word of God, which is the most valuable treasure in heaven or on earth, and which we should all with one consent hold in the highest honor. It would therefore be presumptuous and dangerous in me, to act without reflection, I might say less than the circumstances of the case require, or more than would be in accordance with the truth, which might bring me under the condemnation of what Christ says, viz. "Whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I deny before my Father which is in heaven." Therefore, I ask your imperial majesty time for reflection, (*Bedenckzeit*,) that I may without detriment to the Word of God, or injury to my own soul, give a correct answer to the questions proposed."

Here the Diet held a short consultation; soon after the chancellor of the empire, expressing the meaning of the Diet, said, "Inasmuch as you, Martin Luther, should have

known from the imperial summons, why you have been called hither, and as you are not worthy to have any further indulgence, yet in consequence of the emperor's native benevolence—you have another day for reflection—you are to appear here to-morrow at this hour of the day, upon the condition however, that you bring no written documents, but make your defence verbally." As Luther seemed so mild and calm, it is very likely the pope's minions, Aleander and Eck, thought he certainly would recant, the next day. But they found themselves much mistaken!

The impression Luther's conduct made upon the lobby members was unfavorable, they were sure he would retract. His enemies no doubt thought, ah, where now is the audacious monk, who at a distance could hurl the thunderbolts at the pope's head, now he quails, he trembles, he will give up! Not an hour afterwards he wrote a letter to a friend, in which he says, "by the help of Jesus, I will not retract a word."

On the streets of Worms there was a great commotion. The affairs of the Reformation were taken in hand by the people—some for Luther, some against him; all arguing and quarreling in the most boisterous manner. His enemies triumphing over his anticipated recantation, his friends trembling for his personal safety. The scenes which were exhibited at Worms during that night and next day, shadow forth the general movements of the christian world in after days. This was a kind of epitomized prelude to the great drama of the sixteenth century.

On the next day, at 4 o'clock, the imperial herald came for Luther, but owing to the throng of people, and some other business in which the Diet was engaged, Luther did not get into the emperor's presence until 6 o'clock. The magnificent hall was lighted with torches, which added much to the solemnity of the scene! What a solemn hour! How instructive!—the night that had closed in upon the assembly, was emblematical of the night of sin and ignorance that had enshrouded the papal church; and the glaring light of the torches for the time being imperfectly prefigured the more brilliant light of the gospel, which was about to reilluminate the world! Luther had prepared himself for the mighty conflict by prayer and meditation.

When Luther stood before the emperor, the chancellor Dr. Eck, arose and said, "His imperial majesty on last evening gave you, Martin Luther, time for reflection; that time is now expired. Inasmuch as you have acknowledged yourself to be the author of the books whose titles were read, but as you requested time before you would answer the questions then proposed, although the Diet was not under any obligation to give you the time you asked, because you knew a long time before what would be required of you. Every one should at all times be able to give an account of what he believes. And are you who are so learned a doctor in the scriptures, now silent? Now therefore, answer the inquiries of his majesty, who has manifested so much indulgence to you. Are you prepared to defend all the books which you have acknowledged



to be yours, or are you willing to retract any part of them.”

The reader will perceive that these questions are framed with much accuracy—they cannot be evaded. Luther must now come out on the one or the other side. Luther paused a moment, all eyes are upon him! Will the courageous monk now falter? Oh, what a moment of intense, of painful anxiety! The silence is broken, Luther has spoken; he spoke very calmly and distinctly, and with unusual moderation, but loud enough to be heard by all.

*Luther's Speech before the Diet at Worms.*

“Most illustrious emperor, and you illustrious princes and noble lords—I appear before you in obedience to your orders, at the termination of the time you gave me yesterday, and I implore your majesty, and your illustrious highnesses, by the compassion of God, graciously to hear this cause, which I hope is just and righteous. If by reason of my ignorance of court usages, I should not address you by your proper titles, I hope you will pardon me, for I am not accustomed to the formalities of courts, but was raised in a monastery.

Two questions were yesterday proposed to me by his imperial majesty. The first, whether I was the author of the books whose titles were read; the second, whether I was willing to defend or retract, any of the doctrines I taught therein. To the first I have given my humble answer, clearly and directly; and upon what I then said I will stand firmly and eternally. If my works have not been mutilated, I and I alone without the aid of any person or

persons, how learned soever am the author of those books As to the second question, I beg of your imperial majesty, and you noble lords, to remember that I have written a number of works, on a variety of subjects. In some of my books I have written on christian faith, and on good works, in such a manner that even my adversaries are compelled to admit that they are useful, innocent, and worthy to be read by all christians. The pope's Bull although it is quick and violent yet makes some of my books innocent, and yet damns the same in a very extraordinary and unnatural manner. Now if I were to retract these, what would I be doing, other than denying what both friends and enemies all admit. I have in the second place in some of my writings attacked the popedom and the papal doctrine, and spoken against those whose scandalous and irregular lives, and evil examples afflict the christian church and are calculated to ruin the bodies and souls of men! No man can deny what experience teaches, all pious souls deplore the state of things which now exists. Is it not true, that the laws of popery, and the human doctrines of the pope, vex and ensnare, and torment the consciences of the pious,—and do not the crying and endless extortions of Rome swallow up and ingulf the property and wealth of christendom, and more particularly of this illustrious German nation. Who can deny these things? And yet the Roman Catholic church teaches in her own books and decretals, that any rules or doctrines the pope may teach that do not agree with the gospel, and the opinions of the church fathers, are to be looked upon as erroneous. Now if I were to re-

tract, would I not be strengthening this tyranny, and would I not open the windows, and doors, and gates, for such great impieties; even wider than they now are? These wicked men would then with irresistible fury bear down all opposition; they would foam and rage more and more. And the yoke of tyranny which now weighs so heavily upon the common people, would become more intolerable by my recantation. It would then be looked upon as receiving the sanction of his imperial majesty, this *august Diet*, and of myself! Great God! what an infamous cloak to cover over every kind of tyranny and audacity, would not I become!

“In the third place, I have written some books against private individuals, who undertook to defend and protect or screen, (zu schützen,) the tyranny of the Romish church, by endeavoring to corrupt and falsify the blessed doctrines which I taught. I am willing openly to confess, that against such persons I may have been more violent and severe than is consistent with my profession of religion; for I do not make myself a saint, nor am I disputing about the sanctity of my own life, but about the doctrines of Christ. But I cannot even retract these books, because by so doing I would sanction the wickedness and tyranny of my enemies, and they would become more furious against the common people than heretofore! Yet, as I am not God, but a mere man, I must defend my books, as Jesus Christ defended his doctrine, (John xviii. 23,) before the Jewish high priest, ‘If I have spoken evil, bear witness against me.’ Now, if the Lord Jesus, who knew

that he could not err, did not object to the bringing of testimony against his doctrine, how much more should not I, who am but dust and ashes, and so prone to err, desire that every one should bring forward what he can against my doctrines. Therefore I implore your most illustrious majesty, and you illustrious princes, all states and conditions of men, by the mercies of God, to prove to me from the prophetic and apostolic writings, that I have erred. As soon as I am thus convinced, I will cheerfully and at once, revoke all my errors, and will be the first to commit my books to the flames!

“From what I have just said, it will appear clearly and openly that I have sufficiently reflected upon and weighed the danger to which I am exposed, in consequence of the strife and divisions which my teachings have occasioned, of which I was so violently and severely reminded yesterday. But to me it is a matter of great satisfaction and joy, to see that there are strifes and divisions on account of God's word, for this is the very character of God's word, and has always been its fate, for Christ himself says, 'I came not to send peace in the earth, but a sword.' Therefore it becomes us well to remember, that God is wonderful and awful in his counsels and his judgments.— Let us therefore be mindful, lest in our efforts to put down discords, we be found fighting ignorantly against God's holy word, and bring down upon ourselves a terrible deluge of irresistible calamities, both for time and eternity! Let us take care, lest the reign of our young and noble prince, the Emperor Charles, on whose imperial majesty, next to

God, we build such high and flattering hopes, should be a fatal and disastrous one, in its commencement and termination. I might produce instances from the word of God to illustrate this matter,—I might speak of Pharaoh, of the kings of Babylon, or of Israel, who, when they thought by their prudence and foresight to strengthen themselves, always contributed to their own downfall. ‘For God taketh the wise in their own craftiness, he removeth the mountains and they know it not.’ Therefore we should fear God; but for the sake of brevity I will say no more on this subject. In speaking thus, I do not suppose that such noble princes have need of my instructions, or my calling such things to their recollection, but I wish to discharge my duty to the German nation, my dear native land. And so I would commend myself to your august majesty, and your illustrious highnesses; I beseech you in all humility, not to permit yourselves to be influenced against me by my enemies without reason.”

When he had delivered this address in German, he was requested to repeat it in Latin. Frederick von Thun, one of the Elector’s counsellors, whom the prudent prince had stationed by the side of Luther, to aid and assist him by his advice, seeing that Luther was a good deal exhausted, said to him, “If you are not able to repeat your speech in Latin, what you have said is enough.” But Luther paid no attention to what was said; after a moment’s pause, he commenced, and repeated in Latin what he had said in German. When he had finished his Latin address, John Eck, the mouthpiece of the Diet, arose in haste, and ad-

dressed Luther in a sharp and angry tone, thus: "You have not given a proper answer to the inquiries proposed, you are not to place in a doubtful light the decisions of the councils, nor to dispute about their correctness. You are required to give a clear, pointed and unequivocal answer to the question; will you revoke and retract, or will you not?" Luther then said loudly and distinctly, "Since your imperial majesty, and you, illustrious princes, require of me a plain, direct and unequivocal answer, I will give one that shall have neither horns, nor teeth, and it is this, unless I am convinced out of the sacred Scriptures, or by other clear and cogent reasons; (for I believe neither the pope, nor the councils alone, for it is as clear as noon-day that they have both often erred, and have often been opposed to each other.) If therefore, I am not fully satisfied that the passages I have recited from the word of God, are wrong, and that my conscience is not subject (i. e. under the influence of) the word of God. I neither can nor will retract any thing I have done, because it is neither safe nor prudent to say any thing against one's conscience." Then Luther raised his hands and eyes toward heaven, and exclaimed with a strong and excited and impressive voice, "*Hier stehe ich; ich kann nicht anders, Gott helfe mir. Amen.*" Here I stand, I cannot do otherwise, God do thou help me! This was the most interesting period of Luther's life, here was a grand and sublime spectacle, an humble monk by the brilliancy of his talents, and the justice of his cause, outshining all the splendors of the German empire. The vast assembly was thunderstruck a

deep impression had been made, the breathing of the Diet had almost been suspended, when the sound of the last word had ceased to reverberate, among the lofty colonnades. The emperor who had been struck dumb with Roman Catholic amazement, at the bold and heretical doctrines of the noble Saxon, exclaimed, "the monk speaks unterrified and with calm courage," ("der Mönch redet unerschrocken, mit getrostem Muth.")

The chancellor then arose and addressed Luther as he had before, and told him that he had not answered as was expected, and that if he would not retract, the emperor and the states of the empire would know how to deal with an obstinate heretic." Luther replied, "May God help me, for I cannot retract." Luther was now permitted to withdraw and the Diet commenced its momentous deliberations. Every one saw and felt that it was a critical moment. "On the yea and nay of this monk perhaps depended the repose of the church, and the world for ages to come. In the desire to overawe him, he had been raised on a platform, in sight of a whole nation; the attempt to give publicity to his defeat, had only served to enhance his victory over his enemies. The partisans of Rome could not patiently submit to this humiliation." Luther was called back, and Dr. Eck, the chancellor of the empire, addressed him thus: "Martin you have not spoken with that humility which becomes your standing. The lines of distinction you have drawn as to your works were unnecessary, for if you had retracted such as contain error, the emperor would not have allowed the others to be burnt. It is absurd to re-

quire to be refuted by Scripture when you are reviving heresies condemned by the General Council of Constance. The emperor commands you therefore simply to say yea or nay." "I have no other answer to give," said Luther, "than that I have already given." There stood the undaunted Saxon monk, firm and unshaken.

The following beautiful words of the poet may be applied to him on this occasion, very aptly :

"So fixed by Providence's hands,  
A rock amid the ocean stands,  
So bears without a trembling dread  
The tempest beating on its head,  
And with its side repels the wave  
Whose hollow seems a coming grave ;  
The skies, the deeps are heard to roar,  
The rock stands settled as before."

So stood Luther like the great Gibraltar of the moral world! He was the first man on the earth who for the last thousand years had dared to say, "no," when the church said, "yes." The Roman party was dismayed; the unbending German monk had conquered all the powers of the church and the empire. The virtual language of this great man was, "do your worst." The body you may destroy, but the eternal and the chainless mind you cannot conquer! The emperor then arose, and the whole Diet followed—the chancellor then said, "The Diet will meet to-morrow morning to hear the emperor's decision." Luther was conducted to his hotel amid a tremendous excitement, some reviling and others praising him. Luther



was perhaps the only man that felt calm—he was in God's hands—and so far as he was concerned it mattered but little to him how it went.

Luther had returned to his hotel, his friends were there ready to rejoice with their intrepid champion. The Elector, Frederick of Saxony, was delighted and edified with the noble bearing and courageous conduct of his monk. He sent for Spalatin, who was with Luther, and when the latter came, he said with deep emotion, “Oh, how elegantly did not *Father Martin* speak before the emperor and the states of the empire, all I feared was that he would become too impetuous.” From that moment the bonds of friendship were drawn more closely between these two great men. The popish party saw and felt that Luther had made a deep impression upon the public mind, and they knew that they had no one who was able to stand before him. Aleander commenced operating upon the mind of the young emperor, who had imbibed early and strong prejudices against the right of private opinion. And the extent of the nuncio's success may perhaps be gathered from the following message, which the emperor caused to be read to the Diet on Friday the 19th of April. “Descended from the christian emperors of Germany, from the catholic kings of Spain, from the archdukes of Austria, and dukes of Burgundy, who have all distinguished themselves by supporting the faith of Rome, I am firmly resolved to tread in the footsteps of my ancestors. A single monk, led astray by his own madness, erects himself against the faith of christendom. I will sacrifice my king-

doms, my power, my friends, (a thrust at the Elector of Saxony,) my money, my body and blood, my thoughts and my life, to stay the further progress of this impiety. I am about to dismiss the Augustine Luther, forbidding him to cause the least disturbance among the people. I will then take measures against him and his adherents, as open heretics, by excommunication, interdict, and every means necessary to their destruction.”

This was a strong and decided address, but the day when excommunications and interdicts of popes and kings could throw whole nations into convulsions, had passed away. Luther's preaching, and the publication of some twenty volumes, and his public disputations, and now his noble conduct at Worms, had dispelled much of the moral darkness that had for ages enshrouded the church and the world! That long, long, dark night of moral darkness, was giving way to rays of divine light, that was now breaking into the world! The moral heavens were beginning to be dotted with the stars of hope—harbingers of a brighter day!

Two years before, in this self same ancient city of Worms, such an address from Maximilian to a Diet of the German nation, would have been received with thundering applause, and the poor individual against whom such a moral thunderbolt would have been directed, God help him—he would have been crushed at once, no power on earth could have saved him! But now how changed the scene, nearly half the princes present heard the emperor's message with displeasure. Even Duke George, the avow-

ed enemy of Luther, opposed it; the Elector, Palatine, and the princes of Bavaria sided with Duke George. The Elector of Brandenburg, and most of the dignitaries of the church, insisted upon a violation of the Emperor's safe-conduct. This was strongly contested, and ultimately overruled. And to the credit of the Emperor be it said, he refused to commit so flagrant a crime! Perhaps those high and lofty principles of honor, which are said to belong to the Spanish character, got the better of his bigotry. It is even supposed that Charles, towards the close of his life, leaned very strongly towards Protestantism. Much has been written pro and con, on this subject. But although we may award to him in his declining years, much self-denial and charity, yet there seems to be little Protestantism in monasteries—Charles abdicated his throne, and died in the seclusion of a cloister. His life is exceedingly interesting, and has been ably written by Dr. Robertson, to which we would refer the reader, for one of the finest specimens of biography in our language.

Luther was constantly surrounded by multitudes who flocked to see him, he made many friends, his fame was spreading throughout the German empire. Placards were stuck up in every part of Worms, and anonymous letters poured in upon the Emperor and the members of the Diet daily, threatening vengeance and bloodshed in case Luther should be injured. The Emperor was informed that if it should become necessary, there were 400 noble knights, with 8000 soldiers, both infantry and cavalry, who were ready in a moment to defend the intrepid friend of Germany!

It was also reported that Francis von Sickingen had assembled 400 German knights, who had bound themselves to defend Luther. Ulric von Hutten was at this time in the family of Sickingen. It was probably from this rural retreat, this asylum of the oppressed and persecuted, that he wrote his famous letter to the Emperor, Charles V. In relation to the excitement that existed at this time in Worms, Luther said in after life, "If I had felt disposed when at Worms to make disturbance, I might have raised such a rebellion, as would have endangered the safety of the emperor himself." After the emperor had expressed his determination to proceed with rigor against Luther, a number of the princes and other members of the Diet, strongly urged the propriety of holding another friendly conference with Luther. They thought Luther must and should be convinced of his error. The archbishop of Treves, Joachim, of Brandenburg, Duke George, the bishop of Augsburg, the bishop of Brandenburg, and a number of others, insisted that the emperor should defer his contemplated measures against Luther until after another effort towards a reconciliation should have been made. The emperor consented. There was a gentleman at Worms who was well calculated to make an impression upon Luther's mind, he was famous for his gravity of manners, his deep toned piety, his extensive knowledge of human nature, and his great eloquence. If any man on earth could do anything with Luther, this was the man—his name was Jerome Wehe, or as he is sometimes called Wehus—he was chancellor of Baden. The

archbishop of Treves had undertaken the task of reconciling the pope and Luther. This conference took place on Wednesday, the 24th of April, in the residence of the archbishop of Treves. Wehe commenced in a very calm, mild and earnest manner, to reason with Luther, but as the substance of his fair speech was "revoke," "revoke," Luther replied as on a former occasion, "the Bible," "the Bible," and thus ended the matter. The papists saw that they could not argue with Luther; this fact led one of their party, Cochlæus, to exclaim, "Why did not the emperor, when he cited Luther to Worms, also summon learned men capable of refuting him." Yes, why did he not? Because that was impossible, the most learned men in the whole church of Rome had tried to refute him, but they were not able. The curious reader can see this conference fully treated in D'Aubigne, vol. II. p. 250.

On Thursday, the 25th, Luther got permission from the emperor to return to Wittenberg. He must return within the space of twenty-one days, and in the mean time was not to disturb the public peace on his way home by preaching. Thus ended the famous Diet of Worms.

On Friday morning, the 26th of April, soon after breakfast, Luther left Worms in the company of his friends, at Oppenheim he was joined by Sturm, the imperial herald. The first day, without any accident, they reached Frankfort. From Frankfort, he wrote a letter to his worthy friend, Lucas Cranach, the celebrated painter, at Wittenberg. This letter gives us a fair view of Luther's heart, for it was written to a bosom friend.

“Dear Lucas, my best wishes to you, I commend you to God. I must permit myself to be taken away and concealed, I know not where—I would rather have suffered death at the hands of the tyrant duke George of Saxony—but I must follow the advice of good friends. I was not looked for at Worms. I supposed his imperial majesty would have collected one or fifty doctors, honestly to refute the monk! But there was nothing more done than this, viz. Are these books yours? Yes! Will you recant? No! Then clear out? O! what blind Germans we are, how childishly we act in permitting the Romanists to ape and to act the fool with us!

“My compliments to your dear wife. The Jews must sing their, yo! yo! yo! Our passover too will come, then we will sing hallelujah! It is necessary for us to keep quiet and suffer a while. ‘A little while and ye shall not see me, and again a little while and ye shall see me,’ said Christ, I trust I can say the same. If you are not satisfied with the preaching of the licentiate Feldkerchen, get Amsdorff, he will cheerfully do it. Adieu.”

This letter shows clearly that Luther was aware that he would have to be concealed—no doubt the elector of Saxony had Luther prepared for his capture and residence at Wartburg. Some even suppose, nor is the supposition at all improbable that the emperor himself consented to the scheme of secreting Luther! This was a stroke of royal policy such as is sometimes necessary! Let any man look at the situation of Charles at this time, and he will see that he could not well do otherwise. He dare not oppose the

pope, and he dare not execute Luther—on the one hand the friendship of the pope was all important in the accomplishment of his ambitious schemes, and yet without the German princes who were favorable to Luther he could do nothing. Hence it is quite probable that while he was pretending to chastise Luther with one hand, he actually concealed him with the other.

Dr. Miner says, Spalatin communicated this plan of evading the pope's fury to Luther, the evening before he left Worms.

Next day, the 27th of April, Luther reached Friedberg. From this place we have two famous letters, dated, the one in Latin to the emperor, and the other in German to the princes of the German empire. These are among the most splendid letters he ever wrote, and as they were published by his friends in the form of tracts, and very extensively circulated throughout Germany, they contributed not a little to build up the cause of Christ. Both these letters are long, too long to be transcribed here. But the sentiments they contain are so noble that we must furnish a few specimens. In his letter to the emperor, he says, "God who is the Searcher of all hearts is my witness, that I am willing to obey your imperial majesty in life or death, in glory or in shame, in gain or in loss—this is the deliberate determination to which I have come, and I make no exception at all, only the word of God." The Bible was everything with Luther. He goes on, "it is contrary to the will of God, that one man should be under subjection to another, in that which belongs to the salvation of the

soul." "I do not pray for my own person, but for the whole christian church—I plead for my noble and beloved German nation. I have sought nothing but the glory and honor of God, and the welfare of my fellow-men. I have never looked to my own interest, and God grant that I never may—whether my enemies condemn me or not. As Christ my Savior, prayed for his enemies when nailed to the cross, 'Lord forgive them, for they know not what they do,' so I will pray for your imperial majesty, and for all my enemies." What a truly christian spirit! How like his Great Master, did he pray for his enemies!

On Tuesday the 30th of April, Luther left Friedberg, and reached Hirschfeld, where he was met by the chancellor of the prince and the senate, and escorted with great pomp into the town.

On Wednesday the first of May, by request of the prince, he preached, and after service moved on to Eisenach. What thoughts must have crowded into his soul as he looked around him upon the scenes of his childhood! It was now twenty years since he had left the school at Eisenach. Through what mighty conflicts had he not passed? What mighty changes had he not seen? Twenty years before he begged his bread in the streets of Eisenach, now he appears there as the greatest man of his age. Luther's friends call to see him. What had become of the pious Cotta family? Did they yet live to witness the fame of their protege? We know not. Luther preached at Eisenach.



We will now permit Luther to enjoy the scenes of his childhood, and return to Worms, and see what is going on there. After Luther had left Worms the pope's agents Aleander and others, were very busy in having Luther and his followers condemned. On the 25th of May, the edict was signed by Charles, when the greater part of the German princes had left. It was dated May 8th, and is a long and curious document, consisting of not less than fifteen large folio pages! We here give a part of this famous edict.

“The Almighty having confided to us as for the defence of our holy faith, more extensive dominion than he hath given to any of our predecessors, we purpose to employ all our powers to preserve our holy empire from being polluted by any heresy. The Augustine monk, Martin Luther, regardless of our exhortations, has madly attacked the holy church, and attempted to destroy it, by writings full of blasphemy. He has shamefully vilified the unalterable law of marriage—he has labored to incite the laity to imbrue their hands in the blood of their priests; and defying all authority, has incessantly excited the people to revolt, schism, war, murder, theft, incendiarism, and the utter destruction of the christian faith.” Not a word of this was true, and well did the people know it, this was the reason why this lying edict had no effect. The people of Germany laughed at it. The Spanish and Italian Romanists, thought it was a very grave and important document, but Luther had taught his countrymen better. But when it did come, it could not find Luther—he was

safely housed in the castle of Wartburg. Let us now see how Luther got to Wartburg. After spending some time at Eisenach, he started in company with his brother, Jacob Luther, Nicholas Amsdorff and the driver, for the village of Möhra, where his grandmother lived, and his father's brother, Henry Luther. Counsellor Schurff, Dr. Justus Jonas and Suaven, who had come with Luther, left him at Eisenach, and set out for Wittenberg. I have no doubt Schurff and Jonas knew all about the plan of Luther's contemplated abduction. Luther spent the evening very pleasantly among his relatives. The next day he started, the company had to pass through the forests of Thuringia, in order to reach Waltershausen. As the carriage was passing through a narrow defile, near the close of the day, a short distance from the castle of Altenstein, close by the ruins of an old church, five horsemen suddenly came upon them. Jacob Luther, who first saw the horsemen making for the carriage, jumped from the carriage and ran at a furious rate, and never stopped until he reached Waltershausen. Luther in a letter to Spalatin says, "*Frater meus equites in tempore videns, a curru se subtraxit et insalutatus Waltershausen pedestris venisse dicitur,*" i. e. my brother who first saw the horsemen, threw himself from the carriage, and is said to have reached Waltershausen on foot, without being pursued. One of the horsemen laid hold of the bridle, another took charge of the driver, a third drew Luther in rather a rough manner out of the carriage. Amsdorff was not molested. Luther was conducted into the forest, clothed in the habits of a knight; after having

walked a considerable distance, he was placed upon a horse, and led about in the dark forest for a long time. At 11 o'clock at night, they reached the ancient castle of Wartburg, near Eisenach. It seems the party had bound one of their own number upon a horse, to make it really appear that they had been in pursuit of a fugitive, and that Luther had assisted in taking him.

The object of this was to deceive any persons they might happen to meet, and perhaps to conceal the character of their real prisoner from the attendants of the castle. Luther was introduced at the castle as knight George, and was to be considered a state prisoner. The persons who captured Luther were John von Berlepsch, chief keeper of the castle of Wartburg, and his confidential friend Burkhardt Hund, proprietor of the castle of Altenstein, the other three were knighted esquires. Luther was now safely housed from the raging storms of papal fury. Luther called this his Patmos. When the news reached Wittenberg that Luther was carried away, the excitement became great, and rumor with her thousand tongues, was of course not idle, the doleful news spread from one end of Germany to the other. Ulric von Hutten was very much excited, and laid plans for the abduction of Aleander, the pope's nuncio. The war cry resounded far and wide. Even the Romanists, who at first rejoiced, now became alarmed for their own safety. Such were the affections of the people for Luther, that one word of encouragement from the elector of Saxony, would have raised a fearful rebellion. "The only way of saving ourselves," says a Ro-

manist to the archbishop of Mentz, "is to light our torches and go through the land, until we find Luther, and restore him to the nation that will have him." No one felt more sorrowful than Melancthon, he did not care about living without Luther. O! how his sensitive soul must have been thrilled with agony when he heard of Luther's fate. But he was soon informed of all the circumstances of the case. Lucas Cranach could now also understand the mysterious letter he received a few days before from Luther. The principal men at Wittenberg soon understood the matter.

Let us now go back to Wartburg, and look at the conduct and feelings of Luther in his retirement,—our object is to give a life of Luther, rather than a history of the Reformation. Luther at first felt himself in a narrow place, he had been very active, now he must become indolent; he could look out upon the great world, but could not mingle in its mighty conflicts. He tried to feel contented, he tried the chase, he mingled with the hunters, but there was no enjoyment in so unintellectual an employment for him, his soul loathed it—it was too little a business for his mighty mind. One day he went with a company of hunters, when the chase commenced his companions were all deeply interested in the chase of a rabbit, he felt no interest. "This reminds me," says he, "of the devil setting his dogs, the bishops and those messengers of anti-Christ, who are sent out to hunt down poor souls." One day a young rabbit was taken in a snare uninjured, Luther plead for its life, it was given him, he took it care-

fully and placed it in a thicket, but the dogs soon followed its scent, and killed it. "Thus," says Luther, "it is with poor souls that have been saved, the pope destroys them." He frequently strolled about in the dense forests, he was very fond of strawberries, and often went out to gather them. At first the confinement did not agree with him, and he got sick, but having procured some medicines from Wittenberg, and taking more exercise, his health was soon restored. He had some books brought from Wittenberg, and commenced reading Hebrew and Greek, and improved himself much in these languages. During the hours of his recreation, he frequently in company with his esquires, (for he had two constantly with him,) visited the neighboring towns as Eisenach, Gotha, Jena and Erfurt, and it is even said that he once visited Wittenberg, and again returned to his Patmos. This was the name of the island to which the apostle John was banished. His esquires sometimes had hard work to keep Luther from disputing with those who came in his way. He sometimes seems to have forgotten that he was acting the knight. Yet it was all important his concealment should be kept a profound secret. Luther did not lie buried in the castle of Wartburg nine months in vain. No! he could not in any situation of life have done more to promote the Reformation than he did while there. He had time in that calm and quiet spot, to review his past life, to look more narrowly at the doctrines he had taught. His notions on the freedom of the will, and of salvation by faith alone, without even the use of any means, he had taken more from St.

Augustine, than from the Bible, and he was not far from the horrid doctrines of antinomianism; a few more disputes of a violent nature, would perhaps have driven even this extraordinary man into such a position that he would have repudiated all church ordinances and ceremonies. But at Wartburg he had time for deeper theological reflection, he examined more fully the meaning of the Bible. His opinions on the doctrines of the human will, predestination and election, which he held at the Diet of Augsburg in 1531, were not the notions he had learned from St. Augustine in the early part of his life. Luther always held that we are saved by faith, but he also held that faith is an active operation of our own minds. Luther's change of opinion on these subjects is admitted by all who are acquainted with his works. We must be cautious how we receive the testimony of such men as Milner and D'Aubigne, for however honest and upright, we may consider them, we must bear in mind that they are not of the Lutheran school. Whether they and those of their school are right or wrong, in their peculiar doctrinal views, is nothing here nor there. It must be borne in mind that Luther was educated in the school of St. Augustine; and especially in the early part of his splendid career, he used the language of St. Augustine. When he portrayed the human heart, he drew his figures deep and heavy;—when writing against Pelagians, he was not perhaps as logical and nice in his distinctions as he might have been, hence Calvinists claim him as a champion of their school

To prove that Luther's views did undergo a change, we adduce his own remarks made near the close of his life. "I intreat you to read my writings with cool consideration, and even with much pity. I wish you to remember that when I commenced the affair of indulgences, I was a monk, and a most mad papist; so intoxicated was I, and immersed in papal dogmas, that I would have been ready to assist in murdering any person, who should have uttered a word against the pope. I was always earnest in defending the doctrines which I professed. *You will find therefore, in my earlier writings, many things of which I do not now approve.*"

In the early days of Luther there was nothing said about predestination. This doctrine was taught by Godschalk in the ninth century; and Dr. G. Lochman, in his life of Luther says, "From the time of Godschalk to the Reformation, very little was said or written about this subject, therefore Luther and his cotemporaries made no mention of it in their confession of faith. As soon as Calvin however, revived this doctrine of an absolute predestination, the Lutherans came forward to oppose it!"

The late Dr. Endress, of Lancaster, Pa., in a series of articles in the Lutheran Intelligencer, of 1826, has answered the question, "Was Luther an absolute predestinarian," in a very learned and satisfactory manner. As this is a question of no little importance to Lutherans, we will here take the liberty of introducing some of the ideas advanced by Dr. Endress into our work. Dr. Endress was a gentleman of fine talents and considerable learning, and

his name and memory are still revered in the Lutheran church, of which he was an ornament. He says, "The question, in fine, whether Luther was, or was not an absolute predestinarian, was deemed by the writer of sufficient importance for special examination." And now follows a noble sentiment, a sentiment that ought to be impressed upon every Lutheran minister's heart. "Not by reason of anything like authority in Luther. Christ is my Master, the Bible my code of religious instruction, in this I shall always be a Lutheran. There is in Luther's works much that I cannot assent to. He was an astonishing phenomenon in the world; yet he was but a man. The Bible to which Luther recalled the christian world, was not given by man, in it God himself instructs us, and it was given to me as well as to Luther. In reading the Bible, if I misunderstand it, I err because I am not perfect, and my Master is good, and from his fallible servants, requires only faithfulness. But even a doubt, that Luther might have been an absolute predestinarian, I deemed to be an act of injustice, if the doubt could be solved, and Luther acquitted. Should I find him indeed to be a believer in absolute predestination, it would not move my sentiments on the subject, nor should I love the name of Luther the less. Should we love each other the less because we are imperfect and fallible? That would not be acting in the spirit of humanity, how could it be in the spirit of the gospel?"

"I procured a copy of Luther's works in German, and read them through carefully. I found some few expres-



sions, which I thought, a superficial reader might misunderstand, or a mind warped by party spirit misconstrue. They were written by a man brought up in the papacy, and educated as a monk of the order of St. Augustine, and they were those works (from 1517—1528) in which Luther contended against Pelagianism, absolute Universalism, or against murmuring dissatisfactions with the inscrutable Providence of God. While contending with one extreme, his expressions bordered upon the other. But as the light of the gospel grew more distinct in his mind, his modes of expression became more and more chastened. Every where however, I found his language strong, bold, and venturesome. He marches onward to the peak of his sentiment, not heeding which side might claim him. Still I was not satisfied, I thought perhaps he might have confessed in Latin, what he did not think proper to make a matter of vulgar discussion. I procured from the library of one of my ministerial brethren an entire copy of Luther's works both in German and Latin in 24 volumes. I read them through. They gave me full satisfaction, I discovered where the cause of the misconception lay. I rejoice that I can now say, that however unguarded some of his early expressions were, they became at last so clear, and plain, and full, that they cannot well be misunderstood; that in all the matters standing in connexion with the current doctrine of predestination, touched upon by Luther, he taught, during and after the meridian of his public life, as the great body of the Lutheran church have always continued to teach; and that in short, he was not a believer in

absolute decrees and irresistible grace, of absolute, unconditional predestination to eternal life and misery." Dr. Endress deduces the following Theses from Luther's works on this subject, viz.

1. That notwithstanding Luther always spoke of faith, as the gift of God, he did not teach that the grace by which it is communicated is irresistible.

2. That he plainly, directly and positively declared the possibility of altogether falling from grace.

3. That he considered the questions about predestination, and the hidden decess of God, subjects of discussion properly for sophists only, and that these questions are not answered in the word of God.

4. That the terms he uses to designate this doctrine, show his moderation.

5. That several of the passages of the Holy Scriptures used by the absolute predestinarians, as some of the strongest supports of their opinions, he altogether disarmed of their force, by his mode of interpreting them.

6. And finally, that Luther taught nothing more clearly than that Christ died for the sins and for the benefit of all men—of every individual in the world."

I have read the defence of these Theses, and must say that the learned Doctor has most triumphantly sustained them all. I have brought these views forward at this point, because it is generally supposed Luther commenced a more rigid system of theological investigation while at Wartburg. But neither D'Aubigne, Milner, nor Scott, notice any change in Luther's views. They see nothing but absolute

predestination in all his writings. Luther loved the doctrine of free grace, of justification by faith in Christ, he looked upon man as a sinner, a sinner totally depraved, as dead in sin, in a state of utter condemnation, but still he considered him a moral agent.

In order to prove that Luther did change his views on the subject here referred to, we beg leave to adduce the testimony of Prof. Knapp; he says in his *Theology*, page 461. "Luther and Melancthon, as well as Calvin and Beza, were at first strong Augustinians, (i. e. predestinarians,) but they afterwards abandoned his (St. Augustine's) doctrine of predestination, while Calvin and Beza still adhered to it, and made it a doctrine of their church." On the doctrine of the freedom of the will, Prof. Knapp, also says, "Luther with Carlstadt and some others of his coadjutors belonged at first to this high party, (i. e. the party of Augustinians,) the former defended this doctrine in his book, 'De Servo Arbitrio,' against Erasmus. Afterwards however, his views became much more moderate, and he retained but little more of the doctrine of Augustine, than the terms in which it was expressed. He was followed by a large number of the theologians of the Lutheran church." That Luther in the latter part of his life entirely rejected the doctrines of unconditional elections and reprobations is most conclusively demonstrated in Schlosseri *Lutherus Lutheranus*; and in the very learned work of Dr. Plank, as quoted by Prof. S. S. Schmucker in his *Popular Theology*. *Quod vide.*

We give a quotation from Luther's Haus-Postille, translated by Rev. F. Ruthrauff, of Milton, Pa., on the text in Matt. xx. 16. "For many be called but few chosen." "Some put their own construction on these words and explain them thus: 'many be called,' that is, God tenders his grace to many, 'but few are chosen,' that is, he bestows his grace on few, because few are to be saved. But this is indeed a wicked interpretation; for how is it possible for one, entertaining such ideas of the divine character, not to be an enemy of God, whose will alone, according to this view, is wanting in order to his salvation? Moreover, let this exposition be contrasted with that which a man will cherish after he shall have become acquainted by experience with the Lord Jesus Christ, and it will be found to be nothing more than downright diabolical blasphemy. This passage has therefore an entirely different meaning. Many be called, but few chosen. The gospel is general and public, and designed for all and every one who will hear and accept it. God requires it to be proclaimed thus generally and publicly, for the very purpose that all and every one may hear, believe and receive it, and be saved. But how do men act? Precisely as is stated in the text, few are chosen, that is, few so demean themselves towards him that God can take pleasure in them. This is what is implied in not being chosen in Christ. Those are the chosen, those the persons that please God, who hear the gospel diligently, believe in Christ, manifest their faith by their good works, and cheerfully submit to the sufferings brought upon them by the faithful practice of their religious duty.

This is the true sense, which can perplex none, and is adapted to the reformation of all. On the other hand, those who believe that God is not anxious for the salvation of all, are in danger either of falling into despondency, or of becoming secure and reckless sinners, living like brutes, *and thinking it is already decreed whether we are to be saved or not, why then should we concern ourselves about it. It is God's earnest will and desire from all eternity that all mankind may be saved, and be made partakers of eternal glory!* As Ezekiel in the 18th chapter, *has plainly declared, "Have I any pleasure at all, that the wicked should die, saith the Lord God, and not that he should return from his ways, and live." If then he desires the salvation of every sinner that lives and moves everywhere under the high and wide heavens, why should you, influenced by foolish thoughts suggested by the enemy, exclude and separate yourself from the grace of God?"*

This is strong testimony against the doctrine of absolute predestination, which has so frequently been charged upon Luther.

In a letter to a clergyman, one of whose members was perplexed on the subject of election, and who asked Luther's advice, he replied, "Many have perished in the indulgence of such curious inquiries, it is a temptation which leads many even to blasphemy. I myself, by giving way to it, have more than once been reduced to the last extremity. We poor mortals, even by faith, can hardly comprehend a few rays of the divine promises, or receive in prac-

tice a few sparks of the divine precepts ; and yet, feeble and impure as we are, we rashly attempt to fathom the majesty of God in all its brightness !

“ Do we not know that his ways are past finding out ? Instead of using in a proper way, the mild light of the promises which is so well adapted to our faculties, we rush forward with the eyes of moles, to view at once the majestic splendors of the Diety ! Is it any wonder then, that his glory should overwhelm us in the attempt to fathom it ? We ought to know that there is such a thing as the secret will of God, but the danger is when we attempt to comprehend it. But suppose we could give an accurate account of the judgment of Almighty God in his secret determination, what advantage would accrue to us from such knowledge, beyond what now lies open to us from his promises and precepts ; the former being addressed to our faith, the latter given for our practice ? Tell your friend, if he would have peace of mind, to abstain from such intricate speculations. The subject is incomprehensible, and the study of it may drive him to despair and blasphemy. Let him not give way to satan, who would weary him by presenting impossibilities to his mind. Let him exercise faith in the promises and obey the commandments, and when he shall have discharged these duties well, he will then be able to judge whether he will have any time left for impossibilities. There is no other remedy than to neglect such thoughts, and not to give way to them ; though this is a difficult task, because satan suggests the absolute necessity of attending to them. This battle,

however, must be fought, and many persons fail in the contest by not suspecting their thoughts to be the temptations of satan; whereas these are the very 'fiery darts of the wicked one.' He himself fell from heaven by aiming at a knowledge above his station. Thus also he vanquished Adam, by teaching him to be dissatisfied with his ignorance concerning the will of God. Flight is the true wisdom here, there is no room for Christ to dwell in the heart, as long as reasonings of this kind are uppermost."

We might produce many other passages from Luther's works of a like import, but let these suffice for the present, to establish our position, that Luther changed his views.

During Luther's sojourn at the castle of Wartburg, he commenced the translation of the New Testament; this was furthering the Reformation perhaps as rapidly as any thing that could possibly have been done. He commenced this great work at Wartburg, and finished the New Testament the following year at Wittenberg—soon afterwards parts of the Old Testament, and in 1534, the whole Bible was published in German. Thus the great work of the Reformation, was now on a fair footing. The Bible alone will defend the cause of Luther—well did he know this, and hence his great anxiety to have the Bible circulated throughout Germany. If Luther had never done anything else, than furnished his countrymen with a German version of the word of God, he would be entitled to the gratitude of mankind! For all the nations of Europe soon had Bibles in their native languages. And the German trans-

lation by Luther is in itself, a proud monument to his name and memory. It is even now, after the lapse of three hundred years, not only the most popular version in the German language but it is also a standard classical work.

We will here give the opinions of honest Roman Catholic writers, as to the merits of Luther's translation. We quote from Prof. E. C. Stowe's article in the *Biblical Repository*, No. 44, 1844. And here we would in the name of the Lutheran Church in the United States, and in the name of all Protestants, thank Dr. Stowe for his faithful delineation of Luther's character. He is the first English writer who has done the great Reformer full justice ;—not even the most enthusiastic German admirer of Luther has ever estimated his talents, learning and piety, more highly than Prof. Stowe. Look at the following just and beautiful picture of Luther's power of speaking and writing :

“The writings of Luther, as is well known, and has been often repeated, have created the language and literature of modern Germany. Considering the circumstances in which he was placed, and the object which he had in view, though we may justly find fault with many paragraphs he has written, yet taking his treatises as a whole, few of them have ever been surpassed, and some of them have never been equalled. He was the first to appreciate the essential importance of an extended and well sustained system of common school education for the instruction of all the people ; and his eloquent and thrilling appeals to the German nation on this subject, find nothing to excel them among the educators of modern times. As a whole,



his sermons, his commentaries, his popular addresses, his controversial treatises, his hymns, his music, his fables, his letters, are all of a high order of excellence.

“The German style is wonderfully idiomatic, pointed, piercing, and full of speaking pictures. There is no mark of labor in it, it is visibly a mighty mind and a great heart overflowing like Niagara. His sentences are like full charges of cannister shot, they hit in all directions, they hit every where, and they hit all the time. It is in his native, the German of his own creation, that his full power is seen and never out of it. As a revolutionary orator, Luther was irresistible. So much coolness and so much fire, so much self-possession and so much excitability, so much logical power and so much exuberance of fancy, so much good sense and such ready wit, with such advantages of person and voice have seldom if ever, been found united in one individual. Conceive of the steady, flaming religious fervor of George Whitefield, united with the perspicuity to seize and the genius to reproduce, every phase and fleeting form of human character,—the skill to touch, by the right word and the right metaphor, in exactly the right place, every chord of popular emotion—which characterized Shakspeare; all this set off by a muscular frame of fine proportion and manly strength, a fair glowing face, which portrayed every sentiment before it was uttered—a large clear blue eye, that radiated his very soul, (and such a soul!)—a voice powerful as thunder and musical as an organ, and you have some idea of what Luther was as a public speaker.”

There is one remark made by Prof. Stowe, that we must introduce here, although not properly in place—and the sentiment is true, and those engaged now in the great papal controversy, would do well to weigh it maturely. “In the revival of the papal controversy at the present day, in the revival of the domineering and blasphemous claims of the *mother of harlots and abominations* of the earth, no treatises can be found better adapted to meet the exigencies of the times, to repel and annihilate the groundless and arrogant pretensions of high church bigotry, than the writings of Luther.” It is a fact, that after more than three hundred years’ labor and study, Luther’s “Address to the nobility of the German nation,” has not been surpassed as a powerful and unanswerable argumentation against the usurpations of popery. It ought to be translated and sent to every nook and corner of our land, as the best defence against the inroads of the “*Man of Sin.*”

But we must proceed with the translation of the Bible, and show the influence that master-stroke had upon the interest of the church. Frederick von Schlegel one of the most learned men in the Roman Catholic church says, “There was one instrument by which the influx of barbarism was opposed, and a treasure which made up for what had been lost, I mean the German translation (by Luther) of the Bible. It is well known, that all true philologists regard this as the standard and model of classical expressions in the high German language; and that not only Klopstock, but other writers of high rank, have fashioned their style, and selected their plans according to this

version." J. M. V. Audin a devoted and zealous papist, who wrote a life of Luther, the object of which seems to have been to show his brethren who need instruction on this subject, how great, and bad a man Luther was! and has for the nine hundred and ninety-ninth time repeated the slanders and oft refuted tales that have been circulated in Europe about Luther! Audin says, "the poetic soul finds in Luther's translation of the Bible, evidences of genius, and expressions as natural, beautiful and melodious as in the original languages. Luther's translation sometimes renders the primitive phrases with touching simplicity, invests itself with sublimity and magnificence, and receives all the modifications which he wishes to impart to it. It is simple in the recital of the patriarchs, glowing in the predictions of the prophets, familiar in the gospels, and colloquial in the epistles of St. Peter and St. Paul. The imagery of the original is rendered with undeviating fidelity. Add to this the odor of antiquity which the dialect used by Luther exhaled, and which is as pleasing as the peculiar tint that is found in the engravings of the old German masters. We must not then be astonished at the enthusiasm which Saxony felt at the appearance of Luther's version. Both Catholic and Protestant regarded it as an honor done to their ancient idiom."

Every word of the above is true, and the Roman Catholic that can in spite of his prejudices pen such sentiments concerning the greatest enemy, his church ever had on earth, must be admired for his candour. But Luther did more than translate the greater part of the New Testament whilst

at Wartburg. He wrote a work on "Private Confession." This was the first work he wrote at Wartburg, and dedicated it to "the inflexible and firm Francis von Sickingen." This work consists of forty large folio pages, and exhibits much deep reflection on the subject. He also wrote his comment on the 119th Psalm. This consists of fourteen large folio pages, and was designed to prepare Germany for the reading of the Bible; it is a splendid production. He also wrote a comment on the 37th Psalm, consisting of thirty large folio pages. While he was in his Patmos, the celebrated decision of the doctors of Paris was published, called "Urtheil der Theologen zu Paris über die Lehre Dr. Martin Luthers." Of course Luther had to reply. He also wrote a treatise on monastic vows. This he dedicated to his father; he had not yet forgotten how much his father had opposed him in becoming a monk. This dedication is one of the liveliest, half earnest, and half jocose productions of his pen, among other things he says, "Do you still feel a desire to drag me from the monks? You certainly have a right to do so, for you are still my father. But it is not necessary. God has been ahead of you, and has himself delivered me from it with his almighty hand. What does it matter if I should lay aside the tonsure or the cowl? Is it the tonsure or the cowl that makes a monk? I am a monk, and yet I am no monk. I am a new creature not of the pope, but of Christ alone; and no mere mediator or days-man is my bishop, my abbot, my prior, my lord, my master. Christ alone is my Master and I acknowledge no other." Luther had

never taken such large views of the errors of the papacy, he now sees more corruption in the monasteries than he had ever seen before.

While Luther was in his Patmos, the sale of indulgences commenced again at Halle. The archbishop of Mentz encouraged the venders of indulgences to resume their long suspended labors. "Do not fear Luther," says the archbishop, "for we have silenced him; go shear the flock in peace, the monk is fast in prison." But the elector of Mentz was mistaken, Luther was not bound, he was only forging new and more destructive thunderbolts to hurl at the enemies of God and man. Towards the close of his confinement, he wrote his "New Idol of Halle." The archbishop of Mentz some how or other got to hear that Luther was about writing against his traffic; he became alarmed and sent Capito and Auerbach, two of his ministers, to Wittenberg to prevent it. They so far succeeded with the elector of Saxony, that he promised them that Luther should not write on this subject. This was communicated to Luther, he became excited; and no incident in his whole life shows the full character of this extraordinary man to better advantage, than his reply to Spalatin. "What!" exclaims Luther, "the elector will not permit me to write on this subject? And I on my part will not suffer, that the elector shall not allow me to write. If I have stood up against the pope who created your cardinal, (the archbishop was also a cardinal,) is it proper, think you, that I should give up to the thing he created." This work, however, was not then published. Luther delayed

it for sometime, and by the advice of his friends, he permitted Melancthon to soften down some of the harsher expressions. But in the mean time he wrote a letter to the proud archbishop; this letter too, is characteristic of Luther. He had long enough received the moral thunderbolts of Rome, now he hurls them in his turn; he uses the following language: "I now apprise your highness that if this idol is not removed, it will become my duty, in obedience to God's teaching, publicly to rebuke your highness, as I have already rebuked the pope himself. Let not your highness neglect this warning. I shall wait fourteen days for a timely and favorable answer. Given in my wilderness retreat, on Sunday after St. Catharine's day, 1521.

MARTIN LUTHER, Monk.

The reader will perceive, in the dating of this bull against the archbishop, that Luther in a half comical and half serious manner, imitates the pope. The archbishop was a good deal alarmed, and sent a kind and humble letter to Luther. Luther's tract was not published at that time. The winter had now approached—the cold northern blasts were howling mournfully around the elevated castle of Wartburg—the trees were stript of their foliage—the birds had ceased their singing—the dreary and cheerless winter was at the door, and Luther began to long and sigh for the companionship of his Wittenberg friends. He could stay no longer, come what may, he will go to Wittenberg. It was not only the desire he had to see his friends, that prompted him to leave his Patmos, but there were other and more important matters that required, as he

thought, such a step. Before however, we permit Luther to leave Wartburg, it may not be out of place to refer to his temptations of the devil. The Roman Catholics, who see the devil's agency in everything in which Luther had a hand, make a great handle of the severe temptation Luther had, when the devil personally appeared before the Reformer, at the castle of Wartburg, when he was translating the New Testament, and when Luther threw the ink-stand at his satanic majesty's head! Let it be borne in mind, that Luther was brought up a Roman Catholic, and of course in the early part of his life believed all the legends of that superstitious church, about the saints and their trials, temptations and conflicts with the wicked one. He was born too, just at the outskirts of the dark ages; how could he at once throw off every vestige of superstition; he had a strong and vivid imagination, and some say he was afflicted with a disease something like apoplexy. Might not the devil that he saw have been something like the gentleman mentioned in Sir Walter Scott's *Witchcraft and Demonology*, who was visited every day after dinner, by an old hag of a woman with a red cap, who always struck him on the head with her crutch? After all that has been said on the subject, it appears everything rests upon his "Table Talk," which is not considered very authentic; at all events, the Table Talk\* is not on a par with his written

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\*Concerning the celebrated book called the "Table Talk" of Luther, we would just remark, that we never considered it of much consequence; and the views of Dr. Milner and bishop Atterbury have confirmed us in our position. We subjoin their

documents, and in them I find nothing on the subject of the devil, out of the way. True, Luther talks about the devil opposing him, and about taking the devil by the horns and by the tail, about raining devils, &c. He of course believed in the personality of the devil, but very frequently by the devil he means the pope, for in his opinion the devil and the pope had one object in view.

Towards the close of October, 1521, Luther started for Wittenberg, he reached it without being detected. It was night when he got there; he went to the house of Amsdorff, the joy was great, but it was not full till Melancthon

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views, after remarking that in a minute and full life of Luther, published at Magdeburg, a kind of eclectic work, a work that has carefully selected every thing important in the history of Luther, no confidence whatever is placed upon the "Table Talk;" and in 300 pages it is not once mentioned. Dr. Milner says, "concerning the well known work called Luther's Table Talk, which though it may contain many amusing, and many good things, has yet been a fruitful source of those absurd stories and extravagant sayings, which have greatly lowered the character of Luther with many superficial readers." I subjoin the remark, of bishop Atterbury: "Luther's Table Talk is a book that has not been received into the canon by the learned. It depends purely on the credit of one von Sparr, that tells a blind story of his finding it in the ruins of an old house, many years after Luther and Aurifaber, the pretended compiler, were dead! But even if it should be genuine, yet no fair adversary would urge loose table talk against a man in controversy, and build serious inferences upon what perhaps was spoken but in jest. It may serve to divert a reader but is not fit to convince him."



was there;—he was sent for—he comes—Luther falls upon his knees and offers up a fervent prayer! How long Luther remained at Wittenberg we do not know, perhaps a day or two; but he felt it his duty to return to his dreary prison, and remained there until the 3d of March, 1522. In the mean time, mighty changes and revolutions had taken place. The first was the immature and rash proceedings of Carlstadt; and the second, the first exhibitions of wild fanaticism. This was a stormy period; the preaching and writings of Luther seemed to have moved the world from its moorings, every thing seemed to be in a state of chaos, the world was in a transition state, passing over from error to truth. Luther had taught the right of private judgment—men then, as ever before and since, were prone to abuse the liberty of conscience. Luther was in no way responsible for the fanaticism of his age, nor did his doctrines lead to such results. Luther was in many things an enthusiast, but no fanatic in anything. Never was there a man on earth more opposed to fanaticism; no man did more against it; he considered fanaticism as coming from the devil, he fought against it, and by the assistance of God he put it down. The Roman Catholics reproach us, as being responsible for all the fanaticism now in the world. But who is responsible for that which existed before Luther's time? Surely not the principles of Protestantism; was not the whole Roman Catholic world one entire mass of fanatics in the time of the crusades?

We shall now notice the conduct of Andrew Bodenstein or Carlstadt. He considered himself the chief man at

Wittenberg when Luther was absent. In the absence of Luther he took it upon himself to go on with the Reformation at a rapid rate; he had the paintings and crucifixes removed from the church at Wittenberg, and distributed the elements of the Lord's Supper in both kinds. His conduct alarmed the elector of Saxony, and all the professors at Wittenberg—Melancthon, Amsdorf and others remonstrated, but all in vain—Carlstadt said he would rather die than give up one point of the Bible. Carlstadt was a man of some talent, a good share of moral courage, and considerable learning, but he was deficient both in piety and judgment; he was vain and ambitious, and easily carried away by his feelings; as long as he was under the influence of the great master spirit of the Reformation, his talents and learning could be used for good, but when left to the impulse of his own misguided feelings, he seems to have been a poor contemptible character. His thoughtless conduct produced a great excitement at Wittenberg, and indeed throughout all Saxony. It was he who opened the flood-gates of fanaticism, and was well nigh bringing the whole glorious work of the Reformation into dishonor and reproach. The elector of Saxony became alarmed, he wrote to Wittenberg and to Luther at Wartburg on the subject. In January Luther wrote his famous letter, "Against the innovation of Carlstadt at Wittenberg." This letter shows Luther to have been a man of great prudence and judgment. He says, "I cannot always be with you, each one must suffer temptation, and die for himself—he who holds out against sin, hell and the devil, will be saved, and he

who does not will be damned; but no one can stand against satan, unless he is grounded upon Christ. We are all born in sin, we are depraved in Adam's fall to such an extent that we can of ourselves do nothing; as Paul says, 'we are all by nature children of wrath,' but Christ has borne our weakness in life and in death. As Christ has done to us, we are to do to others, as he has borne our infirmities so we are to bear the weakness of our brethren."

The innovations at Wittenberg, which consisted in destroying masses and pictures, and attacking the Lord's Supper, and doing other mean things, which are all of no importance. "While these things have occupied all your attention, faith and love have been entirely overlooked. It would perhaps be well enough to do these things, if we all had faith alike, and all would approve of them, and none would object. But this cannot be, for we cannot all be as learned as Carlstadt, we must therefore bear with the weak. God has given you his pure word, and has favored Wittenberg very highly. Yet there seems to be but little love among you; how much more ought not those to be borne with, who have never heard the word of God at all? We ought to bear in mind, that we have many brethren in other parts of the country, these we must endeavor to take with us to heaven also. Your proceedings have very much excited duke George and many others to anger, and yet it is our duty to bear with them, and hope the best of them. You have been too quick in these transactions, you have entered upon this work with fists, I am not at all pleased with your conduct, I cannot stand by you in this you

commenced it without me, and you may now do the best you can, without me. You have erred, no matter what Carlstadt may say. You have ensnared many who had tender consciences, they have attacked the sacrament, torn down pictures, and have out of spite eaten eggs and meat. Believe me, I am well acquainted with the devices of the devil, he has commenced this work in order to bring the word of God into reproach. He has set you upon the trifling work of quarrelling with the sacrament and eating meat and eggs, that you should forget the more important matters of faith and love. The persons who instigated this child's play are seeking their own honor, and the devil will reward them in due time. God has given us commands, these must be observed, no power on earth has any right to interfere with God's commands, be it pope or bishop. But the popes and bishops have added other commandments. They have appointed priests and monks, and have commanded them not to marry, and have instituted fast days, and in this way they have led thousands of souls to destruction, and in this they have served the devil. Yea the devil has himself done this, as we learn from 1 Tim. iv. 'Giving heed to doctrines of devils, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats.' No power, ecclesiastical or civil, has a right to alter God's laws." In this letter, Luther charges the people with sin, for doing that which the pope had prohibited, when they did it for no other purpose than to spite the pope, or the weak brethren. This letter no doubt had a good effect upon the people at Wittenberg. But there were still greater

difficulties against which Luther had to contend. While he was shut up at Wartburg, the most outrageous spirit of fanaticism broke out in Saxony, that threatened to bring every thing to ruin. We will now briefly notice this fanaticism. A fanatic is one who thinks himself under a divine influence, one who is, as he thinks, inspired of God, and is unwilling to be instructed from God's word. There are various degrees of fanaticism, from the lowest grade of animal excitement, to the "rapt vision" of the self-conceited prophet, who imagines himself immediately inspired of God. Between those two points there are infinite shades and hues of fanaticism. Fanaticism in its various forms always has been, and is now the greatest enemy religion has ever had to contend against! It has been the curse of the church, and is now the prolific source of untold evils in our land. We must be careful however, that we do not confound a holy zeal in religion, and a warm and chastened enthusiasm for spiritual worship, with fanaticism. Fanaticism and enthusiasm are different things. Luther, John Wesley, George Whitefield and Spener, were enthusiasts in religion, but they were no fanatics. A man may be an enthusiast without being fanatical, but you rarely see a fanatic who is not an enthusiast. We have some of the finest specimens of fanatics in Germany in the year 1522. Luther commenced his work in 1517, by publishing his 95 Theses; during those five years the heart of Germany was stirred to its very core; men who before scarcely knew that they were men, had commenced to think for themselves! Luther's works were sent out with a rapid-

ity such as has never been equalled. All the old landmarks were demolished. The mind of all Germany was not unlike Egypt after the waters of the Nile have subsided; it was like what the older Metaphysicians call a "Tabula rasa," a blank sheet. Between the periods when the papal church lost her influence over the public mind, and when the Protestant religion was fairly established, there was a kind of ecclesiastical hiatus; this was a frightful chasm! And it seems impossible, that the Reformation could have been brought about without such a moral and intellectual fissure. Protestantism is no more responsible for this state of things than the papacy. This then was the age of fanaticism; true it existed long after, but it had its origin in this interim. It is an instructive chapter in the history of religion.

The fanaticism of this period first broke out in the village of Zwickau, and what is most remarkable, is this, that Nicholas Hausman, one of the most pious and holy men of that age, was the pastor at that place. Luther says concerning Hausman, "what we preach, he lives." Yet this good man had to see the glorious work of the Reformation well nigh ruined, by his fanatical parishioners. Nicholas Storch, Thomas Münzer, Mark Stubner, Mark Thomas and others, took it into their heads that the Almighty had called them directly from heaven, to finish the work of the Reformation of the church; they believed themselves inspired by the Holy Ghost and of course needed not instructions, either from God's word or God's ministers. "What is the use," say these men, "of such

close application to the Bible? Nothing is heard of but the Bible. Can the Bible preach? Can that instruct us? If God had intended to instruct us by a book, would he not have given us a Bible direct from heaven? It is only the Spirit that can enlighten us!" Here we see the foundation of fanaticism. Now let us follow up the principles here professed. These men soon had visions and revelations from heaven. The angels appeared to them, even God himself talked with them!

Storch, who was the chief man among them, in imitation of Christ, selected twelve apostles and seventy disciples! Joe Smith, the Mormon impostor, did the same—strange that fanaticism should be so uniform in every age of the world!

One of the very first matters of doctrine and practice among these fanatics was the rejection of infant baptism, they preached up a new baptism! These men preached with great animation, they raved and stormed and bellowed, until they were exhausted. Their preaching made a deep and powerful impression everywhere. No doubt if many of our ignorant people had heard them they would have thought them good preachers! The four fanatics we have mentioned, were all members of the church at Zwickau, of which Hausman was pastor—he nobly withstood these fanatics and drove them from the church! Fanatical members are sometimes found in our churches, and do much more harm in the churches, than they could possibly do out of them. The sooner persons that will not be governed by the word of God, are out of our

churches the better. When Hausman beat them out with the hammer of God's word, they set up for themselves. They sent a delegation to Wittenberg. They met the professors of the University and told them that God had sent them to instruct mankind,—“We have special communications,” said they, “from God, and we appeal to Dr. Luther!” The professors were amazed! “Well,” says Melancthon to Stubner, “who commissioned you to preach?” Stubner replied, “the Lord our God.” Melancthon went on, “have you committed any thing to writing.” “No,” says Stubner, “the Lord our God has forbidden me to do so.”

Luther was written to for his opinion, he immediately replied thus, “Your highness for many years collected religious relics far and wide; God has heard your prayers and sent you, at no cost or trouble of your own, a whole cross with nails, spears, and scourges—God prosper the new-acquired relic! Only let your highness spread out your arms, and endure the piercing of the nails in your flesh. I always expected that satan would send us this plague.” I take it for granted the above quotation is correct, as given by D'Aubigne, although I have not been able to find it in Luther's works. Carlstadt was more easily influenced by these prophets, than the other professors—he caught the contagion and became almost as fanatical as the Zwickau prophets—although himself a man of some learning, he began to look with contempt upon all learning. This was the necessary result of the fanaticism of Zwickau—if God inspires us to know every thing, it must be a waste of time to study.



The University of Wittenberg soon felt the withering influence of fanaticism—the students neglected their studies—even some of the schools were shut up—poor Wittenberg thou art brought low enough! Who was to stop this tide of ruin that was sweeping over the land? There was but one man in all the world that could do it, that was Luther, all eyes were now directed to Wartburg—Luther, Luther, was the cry. When Luther heard of the state of things he could remain in confinement no longer; he left Wartburg without the consent of the elector. He wrote a letter to him asking his permission to return; the elector would not consent. Luther remained a few weeks longer, in the mean time things were growing more desperate at Wittenberg, and the fires of fanaticism were spreading far and wide. Luther left Wartburg and came to his beloved Wittenberg. From Borne, a small town near Leipsic, Luther wrote a letter to the elector to inform him of the step he had taken; in this letter he says, “Your highness knows full well, or if not, be it known to you now, that I received the gospel, not from man but from heaven. I have sufficiently shown my deference to your highness, in withdrawing from the public gaze for a whole year. Satan knows that it was not from cowardice that I did so. I would have entered into Worms, though there had been as many devils there, as there were tiles upon the roofs. Now duke George, whom your highness mentions as if to scare me, is much less to be dreaded than a single devil. If what is now passing at Wittenberg were taking place at Leipsic, (duke George’s place of residence,) I

would instantly mount my horse and repair thither. Even though, (your highness will I hope pardon the expression,) it should rain duke Georges for nine days together, and every one should be nine times as fierce as he! Does he think, that Christ, my Lord, is a man of straw? Be it known to your highness, that I am going to Wittenberg, under a protection more powerful than that of an elector! I have no thought of soliciting your highness's protection, and am so far from desiring your protection, that it is rather my purpose to protect your highness! I write this in haste that you may not feel aggrieved by my coming."

Luther entered Wittenberg on the 7th of March, 1522, having left Wittenberg on the 4th of April, 1521, being absent not quite a year. Luther was received with open arms; great was the joy in Wittenberg. The professors, students, citizens all rejoiced. Luther soon became fully acquainted with the state of things—his soul was grieved, but he did not despair; he believed the word of God quite able to meet all difficulties. Carlstadt had given up his studies; instead of examining the word of God for himself, he went around the town from shop to shop to have the Bible explained by the fanatics! Luther was to preach on the Sabbath; the news spread—Luther is to preach—Luther is to preach. At an early hour the great church was crowded to overflowing. He preached for a whole week every day—the impression was powerful—Carlstadt and the prophets soon lost ground by the side of Luther—and yet he never said a word against either—he preached the word. One of his German biographers says: "His

reason overcame the unreasonableness of the fanatics ; his calmness and self-possession conquered their excited fanaticism ; his prudent and lovely deportment won the affections of the ignorant, and his firmness overwhelmed all his opponents." Never did Luther show his greatness to more advantage, than on this trying occasion. Fanaticism soon began to decline—all the prophets had left before Luther's return. Cellarius, who had been converted to the new doctrine, was the only man of any note that remained in Wittenberg ; Carlstadt had not gone with the fanatical prophets in all things. Stubner, when he heard that Luther had returned and had scattered his flock, came on to Wittenberg. Cellarius and Stubner challenged Luther to meet them, and argue the points of difference. Luther knew that so far as the fanatical leaders were concerned, it was of no use—for fanatics then, as now, are deaf to all reason, for their want of reason makes them fanatics—however, Luther agreed to meet them. They accordingly met. Stubner showed Luther how he intended to restore the church, and reform the world. Luther listened attentively ; after Stubner had finished, Luther said, "There is nothing in all you have been saying that I can see based upon the Scriptures. It is a mere tissue of fiction." At these words, says D'Aubigne, "Cellarius lost all self-possession." "Raising his voice like one out of mind, he trembled from head to foot, and striking the table with his fist, in a violent passion, exclaimed against Luther's speech as an insult offered to a man of God !" Luther now said, "Do you prove your apostleship by miracles?" "We

will do so," replied the prophets. "The God whom I I serve," rejoined Luther, "will know how to bridle your gods." Stubner, who had not yet spoken a word, now fixed his eyes in a solemn manner upon Luther, saying, "Martin Luther, hear me, while I declare unto you what is at this moment passing through your soul." "Well," says Luther, "what was I thinking about?" "Why," says Stubner, "you were beginning to see that my doctrine was true." Luther replied, "No, but I was thinking about that passage, 'get thou behind me, Satan.'" Upon this the prophets lost all self-command, and shouted aloud "*the Spirit! the Spirit!!*" Luther replied by hurling at them one of his withering thunderbolts of contempt; "*I will break the snout of your spirit!*" The prophets now stormed more and more. But it was of no use; they had fallen into the right hands; Luther understood the nature even of fanatics. He soon cleared them all out of Wittenberg. In ten days Luther had cleared the way, and had entire possession of the hearts and affections of all. Luther calmed the storms of popular excitement by his prudence and firmness. There is perhaps not another such instance on record! And yet we are often told Luther was a good man, and a great man, but he was too imprudent. Away with such slander—Luther was prudent enough!

In September, 1522, Luther's translation of the New Testament was published; 3000 copies were immediately sold; in eleven years seventeen editions were published at Wittenberg, thirteen at Augsburg, twelve at Basle,

thirteen at Strasburg, one at Leipsic, one at Grimma, and one at Erfurt—making in all fifty-six editions. Herein lay the mystery of Luther's success—he furnished the people with the Bible, and in that God spoke to them—God's truth was the great agent in carrying on the Reformation. Luther only awakened the attention of his countrymen to read the word of God. One of the first things that demanded the attention of Luther after the fanaticism was crushed, and the New Testament published, was an attack made upon him by Henry VIII., king of England. This was a treatise on the Seven Sacraments, and the most violent attack that had yet been made upon him. To this he was determined to reply. His friends remonstrated, but he would hear nothing about sparing the guilty monarch; king or no king, he must be answered. The king had treated Luther with much contempt, and the pope had rewarded Henry for his labors by conferring upon him the title of "Defender of the Faith." This, together with the unbounded popularity of the book, seemed to create a necessity for his answering, and answering it very severely. Luther's answer is now before us; we will give the reader a few specimens of his bitter sarcasm, and his keen wit. After making a few introductory remarks, and amusing his readers with some droll sayings about the king's knighthood, and his being made the Defender of the Faith, he says: "But there are many who are under the impression that king Henry never wrote this book himself. What do I care who wrote it—whether it was king Harry or king Kutz, or the devil, or all hell? he who lies is a liar,

and therefore I do not fear the author. I will admit that the king may have added a few ells of coarse cloth.

“I do wish this book were of value enough for me to praise it, for I would like to praise it, that I might put the pope, bishops and all to shame, that a layman, yea, and even a king, should know more than the whole of them, that the scholar should go so far beyond his masters.

“King Henry, and all the papists together, know no more about faith and good works, than a goose knows about the Psalms!” Then Luther goes on with the review thus: “All the arguments of the king consist of three parts: 1. He accuses me of writing against myself. This argument he pushes to the greatest lengths. The fact is, he wanted to make a large book, and had neither the words nor capacity, but he was determined to make a book. How much more becoming would it not have been for the king of England to govern his people, and let those write who could? Why should an ass, that is accustomed only to carry burdens, undertake to read Psalms?

“But I suppose the king perhaps thought thus, “Well, Luther is now out of the way; his books are burnt; I can now lie as much as I please about him; he cannot defend himself; I will heap falsehoods upon him, and the people will think them all true, and so conclude that I am indeed a great king—no doubt you can conquer where there are no enemies in the field.” Yes, my dear knight, just go on and say what pleases your vanity, but you shall hear that which you will not relish! I will drive away your lying propensity! 2. The king accuses me of being

actuated by hatred and envy, in writing against the pope, and says I am proud, and conceited, and wise. Well, my dear knight, suppose I am all you say—what has that to do with the matter in hand? If I am worthless, does that make popery right? If this mode of reasoning is correct, then the king of England must be a wise man, because I hold him for a fool. The king of England impugns my motives; has he ever seen into my heart; none but God can do that. Then he accuses me of using harsh and bitter language, in writing against the pope! No language I ever used is equal in harshness to that of the king himself. It is true I have written against the pope, but I showed from the prophets, from Christ and his apostles, the errors of popery. But I never lied like the king of England. The fact is, popery is built upon lies—it teaches lies, and must be supported by lying. The third argument of the king is, ancient usages. He quotes in his book but a single passage of Scripture, and that is quoted wrong! So many persons have for so many ages believed these things, that they must be true. I knew all these things long before the king of England undertook to inform me!”

“The king of England,” says Luther, “has but little brains.”

But we cannot convey even a tolerable idea of this splendid production, by giving garbled extracts, and it is too long for insertion here. We have the same opinion of it that Audin expresses when he says, “When Luther has to judge a prevaricating majesty, (king Henry,) at least in his eyes, then his eloquence is splendid. Then is enacted a

drama, in which the Christian believes he is a spectator of the judgment of the dead: There is the judge with the fiery eye, holding the Bible with one hand, and in the other the pen which is to record the sentence. The crowned culprit appears in all the pomp of his royal insignia, of which Luther strips him one by one, first taking the crown, and then the robe, and then the sceptre, and at length the sword of justice. Of the monarch, nothing now remains but a body of clay which has sinned, and all whose iniquities, even to the most secret thoughts, Luther holds up to the public view. The earthly monarch conceals his face, but he is forced to drink the chalice even to the dregs; he cries out for mercy, but Luther stirs the wormwood."

This bitter reply produced a deep sensation in England; the king did not expect to be thus handled—he had mistaken his man. Sir Thomas More, who is held up by the Roman Catholics as a model of piety and wisdom, and taste and refinement, wrote a reply and used language far more scurrilous than Luther had ever used. We must bear in mind that Luther, as well as Sir Thomas More, lived in a rude age, and hence writers of that period are not expected to be as polite and refined as now. The calling of an opponent a swine, or an ass, was not considered any great breach of politeness. The king felt the force of Luther's arguments very keenly—if Luther had been within his reach, his head would have gone. The king of England tried hard to have the audacious monk punished. He sent an ambassador to the elector of Saxony, to influence that prince to put a stop to Luther's proceeding. But



Frederick wisely declined, and referred the king to the approaching council to which Luther had appealed.

The work of the Reformation was now spreading in every direction; the writings of Luther, and the New Testament were read everywhere—priests, monks, nuns—men and women, rich and poor, were engaged in reading. But as our object is not so much to give a history of the Reformation, as of Luther himself, we pass on, referring the reader to D'Aubigne's three volumes. It may not be out of place here to state from D'Aubigne, who quotes Dr. Ranke, the number of publications of Luther. In 1522, Luther had issued 130 publications, and before his death nearly 400—he himself wrote more than the whole Roman Catholic church put together, during his life time! The Reformation was now working its way among the people—Luther might now sit down quietly, and do nothing more to the end of his life, and yet would have been the greatest man of his age. But he had an active mind; he was not yet done with the fanatics. In the summer of 1523, he invaded their territory—he carried the war into the enemy's camp. He visited Zwickau, the birth place of fanaticism, and here took a firm stand against the prophets; but here, for the first time in his life, he was fairly beaten from the ground. The multitude that flocked to hear Luther preach at Zwickau, was so great that no house could accommodate them. He stood upon the balcony of the Town Hall, and it is said, preached to twenty-five thousand hearers. While Luther was speaking with great vehemence, an old woman began to yell in an unearthly

manner. Luther never stopped, but the excitement became so great in the immense crowd, that he found nothing could be done with the fanatics—so he soon after left the town! Luther visited a number of other places; he attracted great attention wherever he went. The duke himself, yea, the emperor, or even the pope, would not have excited as much interest as Luther. Luther returned refreshed, invigorated and encouraged. Luther was all this time under the bans both of the church and the empire. Any person, according to the legal interpretation of ecclesiastical and civil excommunications combined, could be killed by any one with impunity. No one dared to molest him, although he passed through the territory of duke George, who was his mortal enemy. But he had a safe-conduct from the Almighty, and therefore had nothing to fear. A number of circumstances conspired to destroy the effects of the pope's excommunication and the emperor's edict. In December, 1521, while Luther was in the castle of Wartburg, pope Leo the X. died, and in the excitement and intrigue which generally attend the election of a new pope, Luther seems to have been forgotten. Charles the V., soon after the Diet of Worms, became involved in disputes, and actual war, with the king of France; and in the fray, Luther was permitted to enjoy his liberty. The most courageous thing Charles the V. did against Luther, after he had issued his edict against him, and declared that he would hang the first man that would become a Lutheran, was to attend in person the burning of Luther's books at Ghent. This was one way for a great

monarch to take vengeance on a poor defenceless monk! Poor Leo, had neglected religion while in health, and he died so suddenly that even the sacraments could not be administered to him—hence the Romans who always hated his extravagance said, “he won the pontificate like a fox, held it like a lion, and left it like a dog.” Cardinal Tortosa, an old and pious man who had been tutor to Charles V., was elected pope, and went by the name of Adrian VI. It was generally supposed that Charles’ influence elevated his old preceptor to the pontificate. He turned out to be a good and pious pope, perhaps one of the best Rome ever had. But he did not live long, either to do good or harm, he died in September, 1523, having been pope less than two years. In the spring of 1522, the Diet at Nuremberg assembled, and it may be well enough to state here, that this Diet seems to have lasted for several years, for we find it in session in 1526, and often during the intermediate time. The object of this Diet seems to have been, to put down the Reformer at all hazards—and not to give up until he was crushed.

During the sessions of this Diet, pope Adrian VI. was represented by cardinal Chieregati, and the emperor by his brother Ferdinand; they, together with many princes and bishops, insisted upon the execution of the Diet of Worms against Luther and his followers. Frederick, the elector of Saxony, was much more alarmed than Luther. Luther’s motto was, “God is God, let what will come to pass,” the prudent and pious elector’s faith was not quite so strong. Things were rapidly approaching a fearful and

tremendous crisis—every day the vast majority of the members of the Diet, were becoming more clamorous for the blood of Luther. Let him be burnt, says one, as Huss was. Human wisdom and foresight cannot see how Luther is to be saved any longer. “But the foolishness of God, is wiser than the wisdom of man.”

Whilst Luther's life was threatened, news came to Germany that the Turks under the command of Soliman had taken Belgrade, a town in Hungary, and that the hostile foe was making rapid advances towards Germany. This news seemed to have altered the state of feeling in the Diet. Luther thought they, is a great enemy to the German empire, but the Turk is a greater one. The Diet then agreed to hand over to the pope and the emperor, a catalogue of one hundred grievances which existed, and which they said must be reformed! This blasted all the prospects of Luther's enemies, for about eighty of those grievances were also the grievances of which Luther complained. Here then, there seemed to be a sympathy established between Luther and the Diet. The pope's nuncio, Chierigati, who had no idea of the popularity of the cause of Luther, was very much mortified that Osiander and several other Evangelical preachers, should be permitted to preach in Nuremberg, during the sessions of the Diet; he insisted upon having them silenced according to the pope's bull and the emperor's edict, but the Diet would do nothing, at last he said he would take the matter in hand, and in the name of the pope seize them himself, upon which a number of the members of the Diet, declared

they would take their departure and have no hand in the matter ; this so alarmed the nuncio, that he gave up the bloody project ! Thus God confounded the counsel of the members of the Diet, as he did the tongues of those impious men who were building the tower of Babel !

When the news of the apathy of the Diet to enforce the Bull of Leo, and the edict of the emperor reached Rome, the pope was alarmed, and astonished, and mortified. On the 5th of October, 1522, pope Adrian VI. wrote a letter to the elector of Saxony, in which, among other things he says, "Dear son, as we have recently been informed of the meeting of the noble German nation in Diet, at Nuremberg, and as so many princes will be assembled there, it is to be hoped that the common interests of all will not be forgotten, and that the safety and prosperity of the christian faith will receive that attention which its importance demands ; and that plans and means will be set on foot to extricate christianity from the difficulties into which it has of late fallen. And as you are an Elector of the empire, and an advocate of the holy Roman faith, we hope you will exert yourself to your utmost to sustain our Holy See, and that you will imitate the piety and zeal of your forefathers, in supporting the christian faith." This was just like the flattering letters of Leo. Frederick had no intention of abandoning the christian faith, but he considered the faith of Rome as a very different matter. On the 31st of October, 1522, the emperor Charles addressed a long letter to the pope, in which he says, "When we remember that the Turks, who are the eternal enemies of

christianity, have taken the strongest posts, and indeed the very keys of Hungary, and have their eyes now upon Germany, your holiness will see the necessity of not being so hard in your demands upon the German nation for the spiritual revenues. Your holiness ought every four years to remit the revenues of Germany." It would appear from this letter, that the pope had complained to the emperor of the delinquency of the Germans in paying the church! "Your holiness," says Charles, "also reminds us of the shameful Lutheran heresy, which to suppress and to crush we have done all we could. The followers of Luther ought all to be put to the sword." In this letter the emperor makes a bargain with the pope, that if he will assist in putting down the Turks, he, the emperor, will afterwards put down the Lutherans. The attack is now no longer directed against Luther, but against his followers!

On All Saints' Day, i. e. November 1st, 1522, duke George issued an edict from Dresden, against the reading of the New Testament translated by Luther. "The New Testament, translated by Dr. Martin Luther, and published at Wittenberg, with notes and several prints, which are calculated to reflect dishonor upon the pope, and to strengthen the Lutheran doctrine." Now, it is well known that Luther's translation had no pictures and no notes. "I therefore forbid all my subjects from purchasing this book, and we command those who have these books to carry them to the nearest magistrate, and that there be no complaining, the magistrate will refund the amount of

money each one paid for the book." This foolish plan was the very best to give publicity to Luther's translation, and no doubt duke George's territory was in a short time as well supplied with Testaments as any part of Germany.

Now comes a terrible bull! Pope Adrian VI., on the 25th of November, 1522, issued a severe bull against Luther. In this tremendous bull, all the pent up fury and wrath of disappointed Rome is poured out upon the devoted head of the poor monk. But like the towering rock upon the mountain's brow, upon whose awful front the storms and lightnings of heaven spend their fury in vain, so Luther stood the shock unmoved! Humbolt says, that one of the most magnificent scenes he ever witnessed, was when, at a great elevation on the Andes, he could look down upon a thunder-storm at his feet. Thus Luther had attained an elevation in the moral world, far above the low contention of this little world of ours! His was indeed a lofty, a sublime position. The bull of the pope runs thus, after having alluded to the Turks, he says, "As we turn our thoughts from the enemies of the church who are without, to those who are within, we are filled with pain, that Martin Luther, (who on account of his crimes, we are sorry to say it, we cannot call son,) a man who has revived the ancient and now again condemned heresies, who has been graciously admonished by the See of Rome, condemned by the judgment of pious and learned men and universities, and condemned by the edict of our beloved son Charles, Emperor of Germany, and yet he is not only

not punished by those who ought to enforce the edict of the empire, but even encouraged and protected in his wicked ways. And this is not the worst, he has not only the countenance of the common people, but of many noblemen. \* \* \* Heresies ought to be rooted up before they grow so large! Whilst the devil, the eternal enemy of mankind, goeth about like a roaring lion in the form of the Turks, do we not see this same devil in the same form—is not the deceiving dragon in our own midst, causing strife and contention in Germany? We well recollect when we were yet in Spain, in an humbler situation, we often heard and read of his errors, and the most painful reflection to us is, that these errors should have their origin in the land of our birth—that land that has always been most valiant against heresy.” This was a fine appeal to the pride of the Germans. But he next reminds them of the action of the Council of Constance, in condemning John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, and applauds the conduct of the emperor for executing that abominable sentence. He tells the Diet that the conduct of the Council of Constance, as well as the civil power, met the approbation of God! This was encouraging the Diet to perpetrate the same awful crime, under the sanction of the pope himself. The elector of Saxony and the friends of Luther were much alarmed, they could see no way clear, but Luther was undismayed. Frederick thought the time was now at hand, when he would have to take his sword, and fight the battles of the Lord. He wrote to Wittenberg, and it would seem, (for we have not been able to find his letter,) he



asked the opinion of the doctors at Wittenberg, whether they thought it would be right to take up the sword. The professors drew up a reply that does honor to the age in which they lived: "No prince," said they, "can undertake a war without the consent of the people, from whose hands he has received his authority. But the people have no heart to fight for the gospel, for they do not believe. Therefore, let not princes take up arms." This letter shows Luther's enlightened spirit to great advantage; he that is so often called imprudent, unreflecting, rash, impetuous,—in the hour of great peril always shows his calmness and prudence! Luther trembled not for himself but for his beloved country; he feared it would now be torn and rent by internal factions, and perhaps deluged with fraternal blood; this thought filled his soul with grief.

On the last day of November, 1522, pope Adrian VI. issued another fearful bull against Luther. This bull was addressed to the bishop of Bamberg. Soon after, Luther replied in a tract, entitled "An address to the people, by Martin Luther, touching the bulls of Pope Adrian VI." "This pope," says Luther, "has done what no pope before him ever did, viz. he applied to the bishop of Bamberg, and asked him whether his quotation and interpretation of a passage from St. Peter, be correct? And I ask in the most humble manner, all christians everywhere, to judge between me and the pope—to judge whether Luther or the pope has set up new orders and sects,—also whether Luther or the pope teaches more than the Bible requires; also whether Luther or the pope deals with false doctrines,

whether Luther or the papists are pure and obedient; also whether Luther or the pope despises kings and princes, and damns to the third, fourth or ninth generation, everything which St. Peter means in that text. But thank God, the foolishness and ignorance of the pope and the papists, are rapidly coming to the light. They are now a reproach and a scandal, for they make themselves contemptible in the eyes of all men. Thus Daniel's prediction is about to be fulfilled, (Danl. viii. 25,) 'But he shall be broken without hand;' and as Paul says, 2 Tim. iii. 9, 'But they shall proceed no further, for their folly shall be manifest to all men.' Is it not a sin and a shame, that the pope who pretends to be the teacher of all christians, has nothing more to say than this, 'Luther wishes alone to be wise.' A pope should adduce scripture, and be expert in God's word; he should say, 'here it is in God's word.' 'Luther has written thus and thus against the word of God.' But he is mute, and only says, 'Luther has written against old customs, and long usages, and teachers.' Just as if our faith were grounded upon old customs, long usages, and human teachers! If old customs and long continued practices are sufficient, why do we not believe with Jews, Turks and Pagans? Why do we not side with the devil, who has always been accustomed to do evil? If those usages are in themselves sufficient, why does not the pope point out the ground and reasons of those usages? Or why should we not be permitted to inquire whether those usages are right, and when they were introduced? Our God is not called 'Custom,' but 'Truth,' and our faith does not cling

to custom, but to the truth itself, which is God. The pope tells you that the truth is suppressed; this is true. Yes, the truth, like Christ, must sometimes die, and be buried, but it will rise again. The truth has been crushed by popery, as Daniel, (viii. 12,) says, 'and it cast the truth to the ground.' But this casting down the truth is now at an end. The truth has been buried long enough, now, however the truth must arise, and crush the lying wonders of popery. Popery with its pranks has become a reproach, the papists have hitherto carried on their knavery secretly and openly; there was a time when kings and princes respected it, but now the meanest are ashamed of it. The saying of Isaiah xxxiii. must be fulfilled, 'Woe to thee that spoilest, and thou wast not spoiled; and dealest treacherously, and they dealt not treacherously with thee, when thou shalt cease to spoil, thou shalt be spoiled, and when thou shalt make an end to deal treacherously, they shall deal treacherously with thee.' " Thus spake Martin Luther to the awful head of the church—to the world. In conclusion, he says, "It is a pity that I have had to throw such good German after such miserable, pitiful, kitchen Latin; it is a shame to send such Latin even to the Germans, but everything is very fine, and papal, and monastic, and French, or Lavanian." We have translated nearly all this tract, to show how calm and tranquil Luther was, when the storms of persecution were raging fearfully around him, and when he did not know how soon he should be called upon to share the martyr's glorious fame!

The sanguinary measures of pope Adrian VI. were not carried out, for in September, 1523, he died, and as some think by poison. Some praise him as one of the most pious popes that ever occupied St. Peter's chair, whilst others say he was a very bad man. Whether good or bad, the Italians were glad that he was out of the way. The night after his death a wreath was hung around the door of his family physician with this inscription, "To the liberator of his country." Pallavicini, a distinguished Italian historian says, "Adrian VI. was a good priest, but a very ordinary pope." This is no doubt the true state of the case.

The next pope was Clement VII. He was of the illustrious family of the Medici, the same as Leo X., and hated the Lutherans with a perfect hatred, but was as inefficient as his predecessor.

Luther was at Wittenberg faithfully attending to his duties, lecturing, preaching, writing books, translating the Old Testament, encouraging his fellow christians.

In 1524, the Diet of Nuremberg met again. Pope Clement VII. sent cardinal Lorenz von Campeggio, as his nuncio—the elector of Saxony was now to be influenced to sacrifice Luther. But before Campeggio arrived at Nuremberg, the elector had left, in consequence of the infirmities of old age. The cardinal pressed his matter, of carrying out the edict of Worms, but the Diet insisted, as on former occasions, that they must first have a promise from the pope, that there should be some reformation in the church. After much deliberation the Diet came to the following conclusions on the 18th of April, 1524 :

I. The Diet promises to see the edict of Worms enforced, as much as possible, and especially that part which refers to the publication of scandalous books.

II. The Diet considers it of the utmost importance that there should be a general council held, and that at the next Diet, (to be held at Spire in November,) something more definite be determined on this subject.

III. Each member of the Diet shall in the mean time examine the books of the new doctrine (viz. Luther's) and appoint learned men, to separate the truth from the error, which they contain.

IV. At the next Diet (at Spire) the opposers of the Roman court, and the ecclesiastical state of Germany, shall be met by certain deputies, and they shall settle this perplexed matter among themselves.

V. In reference to the Turks, the Diet will do nothing until after they shall have consulted their subjects.

These resolutions perhaps more than anything else we could produce, show the influence of Luther's teachings upon the German nation. This was all he wanted. But the cardinal was not pleased with this determination—he made many objections, but all to no purpose, the Diet passed them unanimously. There was another source of annoyance at Nuremberg to the cardinal; the evangelical preachers were permitted to preach, yea and they did preach, even against the pope. On Easter it is said 4,000 Lutherans celebrated the Lord's Supper at Nuremberg, by eating bread and drinking wine. The cardinal was out of all humor. When he found he could do nothing with the

regular German Diet, this wily Italian attempted to get up another Diet, i. e. to select such as he could easily control, and he succeeded to some extent in calling together a Diet at Regensberg the same year, but it did not amount to much.

This irregular and extraordinary Diet is remarkable for its causing the first division among the German princes. It consisted of the following persons, viz. the arch-duke Ferdinand, William and Lewis, the dukes of Bavaria, the bishops of Trent, Regensberg, Bamberg, Spire, Strasburg, Freisingen, Passau, Basel and Rostnitz, together with cardinal Campeggio, who was its originator. The articles they drew up are called the "Regensberg League," or "Ratisbon League." The emperor was not pleased with the proceedings of the Regensberg party, and at the Diet of Spire the whole was suppressed.

In 1524, Luther threw aside the monk's dress, and appeared in the pulpit, as a common man or citizen. Luther and old John Brisger, the prior, were the only inmates of the Augustinian convent—Luther delivered the keys of the convent to the elector; the elector returned them to Luther, with the message that the building was his. Here then, he remained and poured light and knowledge upon the dark world around him. In 1524, Erasmus, the great lion of the literary world, instigated by Henry VIII. king of England and others, attacked Luther, although he did it with fear and trembling. Erasmus, when urged to attack Luther, frequently declared that he did not feel himself able to effect anything. His reputation was still high in the

literary world, and as he was an ambitious and time-serving man, always hanging on "princes' favors," he did not wish to go either for or against Luther. No doubt, in his heart he respected Luther as a man, and applauded his conduct as a Reformer. But poor Erasmus! was entirely destitute of those high and noble moral principles which occupied the bosom of his great rival Luther. If Luther had not lived, Erasmus would perhaps have been considered the greatest man of the sixteenth century. But in the blaze of the sun, all lesser lights are obscured!

In the fall of 1524, Erasmus published his celebrated book, called "Diatribes." He was then sixty years of age, and of course not disposed to be contradicted in anything. It is very probable that Erasmus selected the subject of the Will, because in that department he thought his large grasp of intellect could best grapple with the monk, who had as he perhaps thought, studied nothing but the Bible and the antiquated tomes of the fathers. But he was mistaken, Luther's grasp of intellect was far superior to his own; and he found to his sorrow, that he had selected the very worst subject in the world for his own good. Luther read the mighty production of the great scholar, with feelings mingled with pity and contempt. "It is," says he, "as if we were to serve up dung and dirt upon silver and golden dishes." At first he determined not to answer it. But the popish party exulted and shouted victory to such an extent that he changed his mind. The cry of the Romish theologians was every where—"where now is your great Luther—he has at last found his match—let him now come

forward." This was too much for Luther to bear ; he was a man, and had the infirmities of a man, and he knew the weakness of his famous antagonist, and his own strength. He therefore published his reply to Erasmus, "De Servo Arbitrio," (on the bondage of the will.) This book was hailed with joy by the evangelical party, it produced quite a sensation, and from the day of its publication, the sun of Erasmus, even in the literary world, began to decline. In a preface to the reply, Luther says, "Venerable Erasmus, every body wonders that Luther, contrary to his usual practice, should be so long in replying to your "Diatrise." The people congratulate Erasmus on having gained a victory ; and they ask, with an air of insult, what, has this Maccabæus, this sturdy dogmatist at last found an antagonist against whom he dares not open his mouth ?" The palm of genius and eloquence all concede to you !

"You have, I confess, broken my spirit before the battle, and this for two reasons. 1. You have managed your propositions with such astonishing art and steady moderation, that I find it impossible to be angry with you. 2. By what fate or fortune it has happened I know not, but certain it is, that you have not said one word new on this important subject. And therefore it may seem superfluous in me now to tread over the same ground again ; especially as P. Melancthon, in his invincible theological tracts, has trampled upon, and absolutely ground to powder every argument you have produced. To be plain, your book in my judgment suffers so exceedingly on being compared



with his, (Melancthon's *Loci Theologici*,) that I am much grieved for yourself, that you should pollute your most beautiful and ingenious language with such sordid sentiments.

“Your extreme backwardness to appear in this contest, convinces me that you yourself were aware of this, and that conscience suggested to you that, whatever might be the force of your eloquence, it would be impossible for you so to disguise your notions, that I should not discover their vanity through every false covering. In conclusion, my Erasmus, permit me to request you to excuse my defects in eloquence, as on the other hand, I have to excuse your want of information. God does not bestow all his gifts on one person.” From this preface, Erasmus might expect, in the body of the work to be handled, in a rough way. Much stress has been put upon the doctrines put forth by Luther in this controversy.

The discussion involved the actual moral condition of human nature and the means of its recovery. D'Aubigne says on this subject, “The doctrine of God's election as the sole cause of man's salvation, had long been dear to the Reformer.” If D'Aubigne means by this that Luther held the doctrine of election, as it was subsequently taught by John Calvin and others of his school, we beg leave to differ from him. Luther never held the fanciful notions of Calvin.

Dr. A. Maclaine, the translator of Mosheim's *Church History*, and the everlasting fault finder of the Lutheran church, says, “The doctrine of absolute predestination,

irresistible grace, and human impotence, were never carried to a more excessive length, or maintained with a more virulent obstinacy by any divine, than they were by Martin Luther." Now we know that Luther in the early part of his life, did hold the doctrine of absolute predestination and reprobation, and as for irresistible grace, he says very little about that; but the utter depravity of human nature he did hold as firmly as any Calvinist can, and the Lutheran church still holds the impotence of human nature. "The doctrine of absolute predestination," says Prof. Knapp, "was adopted in the sixteenth century by Calvin and Beza, at first (i. e. in the early part of the Reformation,) this doctrine was at least partially believed by Luther and Melancthon." Luther admitted in his controversy at Leipsic, "That God drew to himself and converted adult persons, in such a manner that the powerful impression of his grace was accompanied with a certain correspondent action of their will." This is the strongest expression we have been able to find, and this language any Lutheran of the present day might use without believing in absolute predestination or irresistible grace. In the latter part of his life, say from 1522 on, Luther seems to have believed that God ordains to salvation and eternal life those of whom he foresees that they will believe, this is the doctrine of our church now. It is true, soon after Luther's death some of his followers seem to have mistaken his views, among others Amsdorff and Flacius contended that Luther held the doctrine of predestination, whilst Melancthon and George Major opposed their views. Luther

never in all his sermons limits the grace of God, but says over and over again that Christ died for all men.

Look too at his Confession at Augsburg, in 1530, and at his catechisms, both the greater and smaller, and you find that he is far from teaching the doctrine of absolute predestination and irresistible grace with more virulence than any other divine. Let any man take up Dr. Gill's Body of Divinity, or Turrentin's System of Divinity, or Calvin's Institutes, or any other Calvinistic system, and then let him read Luther's Postill, which contains his doctrines, and he will find that Dr. Maclaine is mistaken when he says, that no man ever taught absolute predestination with more virulence than Martin Luther. We have made these remarks in connexion with Luther's reply to Erasmus, because Mr. D'Aubigne and Milner, want to make out, from the strong language of Luther against the semi-Pelagian views of Erasmus, that he taught the doctrines which they believe. The fact is, Luther was bound to no system, and had no master, not even St. Augustine—the Bible was his creed, and Christ his Master. One remark more on this subject: Luther never intended that his "De Servo Arbitrio" should be looked upon as a nice and exact system of Theology—he just dashed from his exuberant mind, the thoughts as they arose from the reading of the Diatribe. We have not time to say more now. We must now go back about a year, viz. to the year 1524. And now we shall bring Luther and Carlstadt together again, not as friends, but as enemies. Carlstadt had been one of the Professors at Wittenberg, and was a man of

some knowledge and considerable talent, but was deficient in judgment. As a debater, he had few superiors, We have already seen that during Luther's absence at Wartburg, Carlstadt took all matters appertaining to the Reformation into his own hands. Some think he was actuated by ambition, in his work of abolishing the mass and destroying images, rather than by zeal for true piety. However, be this as it may, he was removed from Wittenberg by the force of circumstances—his fanaticism was considered more dangerous than his talents—he had lost all influence and respect. Dr. Milner says, "The previous intemperate conduct of Carlstadt had so lowered his reputation at Wittenberg, that he had found it expedient, if not absolutely necessary, to leave his situation. There was a small congregation at Orlamund, in the Dutchy of Altenburg, which the elector had given as a chapel to the Castle church at Wittenberg; this church Carlstadt claimed by virtue of his having been a pastor in the Castle church at Wittenberg. The people were pleased with Carlstadt; he settled among them, and commenced teaching his peculiar views on the Lord's Supper, and the breaking of images. The peasants were making great disturbances at that time in Saxony; the elector became alarmed, and sent Luther to Orlamund to correct the errors of the people there. On his way thither Luther preached at Jena, and Carlstadt was one of his hearers. Immediately after the sermon, Carlstadt attacked Luther, in the presence of Dr. Gerhard Westerburg, Martin Reinhart, a preacher of Jena, Wolfgang Stein, Prior Binger, who went with Luther, and

Andrew Breunitz, together with a number of the citizens of Jena. When Carlstadt was seated opposite Luther at the table, the following conversation took place, viz. We quote from the account of this transaction given by Nicholas Amsdorff:

*Carlstadt.*—Dear Doctor, and you, brethren—I hope you will pardon me for coming hither. Necessity and my innocence have compelled me to take this step. For you, Doctor, have this day attacked me in your sermon, and have ranked me with seditious and turbulent persons—with the fanatical spirits, to whom you have attributed things that I never saw. You have thus attributed things to me that are not true, and, as an honest man, you ought not to have done so. It is true I have said, that since the days of the apostles no one has ever taught the truth concerning the sacrament, as I have. But that this is the doctrine of the fanatical spirits of Alstet, I deny; or that I have anything to do with these fanatics is not true.

*Luther.*—Dear Doctor, I will begin where you left off, and I say you cannot make it appear that I mentioned your name at all; but since you seem to take it for granted that you have been attacked, then, in God's name, be it so! You have sent me an impudent letter; this you should not have done, for I have nothing to do with you. I am astonished that you should take this upon yourself. I am glad I have touched you, and at the same time am sorry; I am glad because it convinces me that you are one of the fanatical spirits, and sorry that the people should be led astray by you. I have preached against the fanatical spi-

rits, and will do it again. If I have touched you, I can't help it; let it be so.

*Carlstadt.*—I, too, will begin where you have left off; I will undertake to show that you have not preached the gospel properly concerning the sacrament, and you have therefore, done me injustice in ranking me with the seditious fanatics. I do protest before these brethren against this.

*Luther.*—Dear Doctor, I have read the letter you sent to Thomas from Orlamund, and learned from that, that you are opposed to a spirit of sedition; how then could I rank you with the fanatical spirits?

*Carlstadt.*—Why then, Dear Doctor, did you say in your sermon there is one fanatical spirit that rebels against the government, and another that attacks the sacrament, and breaks images?

*Luther.*—I have named no one, and particularly did I not mention your name.

*Carlstadt.*—But I take it upon myself, and am ready to meet you in a public discussion on the subject of the sacrament. You should have admonished me in a fraternal manner. You say love, love, and yet you preach against an erring brother—what kind of love is that!

*Luther.*—If I have not preached the gospel properly, then I know nothing about it.

*Carlstadt.*—Yes, I will show from the sacrament, that instead of preaching Christ, and him crucified, you have preached a Christ of your own imaginary creation. Yes, you have preached against yourself, as I can show from your own books.

*Luther.*—Dear Doctor, if you are so certain of this, why don't you come out boldly and write against me, that it may be known to all men. Write against me, and do it valiantly!

*Carlstadt.*—I will write against you; I fear not the light, as you blame me, and I hereby challenge you for a public disputation at Wittenberg or Erfurt, if you will procure me a safe-conduct.

*Luther.*—Are you afraid? have you not a safe-conduct to Wittenberg?

*Carlstadt.*—Yes, I have been there, and I was the first man on the ground; but I know that in a public dispute you will have no mercy on me, nor will I spare you, but I know how you have drawn the people to yourself.

*Luther.*—Why, my dear Doctor, you need not fear; no person will hurt you—only come, come boldly.

*Carlstadt.*—I will expose you, or bring confusion upon myself.

*Luther.*—It shall be so—your folly shall be exposed.

*Carlstadt.*—I will cheerfully bear the shame, that God may be honored.

*Luther.*—Your folly will meet you soon enough. I am astonished you should threaten any person with your writings—who fears your writings?

*Carlstadt.*—Nor do I fear any man, for I know that my doctrines are true, and come from God.

*Luther.*—If your doctrine be from God, why did not your fanaticism break out when you broke the images at Wittenberg?

*Carlstadt.*—I am not alone the author of that transaction, it was agreed upon by the three councilmen, and some of your own coadjutors ; afterwards they drew in, and left me in the lurch.

*Luther.*—I deny that, and appeal to Wittenberg.

*Carlstadt.*—And I deny what you say, and will appeal to Wittenberg.

*Luther.*—I advise you not to appeal to Wittenberg, you don't stand quite as high there as you imagine.

*Carlstadt.*—Nor do you stand as high there as you think.

[How childish the conduct of Carlstadt, he had just before stated that Luther had drawn all men to him, and was even afraid to go thither without a safe conduct, on account of Luther's popularity.]

But, says Carlstadt, I comfort myself, that in the day of judgment when all secrets will be revealed, it will then appear who was right, you or I.

*Luther.*—Nonsense ! you are always boasting of the day of Judgment. I desire nothing but compassion or mercy from God.

*Carlstadt.*—Why should I not ? There all will fare alike, the great and the small. You bind me hand and foot, and then you strike ! for you have despised my spirit, and said, let him begone.

*Luther.*—When did I strike you ?

*Carlstadt.*—Did you not bind me, and strike me when you wrote and preached against me, and exerted yourself that I should not be permitted to write and publish. If I



had been at liberty like yourself to publish, you would have found out to your sorrow, what my spirit would have accomplished.

[He had a very high opinion of himself, indeed, and had just as much liberty to write and preach as Luther had, until he unfortunately was brought under the influence of the ignorant fanatics of Zwickau, when Luther was at Wartburg.]

*Luther.*—Why do you wish now to preach (in Orlamund) without being regularly called? Or who invited you to preach there?

*Carlstadt.*—If we are to speak of a human call, I am well aware that my archdeaconship entitles me to this, (living,) and if we are to speak of God's, I know something about that too.

*Luther.*—Who commanded you to preach in this living?

*Carlstadt.*—If I have erred, you should have admonished me in a brotherly manner, and not have come down upon me with clubs from the pulpit.

*Luther.*—You have come down upon me with clubs, more than I have upon you.

*Carlstadt.*—I have not!

*Luther.*—Your own books show it!

*Carlstadt.*—What books? I have lately written upon the call, perhaps that may be too sharp for some. When did you ever try to convince me of my errors in the presence of witnesses?

*Luther.*—I did in the presence of Melancthon and Pomeranius.

*Carlstadt.*—Where ?

*Luther.*—In your own room at Wittenberg.

*Carlstadt.*—That is not true !

*Luther.*—We brought you the decisions of the University.

*Carlstadt.*—You now speak according to your authority, I have never seen any such articles, nor do I know that ever the University preferred any charges of error against me.

*Luther.*—Now, my dear Doctor, it is no use for me to say any more, for according to your notions, no matter what I saw, it is not true.

*Carlstadt.*—If it be true, may God grant that the devil may tear me to pieces in your presence !

Luther paused a while, and then replied, Dear Doctor, I know you well, and know that you have a very high opinion of yourself, that you are a bully, and wish to be considered a great man. But I say I have preached against the fanatical spirit to-day, and will do it again, in spite of all your opposition, for you do go with the fanatical prophets.

To this Carlstadt replied, Yes, when they are right.

*Luther.*—Well, write against me, and do it openly and like a man.

*Carlstadt.*—If I thought you were in earnest.

*Luther.*—I am in earnest—you may write against me.

*Carlstadt.*—Very well, I shall.

*Luther.*—I will give you a gold-piece.

Here Luther gave Carlstadt a gold florin, which was a pledge between them. The two shook hands and parted. Thus ended the contest.

Soon after, Luther started for Orlamund, but he could do nothing with Carlstadt's congregation; he had a conference with them, but they would not submit to anything he had to say. Mr. D'Aubigne, who seems to be a warm friend of Carlstadt, don't give all the conversation that took place between Luther and the fanatical church members at Orlamund. They were a set of ignorant fanatics, and there can be no doubt of it, although on several points they were no doubt correct, and Luther was in error. But in addition to the conversation given by D'Aubigne, I would add the following viz. Luther and the church council had been arguing upon a passage from Moses—Luther contended that pictures and images were not idols—the church council contending that they were. "All images," says one of the members, "are forbidden by Moses." Luther said, there is no such thing in the Bible. The members replied it is in the Bible, say what you will; upon this bold reply they all clapped their hands together in a frantic manner, and one of the members said, "What does the Bible say?" God says, "I will have my bride naked, I will not even permit her to have a shift on." Upon this Luther sat down and put his hand over his face, and after a little reflection said, "Ah! listen, that is putting away images! What fine German that is!" One of the party told the prior of Wittenberg that he had forgotten more than he ever knew! Luther found he could do nothing with them

and left them. And he says, that they did not stone him was all. They told him to be gone in the name of all the devils, and wished that he might break his neck before he reached home. Is it possible that any congregation not under the influence of fanaticism, could treat an eminent servant of God in this way? Carlstadt had prejudiced the people against Luther. Soon after Carlstadt was expelled by the elector. Luther had nothing to do with this, although the dark and suspicious mind of Carlstadt was under the impression that it was Luther's doings. He measured the noble mind of his great rival by his own, if he had had the power, Luther would not have ruled at Wittenberg. He wrote a letter to the church at Orlamund, entitled "Andrew Bodenstein expelled by Luther." Poor Carlstadt, his career was a checkered one! In some things, he saw perhaps even further into the word of God than any man living, but his judgment was not sound, and there were too many worldly elements in his composition, for him ever to have been as extensively useful as Luther.

Luther returned to Wittenberg and set in afresh, lecturing, preaching and writing. In 1524, he published his celebrated appeal to the German nation in behalf of schools. This is a splendid production and would do honor to any writer in the nineteenth century. He shows in this address, why we ought not to have our children educated in monasteries; insists upon having the Bible read in common schools; that it is the duty of the government to educate the children; insists upon the importance of studying the languages, as a means of information; on the importance

of good school books, he recommends the study of the fine arts, philosophy, history, law and medicine. This address ought to be translated and read by all men. It occupies 22 large folio pages, and contains an immense amount of practical and valuable information. The same year 1524, he published his work on merchandizing or traffic. In this he gives rules for honorable trade, he enters deeply into the moral duties of selling and buying, he enters into the "tricks of trade," the evils of usury, the duty of kings or government to make proper regulations for trade, he shows that exorbitant charges are worse than robbery. This work which would make a clever volume, might be read with great advantage by our merchants of the present day.

The same year he published "The Sum of God's Commandments." The object of this book was to give the people correct views about the use and abuse of the law of God. This year he also published his work on "The Evils of the Secret Mass."

During the year 1524, Luther was very busy in making new arrangements in the church at Wittenberg. One thing after the other was attempted, until all the foolish and fantastic ceremonies of popery were thrown aside. On Christmas Eve, 1524, the mass was abolished in the church of All-saints at Wittenberg, this was the great model-church of Lutheranism. Seckendorf says, "That there were annually 9901 masses celebrated in the church at Wittenberg, and 35,570 pounds of wax candles were annually consumed. Luther called this the "Sacrilege of Tophet."

The work did not go on to perfection at once. The following rules were adopted by the church, viz. 1. Canonical hours shall be observed, but not on working days, but there shall be no high mass. 2. All childish ceremonies shall be thrown aside, such as burning incense—no salt and water was to be consecrated any more. 3. Sacred music, but no worldly, was to be played upon the organ. 4. On Sunday, when there are no communicants in the church, the choir was to sing the Introitum, Kyrie Eleison, the Credo, the Pater Noster, the Agnus Dei. The high mass was still to be celebrated on important festivals—but they called it an evangelical mass—strange name indeed ! But the Reformers had to be informed properly themselves before they saw things clearly, afterwards everything was abolished. This shows how cautious Luther was in all his proceedings.

In 1524, Luther published his first collection of hymns, some of them were original, some translations from Latin, and taken from other poets. This was the foundation of the celebrated “Wittenbergsche Gesang Buch,” which was formerly used by the Lutheran church in this country, and is even now frequently found in the families of our old members. This little hymn book contained but eight hymns, but the music or notes accompanied it. We have stated above that Luther himself was a great musician, and no man that ever lived did more to improve church music than he. Luther’s pen never rested. Early in the year 1525, he published his “Seven penitential Psalms,” with copious notes, and practical remarks. Soon after he

published a work called "The History of Henry von Sydphen, who was burned by the enemies of the gospel, at Diedmar, together with the 9th Psalm explained." In this work he also refers to the martyrdom of Caspar Toubert, in Vienna, and George Bucherer, in Hungary, and also of John Sydphen, who was martyred in the Netherlands, but he has selected Henry as the most glorious martyr. The work is dedicated to the inhabitants of Bremen. Luther had an object in view in everything he did, and as no human being ever had a more intimate knowledge of human nature, and knew better than he how to strike every chord on the human heart. He published this account to show the fanatics in the first place that men could be real christians, and even become martyrs without following the vagaries of their "spirit;" in the second place to stir the hearts of real christians; and in the third place to show the princes, who were wavering in their attachment to Romanism, the horrors of that system. Let it be borne in mind that the excitement at this time was intense. All Germany was convulsed to its very centre; the dark and portentous storms of persecution were beginning to howl. Amid this commotion Luther flung this tract out upon the raging elements, and it produced the effects he had intended.

Although Luther seemed shut up at Wittenberg, and engaged in the management of a large University, yet he watched with an eagle's eye every movement that took place, and adapted his addresses to the circumstances of the times. Luther commences this thrilling narrative thus:

“In the year of our Lord, 1522, Henry von Sydphen, who was driven from Antorff by the tyrants, on account of the gospel, came to Bremen, not that he intended to preach there, for he was on his way to Wittenberg. But being importuned by a number of pious people, he agreed to preach on Sunday, before St. Martin’s day. The congregation were so much pleased with his preaching, that they insisted upon his remaining with them, to which he agreed. The priests of the Dome church, (now a Lutheran church,) and the monks, took the alarm, and sent a communication to the congregation where Henry preached, and objected to his preaching. The members told them they had a good, pious and learned preacher, who explained God’s word. The bishop sent two agents to bring him before the spiritual tribunal, and after much controversy with the faithful man, it seems he escaped out of their hands. However he had to quit preaching, but after a while commenced again, and preached with great success. The prior of the Dominican monks did all in his power to prevent his preaching. There were forty-eight men, called the regents of Diedmar, (or Ditnarsen,) who had a kind of civil authority. These simple and ignorant men, were urged on by the prior of the Dominican monks, that they should root out the new heresy. The prior, says Luther, told the regents not to hold any communication with Sydphen, or they would all become heretics before they knew it. As these men sought notoriety, we will publish their names. The ringleaders were Peter Nannen, Peter Swins, John Dolm, Lorentz Danneman, Lewis Danne-



man, &c. These men met at the house of Wm. Günter, and there after having determined that they would burn Henry, they devised the best means of taking him. These men collected a mob of 500 peasants. At the ringing of the Ave Maria they all came together, but the great mass of them did not know what for. When they learned the object, many wanted to return, but the leaders encouraged them to remain; they furnished them with three pipes of Hamburg beer, that they might be the more resolute. At midnight, they came armed to Meldorf. The Jacobin monks furnished them with light and faggots, that Henry could not run away. They had also a priest with them by the name of Hennings Haus, this man has revealed everything. They rushed into the parsonage, smashed everything to pieces, as is the custom with a set of drunken peasants; they broke cans, kettles, tin pans, and the money they carried off. They rushed upon the pastor and dragged him naked into the street. Some cried out, kill him, kill him, while others were for letting him go. After they had satisfied themselves with the pastor, (in whose house Henry was,) they fell upon Henry, took him naked out of bed, beat him, and stabbed him, and tied his hands behind his back, and dragged him naked through the cold. They asked him what he wanted there, he answered them very kindly, so that they were moved to compassion. But they shouted, we must not listen to him long, lest we too should become heretics. As he was naked and barefooted, and it being cold, he was much exhausted, and requested to be placed upon a horse, but they laughed him to scorn; they

determined to burn him, and after many great sufferings, they dragged him to the stake. When at the stake, one of the party said, 'because this man has spoken against the Mother of God, and against the christian faith, in the name of the Bishop of Bremen, I condemn him to the flames.' Henry answered, 'I am not guilty. But not my will, but thine, O Father, be done, Lord forgive them for they know not what they do!' As often as he began to speak they struck him, some with their fists, some with swords, some with halberts, they then brought a grey monk to him to confess him. He said to the monk, 'have I done you any injury?' 'No,' says the monk. 'Well then, I have nothing to confess to you.' The monk retired in confusion. The fire would not burn. For two hours they beat him and struck him. At last they bound him to a board, and pushed him into the fire. They then struck him, and jumped upon him, and trampled him under their feet, until the blood gushed from his mouth and nose, and thus he died."

This was one means Luther employed to excite the public mind against Popery—the scene is a touching one, and well calculated to rouse the indignation of a nation that then hung upon the lips of Luther. It was in the year 1525 too, that the peasant war broke out. This was a furious and terrible war—such as the world has rarely seen. The Roman Catholics have made a great handle of this, as well as of subsequent wars, and attribute them all to the Reformation. This war would have taken place in Germany if Luther had never lived, and in all probability would have been more ruinous. Sartorius, who

has written the best history of the peasant wars of Germany, clearly shows that its origin is to be sought and found in the civil and spiritual bondage under which the German peasantry were groaning for ages. The poor farmers were nothing but slaves to their superiors in church and state. The Roman Catholic church is chargeable for the ignorance and slavery of the German peasants, and consequently for the blood that was shed by the miserable fanatics. The tremendous moral volcano that burst forth upon Germany in 1425, began to rumble and mutter in 1502, and Luther, instead of being in any way its author, did perhaps more than any man in the world to put it down. There is no doubt in the world, if Luther had not commenced the Reformation, and by his preaching and writings swallowed up the public attention, the peasant war would have broken out five or six years sooner. Those miserable fanatical leaders had no sympathy or fellowship with the Reformers. What had they in common? Nothing. The excitement was great in the early part of the winter of 1524, in some parts of Germany—the fanatical leaders were rising into notice among the people—Carlstadt, too, was not forgotten. In January, 1525, Luther published the first part of his powerful and severe address “Against the Celestial Prophets,” concerning images and the mass, (perhaps it would be more congenial with the spirit of the address to render the word “Himmlischen,” heavenly, instead of celestial; it ought to be “heavenly prophets.”) This address is contained in upwards of one hundred large folio pages, and is directed mainly against

Carlstadt, whom Luther accuses of being a party with the fanatics. Indeed, he accuses Carlstadt of being the principal fanatic—he remembered the scenes he had witnessed at Orlamund among Carlstadt's disciples. Luther had been accused by some of being envious of the great reputation Carlstadt had acquired in Switzerland, whither he had gone after his banishment from Saxony. There is no evidence that Luther ever envied the reputation or honor of any man—his soul was too great for such little things. No, he was fully satisfied in his mind, that if Carlstadt was not the chief fanatic, he had given importance and confidence to that turbulent sect, by countenancing at least some of their errors. If we felt disposed to find fault with any of Luther's writings, we would select this one; it is entirely too severe and bitter against an erring brother. He calls Carlstadt not only a fanatic and a deceiver, but even a devil—he warns all good Christians against his perverted spirit. The only apology we can make for Luther's harshness is, that he believed in his heart that Carlstadt was the author of those terrible calamities that were now being poured out upon the country. Luther thought he could see in the riotous conduct of Carlstadt at Wittenberg, in the breaking of images, the premonitory symptoms of the peasant war; and it was with the full conviction of these things upon his mind, that he wrote against the heavenly prophets. And more than this, he was bound to vindicate the cause of evangelical piety. The Roman Catholics attributed all this trouble to him and his cause. "This," cried the pope's agents, "is the work of the Re-

formation—this is just as we expected. Let people once be permitted to think for themselves, and there is no stopping them. Even Erasmus, who ought to have known better, and did know better, said, to please the papal party, “We are now reaping the fruits of your instructions.” And hence it became absolutely necessary for Luther to take a bold stand against the popular tumults, just such as he did take.

In the same year Luther published his “Address to the Christians at Antorf, to guard against the influence of the fanaticism that was everywhere raging around.” In this address he says, “We have long been the dupes of most outrageous deception in the Romish church; we have believed in ghosts or apparitions which we now know were nothing but impositions practised upon us. The gospel has dissipated this gloom. But now since the devil sees that he can do nothing more with his rumbling and pounding, he has taken another mode of deception: he now influences his agents to pound and make a noise by a number of new and strange doctrines—there are almost as many sects as heads, each one, no matter how absurd or fanciful his notions, claims to be inspired, and wants to be considered a prophet. As I have had a good deal to do with these fanatics, I will give you an instance that occurred, to show you the nature of this fanaticism. A fellow came to me, and addressed me thus, “God Almighty has sent me to you.” This he said in a broad Bavarian accent. “Well, what do you want?” “You are,” says he, “to read to me the books of Moses.” Where is the

evidence that you are sent? "It is written," says he, "in the gospel of John." I had now enough, and told him the time was too short to read the books of Moses; he should come some other time. Then he replied, "Yes, my dear brother, may our heavenly Father, who shed his blood for us, lead us all to his Son Jesus Christ." Here you can see the kind of men we have to deal with; these fanatics know nothing about God or Christ, yet they want to know everything. But let us not be alarmed—the devil must give some signs of life, he must make a racket and a rumpus; if he can't do it openly in the world, he must do it in the brainless skulls of the fanatics! Formerly under the pope, the devil had full play, but now he must make a noise in this way. In order that you may be able to guard against the influence of the fanatics, I will give you a few marks by which you may know them.

1. Each fanatic thinks he has the Holy Ghost.
  2. They believe that the Holy Ghost is nothing more than our own reason and understanding.
  3. They believe that every person has faith.
  4. They do not believe that there is any hell or damnation, but that the flesh alone will be condemned.
  5. They believe that every soul will be saved.
  6. Nature teaches that we ought to love our neighbor as ourself.
  7. Evil thoughts do not violate the law of God as long as we do not carry out our evil thoughts.
  8. He who has not the Holy Ghost, has no reason.
- These are the foolish doctrines they maintain."

This address is not long, but we have not room to insert it all. The first article of the creed of these fanatics, is the one from which all the other errors spring. For he who is miraculously endowed with the Holy Ghost, knows all things appertaining to religion. This is the *great evil* of fanaticism in the present day—men become proud and self-willed, and refuse instruction, and after awhile reject even the word of God; for what need has a man of the written word when he has the Spirit of God to instruct him more rapidly than he can possibly obtain information by the slow process of reading the Bible. Hence, too, their preachers need no instruction. The fanatics of Germany had preachers enough—any man that could talk, and had a good deal of brass, could preach. But look at the effects of the fanatical preaching. The whole country was thrown into confusion—the poor deluded people neglected the cultivation of their land, and blood followed the infatuated army wherever they went! This would be the upshot of the fanaticism we have in our land now, if it were not for the true religion we have among us. The little band of fanatics at Zwickau, never had half the learning, wealth and talent of the Mormons, and yet they kindled a fire in Germany that almost ruined the fairest portions of that country. And if Mormonism had started in Spain or Bavaria, it would have kindled the fires of civil discord there; but in a Christian country like ours, where the pulpit is so ably served, any fanaticism can be kept in check.

After Carlstadt had left Orlamund he went to Strasburg, and remained there sometime teaching, and as Luther was informed constantly abusing him, and trying to prejudice the people against him, by reporting that he had been the means of driving him from Saxony. This was not true, and Carlstadt had been so informed again and again. Luther now addressed a letter to the inhabitants of Strasburg, urging them in the most solemn manner to guard themselves against the "Fanaticism of Dr. Carlstadt." In this he says a great many hard things. Soon after Carlstadt left Strasburg.

In April, 1525, Luther published his work against the peasant tumults, (*Tumultus Rusticorum.*) He first gives a history of the causes, rise and progress of the civil feuds, then shows the poor deluded peasantry that they are not on the right track to have their burdens removed. Then he breaks out upon them in the most tremendous manner. "No one will pretend to deny, that our rebellious peasantry are in the wrong, they have in the most shameful and outrageous manner violated their oath of allegiance to their government, which according to the ordinance of God they are bound to obey, though it were a heathen government; and they have thus loaded themselves with an intolerable burden of sin, and have awakened the hot wrath and sore displeasure of Almighty God? But they have not only violated their fealty to the government, and disobeyed the laws of God in this respect, but they have plundered, and robbed, and stolen, whatever they could lay their hands upon, just like highway robbers and murderers, who prowl



around the country and carry on their cruel work of theft and murder. And what is worse than all, they do it under the cloak of religion and pretend to be under the influence of the gospel, while perpetrating these abominable deeds!

“May God have mercy; and again may God have mercy on those accursed false prophets, who lead those poor and ignorant wretches into such destructive errors; they will lead to the destruction of the soul, and perhaps the death of the body, as well as the loss of property—for be ye well assured that he who dies in this war, will die a traitor to his God and country—yes they will perish as traitors, thieves, robbers, murderers and blasphemers! But perhaps you are ready to say, our leaders are our brethren—no they are no christian brethren but wicked devils!

“Therefore my dear peasants, desist, listen, be persuaded! In the sight of God, your souls are already damned, and who knows how you may fare in respect to life and property. Your crimes have been so enormous that God cannot long bear with you—it must come to an end sooner or later—and whether you conquer or perish it cannot stand—turn therefore to peace and obedience.”

Thus spake this great man from the fulness of his soul, but the infatuated wretches cried out, “the Spirit, the Spirit,” we want no instruction from the Wittenberg pope, and onward they went like sheep to the slaughter. Luther had given them fair warning, but they would not listen.

The fire of fanaticism now spread from village to village, until the whole country of Thuringia, Hessa, Saxony, Franconia, and all the country along the Rhine, were in

one tremendous foam of excitement—never perhaps did fanaticism rage more furiously—scenes the most brutal and revolting were daily enacted—scenes that make the “heart-streams curdle and the blood run cold,” all, all under the direct influence of the Holy Ghost!

Thomas Muntzer put himself at the head of an immense army, who flocked to him at Mulhausen, where he resided and ruled the people with a rod of iron. He had instituted a community of goods, and rejected all the ordinances of religion, and taught that it was unlawful to obey civil rulers. The good elector of Saxony was so grieved with these troubles, that he died on the 5th of May, 1525, when his government was actually in danger from the turbulence of many of his subjects. John, his brother, became elector of Saxony after his death. We have not room here to say much in favor of this great and good man. He was faithful, pious, humble and conscientious, and a friend to God and man, and this is perhaps the highest encomium we can confer upon him. It is stated by D’Aubigne, that he and Luther never spoke to each other—he saw Luther once soon after the talented monk commenced preaching, and he saw him again at the Diet of Worms, but they never exchanged words—this is an extraordinary circumstance! He was the firm and unshaken friend of Luther, but prudence dictated that he should deny himself the pleasure of personal intercourse with his illustrious protegee, than whom, he well knew the world contained no greater man!

We shall now rapidly look at the fate of the poor deluded fanatics. Philip, Landgrave of Hussia, was the first to

take up arms against the fanatics—he was joined by John, the elector's brother, duke George and duke Henry, of Brunswick—the armies of the four dukes formed a junction and moved together towards Mulhausen, where the rebel troops were assembled. Muntzer exhorted them to stand firm—although he had provided no ammunition—here is an instance of fanatical infatuation such as has scarcely ever been seen. Philip did not wish to shed so much blood, he asked to have the leaders given up, and promised the deluded peasants, that he would not injure them; but they scornfully rejected all overtures. Philip gave orders for the battle to commence, and a tremendous slaughter it was; when the battle commenced on the part of the government troops, the fanatics instead of fighting, commenced singing the hymn, "*Come Holy Spirit.*" In a short time upwards of 5,000 deluded wretches, according to Dr. Sartorius, lay dead on the field of battle at Mulhausen. This battle was fought May 15th, 1525. Afterwards three hundred were hung, and Thos. Muntzer, after being imprisoned for a long time and becoming cured of his fanaticism was executed. Philip Melancthon has written an interesting and lucid life of Muntzer, which is in Luther's works, Tome 3, page 112.

Thus ended the first war of the peasants. Soon after this war Luther wrote his "Exhortation to Peace," addressed to the peasants. In the summer of 1525, an attempt was made to destroy Luther by poisoning him. It seems a Polish Jew, who was a physician, had the promise of 2,000 gold florins if he would poison Luther, he

came to Wittenberg for that purpose, but was suspected and seized and taken before a magistrate, but he refused to make any confessions, and by the importunity of Luther, was set at liberty and permitted to leave the town. As the protector of Luther was now dead, the Roman Catholic princes looked confidently for the downfall of the evangelical party. Everything seemed to be against Luther—the Romanists, the peasants, and even some of the evangelical party, thought he had been too severe against the fanatics; every prospect seemed closed, but he was unmoved amid all the gloom that surrounded him. The Roman Catholic princes with duke George at their head had formed a league similar to that of Ratisbon, the object of which was to defend the Romish church and enforce the edict of Worms! Yet Luther stood erect, trusting in God.

## CHAPTER VI. 1.

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### *Luther, the Father of a Family.*

WE now come to the marriage of Luther, a circumstance which perhaps produced more excitement than anything he ever did in his whole life. Catharine von Bora was the daughter of a portionless noble family in Meissinia or Meissen. At the age of twenty-two she entered the nunnery at Nimptsch, on the Mulda, in Grimma.

She together with eight other nuns, in the same institution, became convinced of the sinfulness of those rash vows they had made, by reading Luther's works, and in 1523, left the abodes of darkness, and came to Wittenberg. Luther interested himself in their behalf, and had them all placed in respectable families. Luther was not insensible to the charms of woman, his soul was formed for friendship, but at first he never dreamed of marrying Catharine. There was another liberated nun, Eve von Schönfeld, who had made a deep impression upon his heart, but it seems at that time he had either not made up his mind to marry, or did not see his way clear, or perhaps his affections were not reciprocated. It would seem that Catharine had a strong affection for Luther, long before he knew it. Luther considered himself her protector, and attempted to contract a respectable marriage for her on two occasions. First, to

Jerome Baumgartner, a very respectable lawyer, and then to Dr. Glatzer, pastor of the church at Orlamund. But Catharine rejected both, and for the simple reason that she loved Luther himself. This fact was first communicated to Luther by Margaret, the amiable wife of Philip Melancthon. Luther was not so well acquainted with the female heart, as with the other departments of human nature, or he would have perceived that Catharine loved him. The knowledge of this fact seems to have changed his mind, and he determined, as he says, "to play the devil a trick, and marry Catharine." There were a number of reasons why he should marry. His father urged him to do it,—Melancthon told him he preached one thing and practised another. He was fully convinced that preachers ought to get married—and most of all he was formed for domestic happiness. He therefore got married on the 13th of June, 1526. Luther was 42, and Catherine 26; 16 years difference in their ages was then not considered a great disparity in Germany. They were married by Dr. John Bugenhagen, whom Luther styled, by way of eminence, the pastor of Wittenberg. The wedding party, according to the latest German works, consisted of Lucas Cranach, the celebrated painter, and his wife, Dr. Jonas and his wife, Reichenbach and his wife, and a young lawyer of Wittenberg, by the name of Apel. Catharine was a very handsome and talented woman, and seems to have been one of the best of wives. They lived happily together, and the great Reformer never had reason to regret his marriage.

Melancthon, in a Greek letter to Camerarius, says, "As some unfounded reports will probably reach you respecting the marriage of Luther, I think it proper to inform you of the real state of the case. On the 13th of June, Luther, to our great surprise, married Catharine von Bora. Some may be astonished that he should have married at this unfavorable juncture of public affairs, so deeply affecting to every good man, and thus appear to be unaffected and careless about the distressing events which have occurred amongst us, even when his own reputation suffers, at a moment when Germany most requires his talents and influence. This however, is my view of the subject : Luther is a man who has nothing misanthropic about him ; you know his habits. Surely it is no wonderful thing that his great and benevolent soul should be influenced by the softer affections ! I have long had in my possession the most decisive evidences of his piety and love to God." Luther concerned himself very little about the opinions of the world—he himself was then forming the opinions of a whole nation. Luther and his Katey lived in the greatest harmony and peace ; God smiled upon this union. Catharine loved Luther with all the intensity of woman's affection. She was, according to the united testimony of all who knew her, an interesting woman. She was pious, modest, and unassuming, plain but neat in her dress. She shared the cares and anxieties of her husband, sweetened his enjoyments, and cheered him amid his numerous difficulties. Luther says, and it is the testimony every man should be able to bear to his wife, "My Katey comforts

me when I am cast down, by reciting passages from the Bible, relieving me from the cares of the house; in the intervals of leisure she sits by me, working my portrait in embroidery, or reminding me of the friends I have neglected in my correspondence, and amuses me by the simplicity of her questions." She was truly pious, and it was her piety that made her a fit companion for so good a man. Luther was deeply sensible of the precious gift he had received from God in his wife. Luther writes to a friend one year after his marriage thus, "God be praised for blessing me with such a wife; she is far more to me than my fondest hopes led me to expect; I would not give my poverty with my Catharine, for all the treasures of the earth." He was often heard to exclaim, "My Catharine is worth more to me than all the wealth of the Venitians; she was given to me in answer to prayer; her virtues are not to be appreciated, and she has been to me a most faithful and affectionate wife." What a noble testimony to a virtuous wife!

In his letters he was often playful—he styled her his "Lord Katey," or his "Mrs. Dr.," and most generally, his "Dear and amiable Katey," or his "Dear and most gracious wife."

At first, Luther was somewhat dejected in consequence of the great excitement his marriage produced, but the sweet enjoyment of connubial felicity, soon dispelled the darkness that hung over his mind. In Catharine he found every thing that heart could wish; their minds and hearts, their dispositions and feelings harmonized. He was a



happy husband, and Catharine adored him with an Eastern devotion—she was proud of his splendid talents, and immense popularity; and well she might rejoice in being the wife of the greatest man of his age! True piety and virtue were the chief ornaments of her mind! She obeyed him implicitly; his will was her will; she managed the affairs of the household prudently. Luther acknowledges in his Will, how careful and prudent his wife had been, and how well she had managed his affairs, and committed every thing into her hands. “On one occasion,” say his German biographers, “as Luther was examining, critically, the 22d Psalm, he locked himself in his study. His mind was so much absorbed with deep thoughts that he sunk under the great burden—here he remained three days and three nights, without having any communication with any person—his wife did not know what had become of him; at last she became alarmed, and made inquiry about him; but she could hear nothing of him. At last she went to the door of his study and found it locked, she became dreadfully alarmed and had the door bursted open, expecting nothing else than to find him dead! But there he sat at his table with the 22d Psalm open before him, so deeply absorbed in meditation that he noticed nothing that transpired around him. The fire of his eye was dimmed, the animation of his lively countenance had departed. When he was first awakened to a consciousness of his being yet in this world, he was quite displeased with those who had interrupted his revery, but soon became satisfied with the deep solicitude his wife had manifested in his behalf! This

is an instance of extraordinary abstraction, the subject was indeed well calculated to lead his great soul into the dark shades of forgetfulness!

The monk and the nun were good house-keepers, and this is rather surprising, as the one was raised in a monastery, the other in a nunnery, but their good sense made up for the want of practical instruction. Luther's benevolence and sociality were largely developed, hence his hospitality was unbounded, his friends could never come too often, and Catharine loved to provide for them,—nothing afforded her more pleasure than to make his friends happy; hence they were well met.

Luther in consequence of his immense labors, could not devote much time to the society of his wife, and she had sense enough not to expect it, still he was a man of domestic habits; just look at the following picture he draws. "My house has become a hospital, Hannah is very sick, Katey is near her confinement, little John is teething very hard, the plague has broke out in Wittenberg, Sebald's wife is dead and we have taken his four children into our house—we are without help, for our hired girl was so full of all mischief that we had to send her away!" This was a trying time; at another time he says, "I have such constant pain in my head that I can neither read nor write—I have taken such a cold that I cannot speak a loud word—my brain is often worn out." He was often obliged to act as nurse, and cook when his wife was sick, but he was always cheerful and happy—his income was small, and he had to live economically. Luther received five hundred

and forty guilders per annum salary, i. e. about two hundred and thirty-six dollars; this was his entire income at Wittenberg.

No wonder he could say in his old age, "Old and worn out, weary and spiritless, and now blind of one eye, I long for a little rest and quiet; and yet I must still write, and preach, and work, and endure, as if I had never done anything. I am weary of the world, and it is time the world were weary of me. The parting will be easy, like that of a traveller leaving the inn. I only pray that God will be kind to me in my last hour." But to return to Luther and Catharine. In order to show how much Luther loved his wife, we would give one of his droll and original expressions. It is well known how much Luther loved Paul's Epistle to the Galatians; on one occasion, writing to a friend, he says, "I love Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, I am married to it,—it is my Catharine von Bora!"

It is stated that Catharine was much dejected on one occasion, by the intelligence that a dear friend had died. She wept, and was much distressed; Luther consoled her by telling her that God was not dead, and for his part, he would never be dejected as long as God lived. Not long afterwards, when everything looked dark and gloomy in the Church, Luther came home very much cast down. Catharine said nothing, but clothed herself in mourning, and went into his study. Luther looked at her with amazement. "Why, Katey! who's dead!" She replied, "God!" "What! God dead?—What do you mean, are you beside yourself?" "Why, dear husband,

did you not tell me, that you would never be cast down as long as God lived?" "Yes." "Well, to-day I saw that you were very much dejected, and I took it for granted that God was dead!" "God bless you, my dear Katey, you have taught me a lesson,—I will never be discouraged again!" Whether this story be true or not, it is a beautiful incident. Many more interesting anecdotes of Luther and Catharine are told, but we have not room to repeat them.

Luther and Catharine were blest with six children, three sons and as many daughters. Of these, four survived their parents. The oldest, named John, studied law, and became an eminent counsellor, first in Saxony and afterwards in Prussia. The second son, Martin, became a preacher, but never took charge of a congregation, he died in 1565. The third son, Paul, studied medicine, and became a Professor at Jena, afterwards he became family physician of Duke John, Elector of Saxony, and professor at Gotha. He was a man of considerable eminence. He was married to Anna von Warbeck, and was the only one of Luther's sons that ever married; and through him the family and name of Luther were perpetuated. Some of his descendants are still living in Germany. Dr. Reinthaler, of Erfurt, has now under his charge, I think, two of the great Reformer's descendants, who are being educated by the Lutheran Church. Dr. C. R. Demme, pastor of Zion's Church, Philadelphia, has written a pamphlet, giving an account of the genealogy of the Luther family, which may be consulted.

Of the daughters, the first called Elizabeth, died in infancy. The second, Magdalena, died in her 13th year. The third, Margaret, lived to be married to George von Kunheim, a lawyer of Prussia.

Let us now take a closer view of the great Reformer in the domestic circle, here we can see what a man is—here the true character of the man is exhibited without disguise—here the great scholar, the statesman, the soldier, is unmasked; the fictitious drapery is thrown aside, the heart is made bare, and man appears what he is in reality! Luther in this respect was everything that a man ought to be; he was a christian and a father; a more affectionate and tender father never lived, his whole being was wrapt up in his children. When his infant daughter Elizabeth died, at the age of eight months, he was deeply distressed, the great man wept. In a letter to Nicholas Hausman, he says, “I never believed that the parental feelings were so tender!” But afterwards when called to part with an interesting daughter, thirteen years old, his affliction was exceedingly great. This is one of the most touching pictures in the life of Luther, and shows the tenderness of the father in a strong light. She seems to have been a very interesting and affectionate child, uniting the firmness and perseverance of the father, with the gentleness and delicacy of the mother. When she became very ill, and all hopes of her recovery were gone. Luther said, “Dearly do I love her, but O! my God, if it be thy will to take her hence, I resign her without a murmur.” Deeply affected, he then approached her bed, and taking the hand of

his dying child, he said with strong emotion, "My dear little daughter, my beloved Magdalena, I know you would willingly remain with your earthly father, but if God calls you, are you not also willing to go to your heavenly father?" "Yes," replied the dying child, "dear father, just as God pleases." "O!" says Luther, "my dear child, how I love you! the spirit is willing but the flesh is weak." Luther then took the Bible and read her the passage in Isaiah xxvi. 19. In German it reads thus, "But thy dead shall live, and with their bodies shall they arise; awake and rejoice ye that rest under the earth, for thy dew is the dew of a green field, but the land of death thou shalt overcome." He then said, "My daughter, enter thou into thy resting place." The dying child then turned her eyes to him, and with touching simplicity said, "Yes, father."

When her last moments were near, she raised her dying eyes tenderly to her parents, and begged them not to weep for her. "I go," said she, "to my Father in heaven," and a sweet smile radiated her dying countenance. Luther burst out in tears, and cast himself upon his knees, and prayed most fervently for the deliverance of his pious child. In a few moments the child died in the arms of her father! Catharine, unequal to the painful task of witnessing this heart-rending scene, stood at a distance. When the child was dead, Luther opened the Bible, and read Rom. xiv. 7, 8, and then exclaimed, "Yes, the will of God be done." Philip Melancthon, who was present, said, 'Parental love is an image of the divine love impressed

upon the hearts of men. God does not love the beings he has created, less than parents love their children."

To the disconsolate mother, Luther said on this trying occasion, "Dear Catharine, remember where she is gone; ah, she has made a blessed exchange! The heart no doubt bleeds, it is natural that it should, but the immortal spirit rejoices. Happy are those who die young!" When the funeral took place, some friends said they sympathized with him in his affliction. "Be not sorrowful for me," he replied, "I have sent a saint to heaven; O, may we all die such a death!" Luther's attachment to his wife and children was remarkably strong. On one occasion, after a considerable absence from his family, when he got home he said, "Ah, how my heart yearned for you and my children, when I was sick from home; I feared I should never see you and our children again. What anguish did this separation cost me."

Luther loved to play and romp with his children. On one occasion when playing with one of his children that was very lively, he made this remark, "Thou art the innocent little simpleton of our Lord, under grace, and not under the law. Thou hast no fear, and no anxiety. We old simpletons eternally torment ourselves by disputes about the word. We are always saying, 'is it true?' or 'is it possible?' or 'how can it be?' Children do not doubt, they believe everything. We ought to follow their example for our own salvation, and simply trust the word. But the devil is always throwing something in our way."

Luther's family was well ordered before God, he ruled his children with affection. He had seen in his father's house the evils of undue severity in the raising of children, and he no doubt profited by it. Luther was fond of music and took great pleasure in instructing his children in that delightful art, and many were the happy hours he and his family spent together in the domestic circle.

Much of course might be written about Luther's domestic habits, his disposition, his piety, his manners, his family government and his dress, but we have not the room to enlarge upon these interesting points. Luther was pious, of this there can be no doubt, his whole splendid life was one of piety. Many, especially among the Roman Catholics, admit that he was a man of splendid and extensive acquirements, but will hear nothing of his being a man of piety. In their estimation he was a heretic, and how could he be pious—he had been a monk, and violated his vows—how can the enemy of the pope be pious? The Roman Catholic priests in this country, now teach their poor ignorant followers that Luther is in hell—they know better, but such things will help to keep the ignorant in the papal church, and thus they can get paid for their masses, and prayers, and unctions, &c.

Dr. Spalding, the great western mouth-piece of Rome, says, "Such was Luther before he began the Reformation in 1517; how changed alas! was he after this period. He is no longer the humble monk, the scrupulous priest, the fervent christian, that he was before. Amidst the storm which he had excited, he gradually suffered shipwreck of



almost every virtue, and became reckless and depraved, the mere creature of impulse, the child of pride, the victim of violent and degrading passion.”

This is but the echo of that voice which Rome has been uttering for upwards of three hundred years. It would indeed be a hard matter for any man to compress more heartless misrepresentation, and more right-down falsehood into so many lines! If Luther was reckless and depraved God help the popes and their minions. I suppose according to the moral code of Rome, Luther became unscrupulous when he refused absolution to the poor deluded papists who came to him in the confessional with their indulgences—he lost the fervency of his piety when he refused to mumble over 45 Ave Marias on an empty stomach, with as many Pater Nosters—he became reckless when he dared to say “nay” to the mandates of the haughty pontiff—he became depraved when he called in question the power of the church—he became proud when at the Diet of Worms he refused to revoke the truth—and lost his virtue when he got married—and became the creature of impulse when he carried away nearly half the church from the “Man of Sin.” But we have not time to stop and refute such puerile slang. Luther needs no apologist—*Protestantism is his apology*. Look at the seventy millions of Protestant christians now on earth—the most intelligent, pious, enterprising and happy—ah! and the most free and independent of all the inhabitants in the world. Look at the colleges, seminaries, schools, books, and all the mighty moral machinery that is now moving the world—and ask

who started all this—the answer is Luther! Every good man ought to pray to God to send us more such “depraved and reckless” men like Luther! Luther not pious! Look at his writings, especially his private correspondence, where he breathes out his inmost thoughts into the bosoms of his confidential friends! This is the department in which we can learn the real sentiments of the man. We have read many, very many of his letters. Yea, perhaps all that have escaped the general decay of three hundred years—from the first he wrote to his old friend John Braum, of Eisleben, April 22d, 1507, to the one he sent to his wife from Eisleben, 1546, a few days before his death. His letters are very numerous, and in all of them, his Master, Jesus Christ, occupies a prominent part—nearly every letter begins and ends with Christ. Even his business letters are full of Christ. No one can read his letters without being convinced that Luther lived but to do good, and that his thoughts were continually bent upon doing good. Look too at his Commentaries on the Psalms, on the Galatians, the Romans, Genesis, the Minor Prophets, and you see a spirit of enlightened piety running through them all. Look too at the effects his works have produced upon individual minds. John Bunyan found comfort to his troubled soul by reading Luther's Commentary on the Galatians, and says, “I do declare it openly that Dr. Luther's Commentary on the Galatians, next to the Bible, is the best book I ever saw for a wounded conscience.” And it is well known that John Wesley, the immortal founder of Methodism, was converted by reading Luther's Preface to

the Romans. The celebrated John Brentius, of our own church, was converted by reading the Commentary on Galatians. And the same book was instrumental in the conversion of a distinguished Roman Catholic priest by the name of Christopher Grospitch; thousands have gone home to heaven who have been awakened and converted by reading Luther's works. Would God thus bless the writings of a depraved man?

Luther was a man of prayer. It is said that he spent three hours a day in communion with God! This was one cause of his success; it was this that strengthened his faith and gave him such unshaken confidence in God. In prayer he generally leaned with his chest upon the window sill, he stood thus when he prayed for Melancthon. He was plain in his dress, and frugal in his way of living. For weeks together he sometimes ate nothing but bread and butter, and three dried herrings a day. He was fond of home-made beer, and used it at table instead of coffee or tea. He was fond of fruit, and ate little animal food. His dress was plain, but neat, he had fine and costly clothes, and even gold chains and other fashionable ornaments of that day, but he seldom wore them. These were generally presents.

Luther was a man of strong passions and perhaps his greatest defect was his propensity to anger—this seems to have been his besetting sin, and caused him many a pang. He was aware of this propensity. But we see nothing of it in his family, it was only when provoked by the unreasonableness of wicked men, that his anger sometimes rose

to a considerable degree. And as he felt, so he wrote, hence we find some hard and harsh expressions in his works.

Another infirmity in Luther was a fondness for jesting; this propensity no doubt stood in the way of his own growth in grace, more than in the way of his usefulness in that age. But it must be borne in mind that his humor was natural and neither acquired nor affected. His wit was keen and his sarcasm withering. But still he was a truly converted man, and lived a life of faith in the Son of God. He loved the Lord Jesus and his cause, and was willing to lay down his life for the principles he professed, and died in the triumphs of redeeming grace, as the reader shall see in the proper place. We would say more about Luther's personal character and his family, but we have not room.

But we must leave the sacredness of the hearth, however delightful to contemplate, and look at Luther again in the fore front of the moral strife that is raging around him. Amid the mighty conflict, his voice is heard above all others, and his influence felt to the remotest corners of Germany.

## CHAPTER IX.

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### *Luther, the Writer and unconquerable Victor.*

ON the 4th of May, 1526, John, Duke of Saxony, and Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, formed the league of Torgau, as a check upon the Roman Catholic league of Ratisbon. On the 12th of June, of the same year, the Dukes of Brunswick, and of Süneburg, Otto, and Ernst, together with the Duke of Mecklenburg, Henry Wolfgang, of Anhalt, both Counts of Mansfield, and the Free city of Magdeburg, joined the league of Torgau. This was all brought about by the management and personal influence of Luther, and upon this league, as far as human agency was concerned, depended the life of Luther, and the prosperity of the Reformation. The Diet of Spire met on the 1st of May, 1526. In this Diet a demand was formally made to put down the heresy of the church, but met with the opposition of John of Saxony, and Philip of Hesse. After much sharp and angry debate, the Diet passed the following resolutions on the 27th of August, 1526, viz. 1. Germany needs a general reformation in church matters. 2. The Diet recommend to the emperor, the importance of bringing about a general council as soon as possible. 3. The edict of Worms may or may not be carried into effect, according to the honest convictions of those concerned, as they can answer to the emperor and to God.

The Romanists were well pleased with these resolutions, but they did not perceive the full extent of their meaning. For soon after, Charles got into difficulties with the pope, and actually sent his general, Charles von Bourbon, with an army to take possession of Rome itself, which he did on the 6th of May, 1527. During these difficulties in Italy, Luther was permitted to push the Reformation forward rapidly in Germany. In the spring of 1527, Luther had a severe spell of sickness, from which he did not expect to recover; but by the mercy of God he was spared. In the summer of 1527, the plague broke out in Wittenberg, and the University was removed to Jena. Melancthon and the other professors went to Jena, but Luther remained in Wittenberg, to comfort the sick and dying. Duke John urged Luther also to leave the scenes of danger. But no, he with a noble magnanimity refused to leave his post. God preserved him from all harm.

It was in the year 1527, that Luther commenced ordaining ministers. He considered that he and his pious coadjutors at Wittenberg, all of whom had been ordained in the papal church, had just as much right to perform the episcopal functions as the pope, or bishops. And so they had; and those whom they ordained were just as much, if not more, in the unbroken succession, as any ordained by men who had the name of bishop, without the moral and intellectual qualifications for that holy office.

In 1526 Luther wrote his commentaries of the lesser prophets, and became involved with Zwingle, Ecolampadius, and others in the sacramentarian controversy. We

do not intend to enter into the merits of this question now. Some thought then that Luther was wrong, others thought he was right, and just so it is now. And after this vexed question has been discussed for more than three hundred years, men know just about as much now 'on the subject, as they did in Luther's day. For a full, clear and lucid account of the views of the Lutheran Church on the subject of the Lord's Supper, we refer the reader to the controversy at Marburg. Luther of course carried on this controversy with great spirit and energy, as he had done all others. Perhaps he was somewhat too bitter, but what he believed, he believed with all the powers of his soul. He was sincere and honest in his views, and no one has a right to claim perfection and infallibility at his hands. In 1527, he published a curious work entitled, "Can Soldiers be Christians?" addressed to Assa von Kram, a noble knight. In this work he gives some excellent rules for soldiers, and shows clearly that a man can under proper circumstances, be a soldier and a Christian. Drs. Justus Jonas and Bugenhagen, or Pomeranius, relate a remarkable case of temptation and sickness about this time. It appears that Luther became so deeply affected with the state of the Church, that he lost all control of himself, and indeed became unconscious of all things around him, and all thought he would certainly die. The two doctors had some strange notions about it, and thought it was a temptation of the devil, and that he was in the state spoken of by Paul, 2 Cor. xii. 7. It will be recollected that we have already noticed two similar cases of insensibility, one at

Erfurt, and the other at Wittenberg, when Luther was meditating upon the 22d Psalm. Luther was perhaps subject to a disease of the heart, that had such a strange effect upon him. However in a few days he recovered, and went to work as before, in storming the kingdom of satan. In 1527 he published his Rules of Visitation, or a directory for evangelical pastors. The same year he gave an account of Leonard Keiser, who suffered martyrdom in Bavaria. He also wrote this year on the "Vows of Celibacy." During the years 1527 and '28, besides some thirty or forty publications, Luther wrote upwards of five hundred large folio pages on the subject of the Lord's Supper alone! This shows how deeply Luther was interested in this matter.

It should have been stated above, that in 1526, Luther was induced by some of his friends to write an humble letter to Henry VIII., king of England. In 1528, Luther published a work of great importance to the churches of Saxony; he calls it "Instructions of the Visitors, addressed to the Pastors of Saxony." This is a kind of rude system of Theology, and treats upon the following subjects, viz. 1. Doctrine. 2. The Commandments. 3. Of Prayer. 4. Concerning Affliction. 5. Concerning Baptism. 6. Concerning the Lord's Supper. 7. Concerning true penitence. 8. Concerning true Christian Confession. 9. Concerning the Satisfaction of Christ for Sin. 10. Concerning Church Ordinances. 11. Concerning Marriage. 12. Concerning Free Will. 13. Concerning Freedom of Christians. 14. Concerning the Turks. 15.



Concerning Daily Exercises in the Church. 16. Concerning true Christian Excommunication. 17. Concerning the Arrangements (in churches) of Superintendents. 18. Concerning Schools. This is an excellent work, and no doubt had its influence in Germany. Many things in this work might be studied with great advantage by many preachers in this country. This was intended to give the Evangelical church as much uniformity as possible, and it no doubt had that effect; and probably gave the first idea of the subsequently famous Confession of Augsburg. Luther and Melancthon had visited the whole electorate in the summer of 1528, and saw the necessity of having a book of this kind circulated among the ignorant people. During this year, too, the church was divided into given districts, and the foundation of the Lutheran church was laid broad and deep, throughout all Saxony. This work gives us a glimpse into the depth of Luther's wisdom, and the piety of his heart—it sets the standard of morality very high, and urges with the most importunate solicitude upon the pastor, the necessity of preaching Christ and him crucified, to perishing sinners. It was in the year 1529, that Luther published his Smaller and Larger Catechisms, the first for the children, and the latter for the preachers, many of whom he found, during his visits, exceedingly ignorant. If Luther had never done anything more for Germany than furnish his age with these two books, he would be entitled to the everlasting gratitude of his countrymen. Nothing that Luther, or all the men on earth, could have done at that period, next to the translation and circulation

of the Bible, could possibly have had such an influence upon the great mass of the people. And then the plan of instruction, too, was so admirably adapted to the wants of the people. Here was the question, and there the answer; it required no large library, nor fund of knowledge, to learn the whole system of Theology—a child of ordinary capacity could learn it. Luther's Larger Catechism, which was intended as a system of Theology in the Lutheran church, has long since been superseded by other and more systematic works. But the Smaller Catechism is still used, in German and English, by the entire Lutheran church in the United States, as well as in many parts of our church in Germany. The General Synod of the Lutheran church in the United States, which embraces more than two-thirds of all the Lutherans in this country has published Luther's Smaller Catechism almost unaltered, as it was written by Luther himself in 1529.

The Diet of Spires met in 1529. The Roman Catholic party here made an effort to rescind the resolutions of the former Diet, which were now considered too favorable to the evangelical party. When the evangelical party found that severe measures, in spite of all they could say and do, would be adopted, they united in handing in a *protest* against these proceedings. From this they received the name of Protestants. The main item in their protest reads thus: "*We declare, that under all circumstances, it becomes us to protect our subjects in the free exercise of their conscience, and where it is not certain, which is the true church, we must have the liberty to draw our*

*faith and practice from the Word of God!*" This is a noble sentiment, worthy the first Protestants! Let Protestants never forget it! The Diet of Spires ended in nothing but a closer union among the Roman Catholics, and the same among the Protestants. Soon after the meeting of the Diet of Spires, the Protestant princes who composed what was called the Torgau League, had frequent meetings, in order to unite themselves, and devise means and plans for their more cordial co-operation. The elector John, of Saxony, and Philip of Hesse, had bound themselves each to bring into the field if it were necessary, 28,000 foot soldiers, and 6000 cavalry, making in all 34,000 men, and 1,200,000 gold florins, and if the other princes who belonged to the league would have done anything like this, they would even then have had nothing to fear from Charles and the pope combined. But the greatest difficulty was, the Protestant princes were not united on doctrinal points. There were, as we have just stated, frequent meetings of the Torgau League, to settle their views. They met at the following places, viz. Ro-bach, then at Saalfeld, then at Smalkald, then at Schwam-bach, then at Nuremburg. The great Reformer of course was consulted in reference to the doctrines and doctrinal articles they were to adopt. He watched with an eagle's eye every movement that was made; he was the ruling spirit of all Germany, whether present or absent. The Protestant princes had every confidence in the world in Luther. The emperor had appointed the Diet of Augsburg, and wanted to know definitely what the Protestants

believed, so that he might be able to form a correct opinion of the merits of the case. The Protestant princes, therefore, requested Luther to draw up a series of articles setting forth what he and the other doctors at Wittenberg believed. Luther did so, no doubt submitting everything as he went along to the inspection of Melancthon, and the other doctors at Wittenberg. These seventeen articles were given to the elector of Saxony, at Torgau, in 1529, and hence called the "*Torgau Articles.*"

These articles, it would seem, had been the theme of frequent discussions among the princes and their preachers, at the different conferences they held. Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, was exceedingly anxious to have all the princes of the league reconciled on all points. The controversy on the subject of the Lord's Supper, which had been started by Carlstadt, was taken up by other and abler heads, and had been raging for some time. Philip of Hesse, who thought it was only a difference in words, and could easily be settled, determined to call the doctors of the Reformation, who unfortunately held different opinions, together, and have them adjust their matters in a brotherly and christian manner. He, therefore, invited the doctors to meet on the 2d of October, 1529. This was the origin of the famous controversy of Marburg. This discussion has been variously represented. There are several versions of it. We shall give extracts from Melancthon's account of this interesting dispute. D'Aubigne, in his fourth volume, has given Zwingle's version of it, and has drawn his shades rather too heavily. We shall show

that Melancthon touches the matter rather more lightly. The dispute took place on the 2d of October, 1529. The persons present were Zwingle, Œcolampadius, Bucer and Hedio, Luther, Melancthon, Justus Jonas, Osiander, Brentz and Agricola. These were the invited disputants. There were some fifty or sixty other persons present, who had perhaps been invited by Philip to be mere spectators. Philip Landgrave wished Luther to meet Œcolampadius, Melancthon and Zwingle privately, in order to talk matters over in a friendly way, and settle the points of disputation, and the manner in which it should be conducted. This was a wise precaution. Luther immediately accused Œcolampadius of teaching errors on original sin, the doctrine of the Trinity, and concerning the use of the Word of God, and the Sacraments. Melancthon accused Zwingle of the same errors; but both the accused Reformers denied the charges of heresy, and seem to have exculpated themselves in the eyes of the doctors of Wittenberg. The points of difference by this means were narrowed down to the nature of the Savior's presence in the sacrament. When they met for public debate, Luther commenced by saying, that he thought it was necessary to go over the whole ground of theology. What I have written concerning the sacrament, I know to be correct, and I am prepared to defend it. But if Œcolampadius and Zwingle have anything to say against the truth, I would like to hear it.

*Zwingle.*—We have not come here to talk about anything but the sacrament, but as soon as we can agree on this point, we will talk about others.

The article of the sacrament was therefore, the only one handled, and three arguments were noticed. Zwingle said, 1. In the sixth chapter of John, Christ says, the flesh profiteth nothing, therefore we are not to understand that there is flesh in the sacrament, for the eating of flesh is of no advantage.

*Luther.*—We are not to understand by the words “*Caro non prodest quicquam,*” (the flesh profiteth nothing,) the flesh of Christ. For Christ had said before (verse 33 compared with 35,) that his flesh was the life of the world, he means by the expression “*caro non prodest quicquam,*” the flesh without the Spirit—therefore, the Lord Jesus adds, “*Spiritus est qui vivificat,*” (it is the Spirit which maketh alive,) and intends to say our flesh profiteth nothing; by this we are not to understand good works; it would be a dreadful assertion to say that “the flesh of Christ should be of no profit.” But even if we were to admit that Christ in that passage speaks of his flesh, Zwingle could not force his opinion of the sacrament from it, because it does not say that Christ’s body is not present in the sacrament; as we have already admitted, these words may mean Christ’s flesh, and may mean that the flesh of Christ is of no profit to those who do not believe. This is the opinion of St. Augustine. The second argument presented by Zwingle was this: the body of Christ, according to the nature of things, could not be in a number of places at one and the same time. Here, says Melancthon, they debated a long time, or rather, he says, they quarrelled a long time on this point.

Luther said, the omnipotence of God cannot, yea, it dare not be controlled by natural reason! Zwingle replied, God surely would not reveal such incomprehensible things to us! Luther was not pleased with this expression, and said that God had revealed other things in the Bible quite as incomprehensible as the presence of Christ's body in the sacrament. He then referred to the mystery of Christ's Godhead, and said it was far more incomprehensible than this! But, says Zwingle, how can it be possible that a wicked priest can do such a great thing as to produce the body of Christ? Here Zwingle was on another subject, namely, the transubstantiation of Rome; this was not Luther's doctrine, for it is abundantly evident that Luther did not at this time, nor had he for a number of years before, believed in the absurd doctrine of the corporeal presence of Christ.

Luther gave a clear exposition, says Melancthon, on this subject; he said, "This takes place not in consequence of the merits of the priest, but in virtue of Christ's ordinance, because Christ has commanded it, therefore it takes place, we must hold to the power of Christ's word, and the sacraments—they have an efficacy aside from any merit of the priest, or holiness of the preacher; that efficacy they possess in virtue of their divine appointment. It is an error of the Donatists to deny the power of the sacraments because administered by an unworthy priest." To this excellent explanation, says Melancthon, Zwingle made no reply.

The third argument was managed by *Æcolampadius*. "Sacraments," said he, "are signs, as such they must refer to something else, therefore in the sacraments, the body and blood are not present but are signified by the emblems of bread and wine." Luther admitted that they were signs, but we have no right to make them refer to anything else than Christ pointed out. It is evident that the sacraments are signs, for the promises connected with them are signified or pointed out by them, (*dasz sie die angehangenen Promissiones bedeuten.*) Thus circumcision signifies principally the promise, "I will have mercy," now if we were to seek another signification and were to leave the chief thing out of question, would we not be doing an unnecessary work? Just so in the sacrament, we must follow the word of God, we dare not make it suit our notions. *Melancthon* further says, "there were many passages read by *Zwingle* and *Æcolampadius*, from the Fathers; they thought by this means to strengthen their cause, but the passages were foreign to the subject. There was much said by them that had no connexion with the matter in debate, such as that a body must occupy space—that Christ has a true body, &c." To the passages of the Fathers, Luther replied by giving a number of written quotations to the Landgrave, which clearly taught that the true body and blood of Christ are present in the sacrament. The result of the conference was, to sum it up in a few words, Luther continued firm in his opinion concerning the Lord's presence. Nor would the other party give up their views. Yet they desired that Luther should receive them as brethren. This



Dr. Luther could not consent to, and he spoke harshly to them, and expressed his astonishment that they wanted to be his brethren, and yet hold the doctrine they did; it seemed an evidence to him that they did not prize their own doctrines very highly. They at last however, all signed fourteen articles which Luther, by the request of all, had drawn up. This is an interesting document, but we will give only the fourteenth article in part. "We believe that the sacrament of the altar, is a sacrament of the true body and blood of Christ, and that the spiritual manducation (Niessung) of that body and blood is necessary to every christian." This it would seem the opponents of Luther would not agree to. Luther thinking it probable at least that they would not, added the following clause: "And although we cannot at this time agree upon the question, whether the body and blood of Christ are corporeally present in the bread and wine, yet each party shall exhibit towards the other, christian charity, so far as conscience will permit, and both parties will pray earnestly to God, that He by his Spirit, would direct us to the true doctrine." This met the entire approbation of all parties, and all signed it at once. Many harsh reflections have been cast upon Luther for his treatment of Zwingle on this occasion, because he refused to give him the right hand of fellowship. Now it must be borne in mind, (and we think the account of this conference as given by Melancthon, will confirm what we are about to say,) that the account of this conference as given by D'Aubigne and others of his school, as well as the Roman Catholics, is too highly

wrought. They make the (*dramatis personæ*) actors too fiery and passionate—they all seem like a set of Frenchmen in a ball room—instead of grave, pious, learned doctors as they were, they are represented as light minded, witty fellows, who had met for the purpose of showing the Landgrave, how they could catch and puzzle each other! Melancthon saw nothing of this, to him it seemed a more grave and solemn matter. But is not Luther to blame for refusing to give Zwingle the right hand of fellowship. According to our notions of propriety he certainly is to blame, but he lived in a different age and under other circumstances. He had no scruples about receiving him as a man, but as a christian brother, with the opposite views they held he could not. He was conscientious, and surely he had already given the world sufficient evidence of his sincerity—he was no hypocrite, he could act no borrowed part, he honestly considered Zwingle in error, and by giving him the right hand of christian fellowship, he would have acknowledged that Zwingle was right. Let justice be done to this great man. One word more on the subject. Zwingle was born about six weeks after Luther, and was an excellent man, he was a man of learning and eloquence, some of his enthusiastic admirers, even placed him before Luther in the work of the Reformation, and claim a superiority for him in point of learning and piety. Dr. Maclaine says, in a note to Mosheim, “Zwingle instead of receiving instruction from Luther was much his superior in learning, capacity and judgment, and was much fitter to be his master than his disciple! The fact is after

Luther was 40 years old, he had no equal on the face of the earth, and as respects the judgment of Zwingle being superior to Luther; Zwingle is generally considered deficient in judgment—if he had had a better judgment he would not have perished miserably in the battle of his own creation. At Zurich, Zwingle was a great man; at Wittenberg, he would have stood perhaps at No. 5 or 6. One evidence of this is the fact, that when Carlstadt, who was a small man, even compared with Justus Jonas and Nicholas Amsdorff, went to Switzerland his preaching produced almost as much effect there as Luther's had produced at Wittenberg. Now if Zwingle, as Maclaine says, had been superior to Luther, how are we to account for this, for it is well known that Carlstadt was considered far inferior to Luther by all, but the few fanatics at Orlamund. And as respects his priority in the work of the Reformation, we will adduce the testimony of one who may justly be styled the panegyrist of Zwingle, we mean D'Aubigne, he says, Vol. 2, page 293, of his History of the Reformation, "It is a mistaken notion, to infer that Zwingle's Reformation preceded Luther's. Zwingle may possibly have preached the gospel a year previous to the Theses of Luther, but the gospel was preached by Luther himself four years before those celebrated propositions. The one and the other was neither the first monk nor the first priest, who taught a purer doctrine than the scholastic teachers; *but Luther was the first who boldly and publicly raised the standard of truth against prevailing error, and invited general attention to*

*the fundamental doctrine of the gospel, salvation by grace. The great battle of which the signal was given in 1517, (by the publication of the 95 Theses of Luther,) was the true parent of the Reformation, and gave to it both its soul and its form. Luther was the earliest of the Reformers.*' This ought to settle the question forever, especially as it comes from one of Zwingle's warmest friends and one of Calvin's successors. Let this then suffice on this subject.

As there has been much said of late about Luther's views on the subject of the Lord's Supper, this would seem to be the proper place to exhibit those views. As a Roman Catholic, Luther of course believed in the doctrine of transubstantiation as held by that church. But after he lost confidence in the system of popery, and had taken the Bible for his creed, he gradually abandoned the papal views on the subject of the Lord's presence in the sacrament, and adopted others. The question then very naturally presents itself, what other views did Luther adopt? We have examined all that Luther ever wrote on the subject, (and that was not a little,) and as far as we are able to understand him, he believed, *that the bread and wine used in the sacrament remain unchanged, but that the glorified body of Christ is actually present at the celebration of the eucharist, and that Christ's glorified body is actually eaten by every communicant.*

That this was Luther's view, is susceptible of the clearest historical proof. We have Luther's views in his sermons, his controversies, his commentaries, his two catechisms, his letters, and in his private conversation, so full

and so often, that it almost seems a work of supererogation to say a word about them. Still as we have promised to let the great Reformer speak in English, hear him on this subject. We have his first views in a sermon preached in 1519, which he calls "A Sermon concerning the most worthy sacrament of the holy and true body (Leichnam) of Christ." This sermon has no text. He says, "The holy sacrament of the altar, and the holy true body of Christ, has three things which we must understand. 1. The sacrament itself, or its outward signs. 2. The meaning of the sacrament. 3. The faith we must have. The sacrament must be outward and visible, it must have a bodily form. The signification must be inward and spiritual in the soul of man. The faith must put these both together, and apply them to our use and benefit.

"The meaning of the sacrament is a communion of all the saints, therefore it is called *synaxis*, or *communio*, i. e. fellowship; and *communicate* in Latin means to enter into this fellowship, or communion, which we express in German thus, to take the sacrament, or to go to the sacrament; and this grows out of the fact, that Christ is one spiritual body with all believers, just as all the inhabitants of a town constitute but one body. Thus all true believers are members of Christ, and of the church, which is a spiritual and eternal state of God, (i. e. of God's appointment,) and he who is received into this state, is received into the communion of the saints, and is made a member of the spiritual body of Christ. \* \* \* \* \* Hence

he who injures one member of a community, injures the whole, as St. Paul says in 1 Cor. xii 12—27, 'For as the body is one, and hath many members, and all the members of that body, being many, are one body, so also is Christ.' Now ye are the body of Christ. We must keep this comparison between the human body and the church, always in view, if we wish properly to understand the sacrament. We have so many sins to contend with, that we need, not only the assistance of Christ and the church, but it is also necessary that Christ and *his saints should intercede with God in our behalf*. God gives us this sacrament to strengthen us against sin. God speaks as it were thus to us: behold thou art troubled with many sins, take these signs, with these I assure you, that your sins not only afflict you, but also my Son, Jesus Christ, and all his saints in heaven and on earth. Therefore be bold and of good courage, for you contend not alone, you are surrounded by a strong help."

In this last section we see that Luther had not yet divested himself of the errors of saint worship.

With the exception of that which refers to the intercession of the saints, and with a very slight modification, the above are the views which Luther continued to hold to the day of his death, as the reader will see from the following additional quotations. In the Visitation Book, as it is called, which was drawn up by Melancthon in 1529, and fully approved and published by Luther, it is said, "Concerning the sacrament of the true body of our dear Lord Jesus Christ, the following points shall be taught by the pastors, viz.

They are all to be taught to believe that in the bread and wine the true body and blood of Christ are present, as Christ himself says in Matt. xxvi. 26; Mark xiv. 22; Luke xxii. 19; and in 1 Cor. x. 16, Paul says, "The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ"? If, as some teach, we are to understand nothing more than a *spiritual communion*, by the words "*communion of the body of Christ,*" then it would be nothing more than a communion of his word and Spirit.

Thus Paul in 1 Cor. xi. 29, "For he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh damnation, (i. e. judgment) to himself, not discerning the Lord's body." If the Lord's body is not present how can it be discerned?

The pastors ought also to read the ancient church Fathers, in order to see what they taught on this subject; so that they may be the better informed themselves, and be able to instruct their hearers.

St. Hilary says, in his eighth book on the Holy Trinity, "We are not to doubt the truth of what Christ says, when he declares that 'this is my body.'"

We are also to bear in mind, that this great miracle does not take place in consequence, or on account of the merits of the priest, but because Christ has so ordained it; just as the sun rises daily, not on our account, but because God has so ordered it.

Luther says, in his Larger Catechism, which was intended as a system of theology for the uneducated pastors of Saxony, who had gone over from the Romish to the Protestant party, "But what is the sacrament of the altar?

Answer. It is the true body and blood of Christ, in and under the bread and wine, commanded by Christ's word, we christians are to eat and drink. The sacrament is indeed bread and wine, but not common bread such as we eat at a common table, but bread and wine contained in the word of God, and united therewith. It is the word, (I say,) which makes the sacrament, and causes the bread and wine to be more than mere bread and wine, and makes it the body and blood of Christ, as St. Augustine says, 'When the word comes into contact with the outward emblems, then they become a sacrament.' With this word you can strengthen your conscience, though an hundred thousand devils, and all the fanatics on earth, should rise up against it, and say, how can bread and wine be the body and blood of Christ? For I know that all the evil spirits, and all the learned men in the world taken together, do not possess as much wisdom as the Divine Majesty has in his little finger! Now, here is Christ's word, 'take eat, this is my body.' By this we will stand firm, and see who dare make it otherwise, than he who instituted the sacrament."

But Luther's great work on the sacrament, "That the words of Christ, 'this is my body,' still remain firm against the fanatical spirits," which covers one hundred large folio pages, was published in 1527. This is his masterpiece on the subject; it is one of the most vigorous and powerfully written productions of his prolific pen. He commences by showing the ingenuity and cunning of the devil in introducing discord and factions into the church.



He says the devil caused so many divisions and sects in the church, and by this means so lessened the influence and authority of the Bible, that the Bible at last got to be like a broken net, that it would hold nothing, each one he says, bored for himself a hole in it where he pleased, and turned and twisted it to suit his own opinions—hence the necessity arose for many councils to make new commandments and ordinances—and hence also arose the common saying, “the Bible is not a sufficient rule of faith, but we must have councils and the commandments of the fathers—the Holy Ghost did not (say they) reveal everything to the apostles, but kept back some things for the fathers—and from this at last the papacy arose.”

When the devil saw the turn matters had taken, he laughed in derision and exclaimed, Now we have conquered—the Bible is false—the strong fort is demolished—the strong weapons are broken to pieces! Now the christian church can make walls of straw and weapons of hay, i. e. they will now oppose me with the commandments of men. What, exclaims the devil, shall I now do? I will not oppose these measures, but I will aid in rearing this building of straw, and do all I can to promote union among them. We see from this that Luther did not make any great account of tradition.

He also blames the devil for introducing the sacramentarian controversy. It is, says he, even the very same devil that now stirs up the fanatics to blaspheme the holy sacrament by making mere bread and wine out of the sacred elements, they make it a mere commemorative feast,

according to their own fancy, and insist upon' it that the body and blood of Christ are not present, when the words of Christ are as clear as the sun, "*this is my body,*" and these words stand firm and unshaken! The word of God will stand forever, whilst the errors that spring up by its side will endure but for a season. Therefore, I am not at all alarmed as though this fanaticism would last long; it is too gross an error, and too glaringly opposed to the Bible, to endure any great length of time, as you shall now see. I will therefore, again come out boldly against the devil and his fanatics, not on their account, but for the sake of the ignorant and the weak. I have not the most distant hope of being able to convert a heretical or a fanatical leader—they have blasphemed the word of God, and sinned against the Holy Ghost, and as Isaiah says, ch. vi., there is no hope for them.

Luther protests in the most solemn manner his innocence of having aided in any way the fanatics, (for he had been accused of being at the head of the movements of the fanatics,) and says we as good Christians, must have nothing to do with them—Christian union, he says, consists in a union of spirit, of faith and sentiment, not a mere outward union.

But to come to the point, says Luther, "Let us look at the passage Jesus said, "Take eat, this is my body." I have already stated that I would confine myself to this single text, and from this alone I will maintain in defiance of the devil and all his fanatical spirits, that this is strong and powerful enough against all their foul and loose talk. To

the other passages I will attend at the proper time. Here then this passage stands clear and distinct. *Upon this we stand, and believe, and teach, that in the sacrament we do most certainly and bodily eat and receive the body of Christ,* (in German, *Dasz man im Abendmahl warhaftig und leiblich Christus Leib isset, und zu sich nimt.*) *But how or in what manner this takes place, or how he is in the bread, we do not know, nor are we to know it; we are to believe God's word, and not to prescribe means and ways for him. We see the bread with our eyes, but with our ears we hear that the body of Christ is also present. This is certainly plain enough.*

Luther next attacks the mode of interpreting this text adopted by Zwingle and Œcolampadius. He denies that their mode of interpretation is more reasonable than his. When they bring forward the passages generally referred to, to refute his position, such as Christ is called a rock, a door, a vine, &c., he (Luther,) insists upon it that Christ was, and did not merely represent those things. He next takes up the objection of Œcolampadius, that the body of Christ is in heaven at the right hand of God, and that it cannot be present at the communion. To this objection Luther replies, "How do we know, my dear sirs, that a body, by the power of God, may not be in heaven and at the same time in the communion? We know that there are no bounds to the power of God, and that he often does things that we cannot understand, and yet we are bound to believe them. Now as God says, "This is my body," how am I to calm my mind, unless I admit that he pos

sesses the power and the means to make good his word? And although a body may be invisible in many places, yet God has the power, the means, and the knowledge to make a body visible in many places. This is in accordance with the Scriptures, Rom. iv. 21, "What he had promised, he was able to perform," or as Luther has translated this passage, "What God says, he can do." And in Luke i. 37, "With God nothing shall be impossible."

Now, as he has said, "This is my body," he can and does make it so. Now you must show that he neither does nor can make good his word—for this is your own darling position, by which you expect to overthrow this world. Now if you cannot maintain your ground we will overturn all your reasoning, and with the words, "This is my body," we will force our passage through! Defend yourselves, ye valiant knights, for it is high time!"

Luther then takes a wider and more philosophical range, in which he shows that Christ may as well be present in the sacrament as to be in every other part of the universe. He takes up the objection from the passage, "Christ is seated at the right hand of God," and asks the opposers of his views very triumphantly, what is meant by the right hand of God? He then shows that God fills immensity, and must necessarily be present in the sacrament. He then illustrates his views with a number of scriptural examples. At the close he tries however, to show that it is only a spiritual eating and drinking, and denies its being such an eating as the people at Capernaum supposed. He also gives the opinions of the earlier church fathers,

such as Tertullian, Irenæus, Hilary, Cyprian, and Augustine. It may not be uninteresting to the reader to know what these fathers say on the subject before us.

Luther says, Tertullian is the oldest of the fathers, but since the times of the Apostles, none has been equal in his estimation to Augustine.

Tertullian in his Fourth Book against Marcion, says, "The bread which Christ gave to his disciples, he made his body, when he said, 'this is my body,' he meant this is the form of my body. But it could not have been a form, unless it had been a true body." It would seem that Tertullian used the word "figure," which Luther translated into German by the word "Gestalt," (form.) Œcolampadius had quoted this same passage to prove his figurative presence. To this Luther objects, and says, "But we insist upon it that Tertullian uses the word 'figure' in its true Latin sense. Mathematically it means a form that has length, breadth, thickness, roundness, and color, something which can be seen, felt and handled, as we also say in German concerning the sacrament, that Christ's body is present under the form of bread. The very same thing that we Germans call a form, (Gestalt,) Tertullian calls a 'figure.'

"In order to understand fully the force of Tertullian's arguments, we must bear in mind what Marcion, against whom he wrote, believed and taught. Marcion taught that Christ had no physical body at all—that the man Christ was a mere phantom, that could neither be felt, touched nor confined."

Again says Luther, "Tertullian in his book against the Jews, refers the passage in Jeremiah xi. 19, 'They said let us cast the wood into his bread,' to the body of Christ. For Christ himself thus explains this text, when he says, 'this is my body,' which body the prophet calls bread. I do not contend that Tertullian is correct in his translation of this passage; for in the Hebrew it reads thus, 'Let us tear up the tree with its roots.' The question now, is not concerning the correctness of the translation of Tertullian, but concerning his opinion on the subject in hand. It is certain that by the wood, he understood the cross of Christ, and by the bread, his body."

The learned comment of Tertullian on this passage, may give us a fair sample of the fallibility of the fathers, and show how little confidence we ought to place upon them. Tertullian is the oldest of the fathers, and therefore if there be any merit in patristic theology, his ought to be the best.

Luther next quotes Irenæus, also among the oldest of the fathers, who had to contend with the Valentinians, who among other things denied the resurrection of the body. Among other arguments against this error, he says, "*If the body is not to be eternal, why then is it nourished with the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament?* Do we eat an eternal food, then we shall live from it eternally. Irenæus says, 'The bread is not mere common bread after it is named of God, but it is then Eucharistia, (as the ancients called the sacrament.) But what does this naming or calling to which he refers, mean, other than this saying of Christ, 'this is my body?'" Irenæus here says, it is no

longer according to God's word mere bread, but in addition to the physical bread, there is a heavenly bread present also. According to Irenæus there are three things in the sacrament. There is the *Vocatio Dei*, the calling of God, which is, when he says, 'this is my body.' By this naming or designating, says he, the bread becomes Eucharistia, or a sacrament. Now the bread has a two-fold nature, at first it was nothing more than common bread, but now it is both earthly, (physical,) and heavenly, (spiritual)."

He next quotes Hilary, who he says, had a very great knowledge of the scriptures. In his Eighth Book against the Arians, he says, "Now if it be true that the word did actually become flesh, and if we do actually in the Lord's Supper receive the word that became flesh, must we not believe that we do receive that flesh which was united with the divinity in the sacrament? Here Hilary says that we do receive in the sacrament that word which became flesh; or to speak more plainly, we receive the incarnate word, and therefore Christ remains in us naturally, or with his being and nature, not only spiritually as the visionaries dream. He calls the sacrament '*Sacramentum carnis, nobis communicandæ*,' i. e. a sacrament of flesh, that is divided among us. And he says further, that Christ is mixed and united with this sacrament not only in a spiritual manner, according to the nature of his flesh, together with his eternal nature."

He also quotes Augustine and Cyprian extensively. We have not room here for more quotations from this exten- sive

dinary production. We have given thus much to show the reader what were Luther's views on the nature of Christ's presence in the sacrament.

In 1528, Luther published another work, called "Dr. Martin Luther's Confession concerning the Sacrament of Christ."

In the same year he published a treatise on the necessity of giving both bread and wine to the communicants. He had long since repudiated the absurd doctrine of transubstantiation, and inculcated his own views with great earnestness.

As we promised to permit Luther to speak for himself, we will give a few more quotations from his sermons, taken from Dr. Walch's edition of Luther's sermons, called his *Kirchen Postill*.

In a sermon preached in 1524, he instructs his hearers thus on the subject: "We hold that in the bread and wine the true body and blood of Christ are present. In the sacrament we have a beautiful delineation of love. In the first place, in the bread, for before the grains of wheat are ground together, each grain constitutes its own body, but when they are ground up, they are all united, and form but one body. The same is true of the wine. Before the grapes are pressed, each grape forms a body, but after the juice is expressed, the whole mass constitutes but one liquid. So we cannot say this flour was in that grain, or this wine in that grape; for the one substance has crept into the other, and become one bread and one wine. As Paul says, 1 Cor. x. 17, For we being many, are one



bread, and one body, for we are all partakers of that one bread. We eat the Lord by the faith in the word, which the soul appropriates to itself. In this manner my neighbor eats me; my property, body and life, I give to him, and everything I have; I permit him to have the benefit of all. Thus too, I who am poor and needy, eat my neighbor. Thus we are all plaited into one another, so that we help each other, as Christ also helped us. This is eating one another in a spiritual way."

Without multiplying quotations, this we think is enough to show Luther's views. We have thus given the opinions of the Reformer on this subject, the reader may now put his own construction upon them. We deem it unnecessary here to express even an opinion as to the correctness of Luther's views. All we have to say is, thus spake Luther. We here subjoin the Tenth Article of the Augsburg Confession, with Melancthon's comment upon it, from his celebrated Apology, which was translated by Dr. Justus Jonas at Wittenberg, under the immediate inspection of Luther and Melancthon, in 1536. We give the whole article.

"The Tenth Article is not objected to by our opponents, in which we teach that the true body and blood of our Lord Christ, are actually present in the Supper of Christ, and that they are extended and received with the visible elements of bread and wine, as has been held in the church until this time; as also the Gregorian canon teaches, and as Cyril says, that Christ is given to us bodily in the Lord's Supper, for thus he speaks: We do not deny that

by faith and a pure love we are united to Christ in a spiritual way. But that we according to the flesh, should have no union at all with him, to this we say no, and this is against the scriptures. For who can doubt that Christ is the vine, and we the branches, that we receive nourishment and life from him? Listen what Paul says, We are all one body in Christ, although we are many, yet in him we are one, for we are all partakers of one bread. Do you suppose that we are ignorant of the efficacy of the divine blessing in the Lord's Supper? For when the Supper is celebrated, he (God) causes, that by the eating of the flesh and body of Christ, Christ lives in us bodily. Also, it is to be remembered, that Christ does not only dwell in us by a spiritual union, through love, but also by a natural communion, and we speak of the presence of a living body, for we know, as Paul says, that henceforth death shall not reign over him."

We now come to notice Luther's views on the church question. What does he teach on this important question? We refer the reader to his most celebrated production, viz: his "Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation," published in 1520. This work is written in Luther's best style, and it is indeed a production of revolutionary energy, and did more perhaps, to open the eyes of the Germans upon the evils growing out of the peculiar notions men then had about the church and her authority, than any other work ever written by any man. The very title shows the genius of Luther. In this address he strikes at the root of all ecclesiastical abuse, and shows

his countrymen the very source of that religious tyranny under which they were groaning, and also shows them the remedy. He says, "The Romanists have surrounded themselves with great adroitness by three walls, behind which they have hitherto defended themselves from all attempts at a Reformation, and in consequence of which all Christendom has fallen in a most deplorable manner.

"In the first place. When they were attacked by the civil authorities, they would say, the civil authority has no jurisdiction over us, for the spiritual authority is superior to the civil.

"In the second place. When they were attacked with the Bible, they denied that any person could interpret the Bible but the pope.

"In the third place. When they were threatened with a general council, they said, no one can call a council but the pope.

"Thus they have taken from us the three rods, that they might go unpunished, and have sat down in security behind the three walls, and have given themselves up to the commission of all kinds of villainy, as we now see.

"May God help us, and give us one of those trumpets used at Jericho, that we may be able to blow down those walls of straw and paper!

The first wall is this:—The pope, bishops, priests, monks and nuns, constitute the spiritual state. Princes, nobles, mechanics and farmers, compose the civil state. This is indeed a finely spun theory; but let no one be alarmed at this; for all christians belong to the spiritual

state, nothing makes us christians but the gospel, baptism and faith. The mere fact that the pope or a bishop may anoint, smooth down, ordain and consecrate an individual, or his dressing differently from the common people, may make a hypocrite, but will never make a christian. For as Peter says, by baptism, we all become kings and priests unto God; and John says, in Revelations, 'Thou hast made us kings and priests;' for if we have no higher consecration than that received from the pope or a bishop, we would never become true priests, although we might say mass, preach and absolve. Therefore the consecrating of a bishop is nothing more than if a whole congregation would select one of its members, for they have all equal power, and delegate to him their power or authority. Just as if ten brothers, the sons of a king, who were all equal heirs, were to elect one of their number to govern for them, they would all indeed be kings, although only one was delegated to govern.

“But to make the matter still more plain. Suppose a number of pious laymen were taken prisoners, and were banished to a wilderness; suppose there were no priest with them who had been consecrated by a bishop, and suppose they should all be unanimous in electing one of their number, married or single, and authorize him to baptize, preach, and do all other things belonging to the office of a priest, he would most certainly be just as much a priest as if he had been appointed and consecrated by pope or bishop! In this manner the christian congregations formerly appointed their bishops and priests, and this appoint

ment was confirmed by other bishops, without that pomp and splendor that now exist. In this same way, St. Augustine, St. Ambrose, and St. Cyprian became bishops."

From the above extract we see that Luther made no great account of the succession! Thus he cuts off one limb of the churchism of modern days.

Luther next notices the second wall, which is, that no one but the pope can interpret scripture. And says among other things, that the keys do not belong exclusively to the pope or bishops, but to the whole congregation of true believers. The pope, he says, has neither the spirit nor the faith. To follow the pope would be to deny the faith, and the whole christian church.

Here Luther lops off another member of the churchism of our day, viz. its organism. He does not make the church a machine; christians constitute the church, not the means of grace which belong to it, as we shall be able more fully to show in our quotations from his works.

The third wall, he says, must fall with the other two.

In his *Kirchen Postill*, Walch's Edition, page 100, he says, "Therefore he who wishes to find Christ, must first seek the church. How could any one know where Christ and his faith are, if he did not know where his believing ones are? And he who wishes to know anything of Christ, must not put any confidence in himself, nor must he attempt to build a bridge to heaven by his own reason, but he must go to the church and ask her. Now, the church is not merely wood and stone, but it is the collective body of believing Christians; to these we must cling, and see

how they believe, live and teach; these certainly have Christ in their midst. For out of the christian church there is no truth, no Christ, no salvation. Hence it follows that it must be uncertain and false, that we are to believe only in the pope or a bishop, and follow them as our masters, for these may, and often do err. But their teachings must be subject to the inspection of the collective body of christians. What they teach must be examined and judged by the congregation, and this judgment must stand, for the church must go before the preachers. This Paul also teaches in 1 Cor. xiv. 29, 30. But now the pope and his minions have become such tyrants, that they have entirely perverted this christian, divine and Apostolic order, and have introduced such pagan and Pythagorean customs, that they may say any foolish thing they please, and no one is to judge or correct them, or command them to hold their peace. And in this way they have grieved the Spirit, that we find neither Mary nor Joseph, nor Christ with them."

On page 529, speaking of Christ's sheep, he says, "There are many who are baptized and hear the gospel, and go to the Lord's Supper, and yet are no christians. But by this alone we are to know them; those only are true christians who have faith in their hearts. But who knows this?—You cannot look into my heart, nor I into yours, hence no one knows his sheep but Christ." \* \* \*

Thus he overthrows Judaism, priestcraft and popery, with its works, and takes from them the power to rule his flock, and in short will not have them to lord it over him-

self or his church. He rejects all their judgment concerning the church, and tells them that they shall not judge his sheep by outward forms or circumstances, and yet, that he will have and defend his church, even if they know neither him nor his sheep, and reject, cut off, and condemn them.

He also gives us the marks by which we shall be able to distinguish between the true church of God, and that which has the name of being his church, and is not. He teaches us, "that the church is not such a multitude of people included within certain systems of outward forms and ceremonies, as were the Jews with the laws of Moses. Nor is it a body of men and women that must be kept together by outward human authority—nor is it at all to be bound by the ordinary succession, or government of the bishops, or their successors, as popery pretends.

"But the church is a spiritual congregation, that hears the voice of this Shepherd and believes on him, and is governed by him through the Holy Ghost; and outwardly this church can only be known from the fact that she has his word and sacraments; inwardly however, she knows him (by faith) and he knows her, even without knowing anything of the outward form."

Again, on page 649, he says, "The true church must be separated from the other heap, (the Romish church,) for it is the command of God and Christ, that we are to have no fellowship with such. Therefore we must separate ourselves from the popish church, notwithstanding she boasts of her church authority and offices, and condemns us as schismatics from the church. And if she (the Romish

church) should excommunicate and persecute us, on account of our preaching and our confessing Christ, then we have the decision of Christ, that she is not the church, and that her offices and authority and whatever she prides herself with, will amount to nothing against us; but on the other hand our preaching, and offices, and judgment, and excommunication against her, will be of great account before God in heaven! For of this we are certain that the true church is there, where Christ acknowledges his doctrines, and where the true church is, there is the proper church authority."

From this it would seem that Luther did not even consider the church of Rome a part of the true church of Jesus Christ, for if it was the duty of all christians to separate themselves from her, surely she could not then be a part of Christ's church. And if she is now a part of Christ's church she must have improved vastly since Luther's time, which no Protestant will claim for her.

From what we have now seen of Luther's views of the church, we cannot but recognize a striking resemblance between them and the views of the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran church of the United States, as expressed in the Formula which is found in our excellent English Hymn Book, Chapter II., Part I. Sections I., II. and III.

Sec. I. The true or invisible church is the collective body of all those of every religious denomination in the world, who are in a state of grace.



Sec. II. The true church of Christ is a spiritual society, consisting of members whose qualifications are spiritual, and who are associated for spiritual purposes.

Sec. III. It is a Catholic (or universal) society; its members not being confined to any particular nation, or religious denomination.

This then seems to be the true Lutheran ground on this subject. The church it is true, in Luther's estimation was a great interest, but then the pious constituted that church. The church with him was not the priest, the ordinances, and the offices, so much as the spiritual power of its members. What Dr. D'Aubigne, therefore says, in his able article in the *Biblical Repository* about Lutheranism and the Reform, refers rather to the immediate followers of Luther, than to the great Reformer himself. And we think the above quotations from Luther's writings fully establish this fact.

The next important event in the life of Luther, after the conference of Marburg in 1529, is the Diet at Augsburg in 1530. The Protestants and Romanists were actively engaged in making preparations for that famous Diet. Charles himself, after having decorated his brow with laurels won in Italy and France, was to be there in person; expectation was high, the papal party confidently looked for the downfall of the Protestants, the Protestants on the other hand felt confidence in the God of nations. They had strengthened and fortified each other, they had raised funds for the purpose of carrying on a war if it should become necessary.

The elector John wrote to Luther, and asked him his opinion about defending the rights of conscience with the sword; Luther returned a prompt and positive answer in the negative. Luther's letter is dated March 6th, 1530. He says:

“ You ask me whether we should defend ourselves by arms against the Emperor, if he should use force against the gospel. According to the interpretation of law, taking into consideration the fact that the emperor has no right to use coercion, it might be permitted. This is also the opinion of my colleagues. But according to the word of God, it is not proper that a Christian, under any circumstances, should take up arms against his prince. Christians must suffer even injustice. Even if the emperor should do wrong, as long as he is permitted to be emperor, he must be obeyed. If subjects were permitted to take up arms against their sovereigns whenever their sovereigns do wrong, all governments would be subverted, because where is there a governor who does not sometimes do wrong? As long as an emperor is emperor, or a duke a duke, no matter what he does, he must be obeyed, even though he were a pagan, and were to violate every promise and oath. Yet, as all government is ordained of God, we must obey.”

These were the sentiments of the noble Reformer. Philip of Hesse was keen for war; so were some other of the Protestant princes—but the sentiments of Luther changed their views. They saw and felt the necessity of a closer union among themselves. They succeeded to some extent as we have seen above.

In 1529, at the Diet of Spire, the Protestant princes appealed to the emperor. The emperor appointed a Diet to meet at Augsburg on the 8th of April, 1530. On the 14th of March, the elector of Saxony sent to Luther an requested him to draw up a creed or confession of the faith of the Protestants, to be presented to the emperor at the approaching Diet. Luther composed a creed consisting of seventeen articles, which are called the Torgau articles, because they were presented to the elector there. These articles constitute the basis of the far-famed Augsburg Confession.

It is said that Justus Jonas and Dr. Bugenhagen assisted Luther in this work, and that they used, as a model, a rough sketch of a creed which had been presented to the Protestants, who were assembled some time before at Schwabach; hence it is sometimes said, that Schwabach is the birth-place of our noble confession of faith.

On the 3d of April, 1530, the elector of Saxony, with his splendid retinue, consisting of 160 persons, and the most celebrated Doctors in the world, started for Augsburg. His knights and personal attendants were all clothed in the costume of the day, each man with his halbert and rich scarlet cloak, and they must have made a magnificent appearance. Luther, Melancthon, Justus Jonas, Spalatin, and Agricola, were the Theologians who accompanied the royal cavalcade. Luther of course was the life and soul of this large and brilliant company. No one was more cheerful than he, yet none was more in danger. It is said that he composed that soul-stirring hymn, "Ein' veste

Burg ist unser Gott," for the very purpose of cheering up the pious elector and his suit. This splendid hymn was sung on the way to Augsburg, and at Augsburg, and every time it was sung it cheered up the drooping Protestants. Luther also composed the music, which is, if anything, superior to the words. Let those of our readers who understand German turn to No. 429, of the old Lutheran hymn book, and read that hymn, and remember the circumstances under which it was written—it was written to cheer the downcast hearts of a handful of Christians, who were now on their way to confront the most powerful monarch of his age—when it had not only been rumored that there was danger, but when the elector of Saxony had actually been warned not to go to Augsburg; but he went with his subjects according to Luther's advice trusting in God. There never was a hymn or patriotic song written that was better adapted to accomplish the object contemplated. To give those who cannot read German an idea of this thrilling hymn, we have attempted a translation—it is only an attempt. We have changed the metre, and have only retained the most prominent ideas and train of thought; but we repeat it, it must be read in German to be properly appreciated.

A sure defence our God shall be,  
In this our need, to him we'll flee;  
He will preserve his faithful few  
When storms and dangers are in view.  
The enemy of old now raves,  
To send us all to early graves.

But all his ravings are in vain,  
Our souls shall be revived again!  
By our own might we cannot stand,  
We are a weak defenceless band,  
But there is one whose mighty arm  
Can keep us safe from every harm!  
And do you ask what is his name?  
Jehovah, Jesus, yes! the same!  
He is the God whose power can save,  
And save us from the threatening grave!  
And though the world with devils teemed,  
And every one a monster seemed,  
Yet we could all their wrath defy  
By trusting Him who sits on high.  
They may destroy our limbs and lives,  
Our homes, our children and our wives,  
But still the reign of Christ is sure,  
It shall from age to age endure!

This hymn was sung not only at Augsburg, but in all the Lutheran churches in Saxony, and no doubt gladdened many a desponding heart. On their way to Augsburg, they stopt frequently, and on all suitable occasions Luther preached, and always infused a new courage into them. When they came to Coburg, the elector informed Luther that he could not go any further, but would have to content himself there. Luther remonstrated; but the elector was firm, and Luther cheerfully obeyed, as he always did where matters of conscience were not concerned. This was a proper step of caution; various reasons have been assigned for this measure; some say, the elector was afraid

of the impetuosity of Luther's temper. There was nothing to fear from this ; although Luther was a bold, daring and courageous man as ever lived, and although he feared neither men nor devils, yet he was prudent, and knew how to deport himself as well as any man, who went to Augsburg. No, it was not that the elector feared anything from Luther's intrepidity, but it was because Luther had been condemned at Worms, and was at the very time under the bans of the empire and the church, and it would have been an insult to the emperor to bring him into his presence—more than this, Luther's life would not have been safe a moment at Augsburg, for some foreign Roman Catholic might have killed him, for any person was permitted to kill him with impunity ! According to the Romish code of law it would have been no sin for any person to kill Luther. The elector had rooms provided for him and left twelve horsemen to guard him, and told him he should be consulted on all matters concerning the church. Luther occupied an old castle, as he had at Eisenach. But the confinement had a bad effect upon his health. At Wartburg he was engaged in translating the New Testament, here he was in translating the Old. On the 2d of May the elector of Saxony, with his splendid suit, entered Augsburg. His coming produced quite a sensation, because it was not expected that he would come ; he was among the first who arrived.

This was the most magnificent Diet that was ever held in Germany. When they were all present it was a brilliant assembly. Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, had a suit

of one hundred and ninety nobles, the cavalcade of the emperor consisted of upwards of two thousand—never had there been such an assembly in Germany. Melancthon, in the absence of Luther, was the most brilliant star of attraction in all this immense mass. The task of preparing the Protestant confession of faith was assigned to him. He had already commenced the noble task at Coburg in connexion with Luther. He had completed his work before the emperor arrived; it was sent to Luther for his approval. Luther examined it and returned this answer, “This is the doctrine I teach, but I cannot tread so softly and gently as Melancthon.” Luther had no corrections to make, and why should he, when the very articles he had presented to the elector at Torgau, was the basis of these. Besides this, Melancthon perfectly well understood Luther’s views, and would of course write nothing but what he knew Luther would approve. Luther had every confidence in the world in Melancthon. Before the emperor arrived, Melancthon revised the confession again, and made some alterations and sent it to Luther again for inspection; Luther sent this message back, “It was good enough before, and now it is a great deal better.” Luther said afterwards that “the whole church in 1500 years had never seen such a work like this, no previous age of the church unless in the age of the apostles could have prepared such a splendid document.” This shows that Luther was not envious. He loved and respected Melancthon more than any other man, and Melancthon almost worshipped Luther—he thought no such a man as Luther had ever been in the

world—never perhaps were there two men more attached to each other. The correspondence between these two great men proves how much they loved each other. Melancthon was very mild and conciliatory, Luther was stern and uncompromising—Melancthon was fearful and timorous, Luther was bold and venturesome—and the only thing in which Melancthon surpassed Luther was in the logical arrangement of facts in his rhetoric, especially in Latin, (in German he is far inferior to Luther,) and perhaps in his knowledge of the Greek language. In every other respect Luther was far superior to him, as he was to every other man at Wittenberg!

Melancthon was just the man to embody the views of a whole church. While Melancthon was correcting and revising the confession, and endeavoring in his intercourse with the foreign dignitaries to remove the erroneous ideas they had of the Lutherans, Luther was at Coburg, (which he calls his Mount Sinai, and facetiously says he will convert it into Mount Zion,) engaged in writing to his friends, and commenting upon the Books of Daniel, Ezekiel and the Psalms. Luther wrote some droll letters from Coburg, one to his son Johnny, which is very amusing, and which we would translate if we had room for it. He also wrote a letter to his messmates at Wittenberg, that is exceedingly interesting, but it must be read in the original to be fully appreciated. The scenes that were daily acted at Augsburg were of a very exciting nature. Melancthon was ready on all occasions to make concessions, and had it not been for Luther, perhaps the difficulties in Germany might



even then have been settled. But Luther was, as was agreed to, consulted on all subjects, and never yielded any point. Luther had put his trust not in princes but in God. He wrote a letter to a friend from Coburg, which shows the firmness of his faith in God. "I have," says he, "lately seen two wonders: first I was looking out of my window at night, and saw the stars in the heavens, and God's great beautiful arch over my head, but I could not see any pillars on which the builder had fixed this arch, and yet the heavens fell not, and this arch stood firm. Still there were some who were seeking for the pillars, and were longing to touch and to feel them. And because they could not do this, they stood quivering and trembling as if the heavens would certainly fall, and for no other reason than because they could not see and feel the pillars that held them up. If they could only grasp the pillars, then the heaven would stand fast." Thus Luther illustrated the faith of his own soul and wished to inspire all others with the same strong confidence in God. From Coburg he poured in letter after letter to Melancthon and others, all tending to encourage them greatly. To Melancthon he says, "I hate from my heart the great anxiety about which you write, it is not the great perils of the cause—it is your own great unbelief that distresses you. It is your philosophy and not your theology that plagues you; what can the devil do more than put us to death. 'Yes,' you reply 'but by God's wrath is the truth cast down.' Then let it be cast down by God's wrath, and not by our cowardice—he is our Father and will be the Father of our children."

Again, "*As to my own salvation, I sometimes have doubts, but as to the great cause, I never have any. If with such a cause we fall, then Christ falls with us, Christ the Ruler of the universe! And should Christ fall, then would I far rather fall with him, than stand with the emperor.*"

On the 15th of June, the emperor entered Augsburg with great pomp and splendor, such as had perhaps never been seen by the grave Germans. On the day after his arrival the secretary of the emperor, Valdez, had an interview with Melancthon. During this interview Valdez informed Melancthon that the Spaniards had the most horrible ideas concerning the Lutherans. Melancthon said, "the Lutheran question is not so complicated, and so unseemly as his majesty fancies. We do not attack the Catholic church—the whole controversy can be narrowed down to these three points, viz. the two kinds in the sacrament; the marriage of the pastors; and the abolition of private masses." The emperor was pleased with this, and communicated it to the pope's legate Campeggio—"The two first matters he said might easily be settled, but," says he, "the private masses the church cannot abolish."

Charles and the pope's legate, and most of the Catholic bishops, were exceedingly anxious the matter should be settled without bringing it before the Diet. Finding however, that the matter could not be settled privately, on the 22d of June the emperor ordered both parties, both the Roman Catholic and Protestant, each to prepare a Confession of Faith. The Romanists of course, knew the request, as respected them, amounted to nothing; they

prepared none. Melancthon had yet some correction to make, and had the whole to transcribe; this kept him very busy to get it ready. On the 23d of June the Protestant princes, the deputies, &c., met at the elector's quarters and signed the Confession. On the 24th it was presented to the Diet, but was not read until the 25th. When the Papists found that a public meeting could not be avoided, they urged the emperor to have the Diet removed to his private chapel. All persons were requested to leave the chapel who were not connected with the Diet. At 3 o'clock in the afternoon, June 25, 1530, Chancellors Brück and Bayer stood up before the emperor, the former holding the Latin, the latter the German copy. The emperor required the Latin copy to be read, but Duke John said "We are on German ground, I hope therefore, your majesty will permit us to speak German;" the emperor consented, when Dr. Bayer read this splendid document with a loud voice, so that it was distinctly heard, not only in the chapel, but the immense crowd that had gathered around the chapel also heard it. Thus it was heard by more than could possibly have heard it in the City Hall. During the two hours occupied in reading it, the emperor paid profound attention, so did all who heard it. When the reading was done, the emperor received both copies into his own hands. That very night it was translated into French, Italian, Portuguese and English, and sent off immediately to the pope, the kings of England, France and Portugal, by their several ambassadors. This was a glorious day for the Protestant cause—they had declared

their sentiments before the whole Christian world. Luther was immediately informed of all that was done. He wrote a number of animating letters calculated to encourage the Protestants. The effects produced by the reading of the Confession of Faith were, as might have been expected; the emperor and the Romish princes were determined to put down all heresy in the German empire. Dr. Eck, Luther's former antagonist, and Faber, were employed in writing a refutation; in two weeks they presented their refutation to the emperor, but he returned it with the remarks that it was too severe and ungentle, "for the Confession," says he, "is a calm, dispassionate and dignified document." They commenced again, and in a few days presented a refutation of 280 leaves;—the emperor looked over it, and tore out 268 leaves, the 12 leaves remaining he returned to Dr. Eck, and told him to make something decent out of them. At the end of six weeks, after writing it over five times, the emperor received it.

This refutation was read in the Diet. As soon as it was read the reformers wanted a copy of it, but this was refused. They were not to refute this refutation, under pain of the pope's and emperor's displeasure. This was the end of all controversy, and was virtually giving up the question, and saying, we cannot argue the doctrines of religion with you. The Diet then passed a number of resolutions against heresy, and the Protestant princes were actually in danger. Melancthon was willing to do almost anything to procure a peace, and if it had not been for Luther, who was the ruling spirit of the Reformation, per-

haps all would have been lost. But Luther's voice was heard amid the raging storms, "Trust in God," "Trust in God." It is God's cause, and he will and must sustain it. "Fear not those who can kill the body." With these and similar appeals, he encouraged the down-hearted princes. Then they would pray together, and sing Luther's hymn,

"A strong tower is our God."

It was determined at the Diet of Augsburg, that the reformed princes and their subjects should return to the bosom of the Romish church—that there should be a general council—that the edict of Worms should be carried out by force if it could not be done otherwise. Things looked more gloomy than ever. The elector of Saxony was threatened with the loss of his titles and possessions, if he would not desist from protecting the Reformer and new religion. The Lutherans protested in vain; reason, scripture and common sense, were voted down, and the *power of Rome* took the place of all three! But the elector, under the influence of Luther, was firm as a rock. In November the Diet separated,—the Protestant princes under the full impression that the emperor would attack them soon.

We must now pass rapidly over the remaining part of Luther's eventful life. Those who wish to see more about the progress of the Reformation than we can give, are referred to D'Aubigne and Scott.

The Roman Catholic princes formed a new league at Cologne, and the Protestant princes found that they must

also do something for their mutual defence. They held a meeting at Smalkald on the 27th of February, 1531. Previous to this meeting, the elector of Saxony called upon Luther to prepare another confession of faith; this was not to be so pacific as the one presented at Augsburg, its object was not the same as that prepared by Melancthon. The idea of a reconciliation with Rome was now abandoned altogether. Hence Luther was at liberty to use his own language. He prepared a series of articles, and presented them to the Protestant princes at Smalkald, and hence called the Smalkald Articles. The correspondence between Luther and the Elector on this subject is very interesting; it is given in full in Luther's Works, Vol. IX. Luther was opposed to the shedding of blood, and succeeded in preventing it while he lived.

Luther was now at Wittenberg, laboring as though nothing had occurred; and indeed nothing had occurred that could in any way disturb the peace and tranquility of his soul.

In June, 1531, the Protestant princes had another conference at Frankfort on the Maine, where they resolved to use force if the emperor would do the same. However the emperor found that he had enough to do with the Turks, who were then in a threatening attitude, and made no war upon the Protestant princes.

In 1532, the Protestant and Roman Catholic princes held a joint meeting at Nuremberg, and there concluded a treaty of peace, which was very favorable to the progress of the Reformation. Soon after this treaty the pious elec-

tor of Saxony departed this life ; he died on the 16th of August, 1532. Luther preached his funeral sermon from 1 Thess. iv. 13—18, the same text from which he had seven years before preached two funeral sermons on the death of Frederick the Wise. Luther said, wisdom had died with Frederick, but piety with John ; he was one of the most firm and devoted christians. He was succeeded by his son John Frederick, in the 28th year of his age, who also became a friend of the Protestant cause.

In 1533 a number of the inhabitants of Leipsic having become convinced of the truth of the Lutheran system of religion, made various efforts to cast off the errors of popery, but met with the most determined opposition of Duke George, whose subjects they were. The pious people, when they were denied the liberty to worship God in their own town, according to the dictates of their own consciences, repaired to a neighboring village, viz. Holtzhausen, and there celebrated the Lord's Supper in both kinds. This so enraged the bigoted duke, that he banished seventy citizens from Leipsic ! Luther wrote an interesting letter to these persecuted citizens, which produced quite an excitement. He also wrote a letter to duke George, and scared that bigot to the very quick,—he paid him for his old delinquencies !

In 1534, Luther had his difficulties with the Anabaptists of the Netherlands. This was only another phase of the fanaticism of Thuringia. John Bekold, a tailor of Leyden, was chosen king of the New Jerusalem, and the infuriated fanatics took possession of the imperial city of Munster

They held this city for more than a year, and practised the greatest abominations in it. Several German princes combined, and with the bishop of Munster, put them down by force. Luther wrote a work called "A Refutation of the Munsterites."

Luther now saw, with gratitude to God, that the church was safe. The Reformation was now rapidly spreading far and wide, and he might now have taken his ease, but he was still active, preaching and writing. The Romish church had now become convinced that no threatening measures could bring the Saxon Reformer and his supporters to terms. The pope, Paul III., who had succeeded Clement in September, 1534, thought he would try what negotiation could do with Luther. He sent the Bishop of Capo D'Istria, Peter Paul Vergerius, to Germany, to try his hand at negotiation. He arrived at Wittenberg late in the fall, with great pomp and splendor; he had twenty-one horses and an ass in his retinue. The day after his arrival he sent for Luther. Luther went to his barber and got shaved, and put on his best clothes, and told his barber he wanted to look young, that his enemies might think he had a long time to live; he then put a gold chain around his neck, saying, "This is the way in which we must deal with these foxes." When in his carriage with Bugenhagen, or Pomeranius, he said, laughing, "Here go the pope and cardinal of Germany!" He was introduced to the nuncio. The nuncio told him the pope had now made up his mind to have a general council called. Luther replied, it is only a joke, the pope is not serious;



but even if there is a general council, it will only be engaged in trifles, such as tonsures and vestments. But says he, call your council, and God willing, I will attend it, though I should be burned. Vergerius then said, where will you have it? Any place, says Luther; at Mantua, or Padua, or Florence. Are you willing to meet at Bologna? "To whom," says Luther, "does that belong?" "It belongs to the pope," said the nuncio. Luther exclaimed, "gracious heavens! has the pope seized that place too? Well, I will even go to that place." The nuncio then asked Luther, "How would you like the pope to visit Wittenberg?" "Let him come, we should like to see him." "But," says Vergerius, "how would you like him to come, with an army or unattended?" Luther replied, "*Just as he pleases!*" The nuncio then asked Luther whether the preachers of Saxony were ordained? Certainly, says he, pointing to Dr. Bugenhagen, there sits our bishop! Much conversation passed between them, and this very man, Vergerius, was afterwards converted, and no doubt his mind was first impressed by the noble conduct of Luther.

In December, 1535, there was another conference held at Smalkald; this was attended by the German princes, and ambassadors of Francis I., King of France, and Henry VIII., King of England. Here it was determined upon that the general council must be held in Germany. Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, in England, about this time became a follower of Luther. Luther had no great opinion of Henry's Reformation in England, he said

it was only removing one pope to make room for another. This idea arose no doubt from the contemptible opinion Luther had of Henry.

On the 21st of March, 1536, Martin Bucer, Capito, of Strasburg, Frecht, of Ulm, Zwick, of Kostnitz, Lycosthenes and Musculus, of Augsburg, Myconius, of Gotha, and Justus Menius, of Eisenach, came to Wittenberg, for the laudable purpose of healing if possible the breach between the Lutherans and the Zwinglians, in relation to the Lord's Supper. They were so far successful in their mission, that they all signed a kind of common platform, and even celebrated the Lord's Supper together!

The Swiss preachers were the only ones that refused to enter into this brotherly union.

In 1543, Zwingle's works were published in Latin, at Zurich. Some harsh remarks were made against Luther in the preface of that work, that compelled him in 1544, to defend himself. See "Luther und dessen Reformation," page 215. Luther now seemed more willing to fraternize with the Zwinglians than they did with him.

In 1536, on the 2d of June, the pope issued his bull for a council to be held at Mantua. Soon after, however, it was changed to Vicenza. Luther laughed at the pope's duplicity. He said the pope was not in earnest, which was no doubt the fact. Luther well understood the game of the old fox at Rome. Luther says in a letter to a friend, "The pope worries himself with this council, like a cat with her kittens. In Germany he does not wish to hold it, in Mantua he dare not, now it is to be held in Vicenza.

This the pope well knows cannot be, nor does he really desire it. There is no place to be found where he wants a council to be held. If a council were to meet that would in the least oppose the will of the pope, the crown and the keys would have to fall to the ground. A free and independent council would be death and hell to the majesty of Rome! If all matters were stirred up in such a council, what a tremendous moral stench it would produce! Of this they are afraid, and therefore put it off on the most trifling prettexts." A few months afterwards the pope published the important news, that he had appointed five cardinals and three bishops to reform the abuses of the court at Rome. This also Luther looked at as an Italian trick, for he knew it would not be done. In the mean time the Protestant princes made preparation for the council. The Augsburg Confession, which was looked upon by all Protestants as a masterpiece, but which had been prepared with great caution, and whose main object seems to have been to show the Catholic world how near the Protestants came to the church of Rome;—was not considered sufficiently strong for the views of the Protestants now.

In the Augsburg Confession many important matters were not touched; among others, the power of the pope, and the episcopal functions of the bishops. The Protestant princes were determined that they would present another creed or confession at a general council; Luther of course was appointed to prepare this new confession. In December, 1536, he commenced it, and in January, 1537,

the members of the Smalkaldic League received and approved it at Smalkald; and the divines assembled there, examined, approved, and signed it. Melancthon, we are told, also prepared a document on this occasion, whether by request or of his own accord, we have not the means of knowing. At the request of the elector of Saxony, Luther also prepared the ground work of a plan for attacking the pope, for he, it was agreed upon on all hands, was to attend the council, as the representative of the University of Wittenberg. That would have been a sublime spectacle;—Luther meeting the pope, and the united wisdom, and learning, and talent, of the whole papal world! And he would have sustained himself nobly, as he had done on all former occasions. Rome could have mustered no greater men than Luther had already met and vanquished, and well she knew it. It may be proper to remark here, that the documents above referred to, constitute, together with the former league, the celebrated Smalkaldic Articles, which occupy so prominent a place in the “Form of Concord.” Melancthon had some scruples, it appears, about signing the confession drawn up by Luther; he was willing to allow the pope more power than Luther thought he ought to have. This is no doubt another reason why papists speak so highly of Melancthon. Still Melancthon signed the Smalkaldic Articles. Luther preached two sermons while at Smalkald, on the “Apostles’ Creed.” When he went thither he was in the enjoyment of good health, but was taken very ill with the gravel. His friends thought he would never recover, but he got

better; and on the 26th of February he left Smalkald, in one of the elector's carriages, in company with Dr. Bugenhagen, Spalatin, and Dr. George Sturz, a physician, and came to Tambach, a large village in the mountains of Thuringia, where the salubrious air, and the pure water, afforded him some relief. But on his way home, at Gotha his disease returned with double fury, and it was thought he must certainly die. But by the blessing of God he again recovered, and reached Wittenberg on the 14th of March.

In 1538, on the 20th of June, the *Holy League* of the Roman Catholics was formed at Nuremburg. This association had an important influence upon the destinies of the Reformation, but it does not fall within our plan to notice it.

In 1539, on the 24th of April, the mortal enemy of Luther, Duke George, died, and was succeeded by his brother Henry, who was a Lutheran. Luther had said frequently, "I will yet live to see the time when Duke George and his house will be no more, and I shall even preach in Leipsic." He did live to see both.

In 1540 there was to be a kind of a Diet, called a convention, where both parties were to meet, in relation to some business connected with the war with the Turks, and the Reformation. It was agreed that Melancthon should attend this convention. It was appointed at Spire, but owing to an epidemic that raged there, it was removed to Hagenau. On his way thither, Melancthon took sick; it was thought he must die. Luther was sent for, he came

in all haste, he found his dear Philip in a state of insensibility, he could neither hear, speak nor see. When Luther saw him in this awful condition, he became much excited and exclaimed, "Great God! how has the devil marred this noble instrument." He then walked towards the window, and prayed most earnestly for his friend; he prayed in faith, for he had some intimation that his prayer was heard, and that Melancthon would not die.—He always prayed in faith!

After Luther had prayed, he took Melancthon by the hand and thundered into his ears, "Be of good cheer, Philip, you will not die, therefore don't give way to this spirit of despondency; do not destroy yourself, for God according to his promises has to hear my prayer." Melancthon then awoke as from a sleep; Luther made him eat some soup, and he soon recovered. Melancthon afterwards said, he certainly would have died if Luther had not saved him by his prayers. Luther is said in like manner to have prayed his own wife and his friend Myconius from the very borders of the grave! It is said that Melancthon's sickness was occasioned by the unbecoming and unchristian conduct of one of the supporters of the Protestant cause, viz. Philip, Landgrave of Hesse. As much has been said on this subject it would be unpardonable to pass it by unnoticed. It appears that Philip, who was married to a daughter of George, Duke of Saxony, fell in love with Margaret Saal, a maid of honor to his sister Elizabeth; as he was too conscientious to make her his concubine, (although nothing was more common then

than for princes of the Romish church to have their concubines, and that too, with and by the consent of the pope,) he hastily took it into his head to marry her, and actually obtained the consent of his own wife for that purpose. But still he had his scruples as to its propriety. In all such cases it was the universal custom for Princes to apply to the Pope for dispensations, but Philip had broken with the pope, and as the highest civil power was in his own hands, he applied through his chaplain, Dr. Bucer, to the Professors at Wittenberg, and they, after investigating the matter fully, came to the conclusion that if it could not be avoided, it was better to marry than to commit adultery. We have investigated the matter, and think honestly that Luther erred on this occasion in giving any advice at all on the subject. Still he had his reasons for his conduct. We will here insert a letter from our esteemed friend, Dr. S. S. Schmucker, Professor of the Lutheran Seminary at Gettysburg, a gentleman whose lucid and penetrating mind always throws a glare of light on every subject that he discusses.

*“Dear brother Weiser:*

“You ask my opinion concerning the agency of Luther and Melancthon in countenancing the bigamy of Philip, the Landgrave of Hesse. In reply I remark, the conduct of those two excellent men must be viewed in connection with the circumstances in which it took place; and even then the accuracy of their counsel cannot be vindicated, although their sincerity in giving it can. It must be remembered, that they had been educated in the Romish

church, where the practice of priestly and episcopal dispensations from the laws of God, as well as of the church, was a thing of frequent occurrence, as it is even at this day. In some cases dispensations were granted by the ecclesiastical authorities to perform acts full as sinful even as bigamy; and these acts Romish casuists are wont to sustain by various arguments. From the influence of early education in these principles, these good men it seems had not fully extricated themselves, although they had cast off their allegiance to Rome, and with it the greater part of her errors. The Landgrave had under a solemn pledge of secrecy communicated to them, as Seckendorf informs us, such circumstances in relation to his wife, as would in the civil courts have been regarded sufficient ground for divorce; yet he was not willing that they should be published, (nor were they ever given to the public.) He moreover declared that he acted conscientiously, and professed to be under the absolute necessity of matrimony, for the reason assigned by Paul, 1 Cor. vii. 2. Under these circumstances, the Reformers first earnestly exhorted the Landgrave to strive for the mastery over himself, and not to give occasion for scandal, as his avowed motives and reasons would not be believed. They declared that as a general rule the laws of the New Testament condemned such a course as he proposed, and they could not approve of it. Yet they closed by saying, that if he found it impossible to contain himself, as adultery would be a greater sin, it might be allowed as a special case, provided it were kept perfectly secret, so that the ex-



ample would not encourage others to a similar course ; and even then it must be regarded as a dispensation ! The fact that they enjoined such profound secrecy would seem to Protestants to imply that they had some misgivings as to the accuracy of their consent. Yet it must be remembered, that in the Romish church, where they had learned the doctrine of dispensations, cases calculated to cause public scandal were generally kept secret. Still we incline to the opinion, that they both soon regretted it ; and Melancthon was so distressed about it, that he had a spell of sickness in consequence. The official documents touching this case were not published till 1679. The above opinion and statement is at your service, to use as you please in your *Life of the great Reformer.*”

As a confirmation of the above views of Professor Schmucker and myself, we add a remark on this subject from Dr. Milner :

“It is by no means necessary to the defence of the Reformation that we should either apologize for the Landgrave, or assert the unerring wisdom of Luther himself, than whom no man more sincerely disavowed all pretensions to infallibility ; yet after a careful examination of the documents brought forward, I venture to affirm that they by no means warrant the charges and insinuations which have been founded upon them ; and are, in many respects, highly honorable to the Protestant divines, even though we should allow that they would have done better in entering their solemn protest against the whole proceeding, and giving the Landgrave no further advice whatever, which could be at all construed into even an equivocal sanction of it.”

During the years 39, 40, 41, and 42, Luther was exceedingly busy; he wrote nearly forty works, small and great for the press, besides lecturing in the University, visiting, writing letters and preaching. At the same time he neglected not the cultivation of religion in his own soul. Even though he labored more than perhaps any other man ever did, yet he found time to pray from two to four hours every day. He constantly walked with God!

Luther was not only a man of great talents and energy and courage, but he was also very humble, and like all truly great men, had a low and unworthy opinion of himself. Look at a letter he wrote to some Christians in Italy in 1542: "I find in you such and so great gifts of God's grace, that I feel ashamed of myself, who after being so many years conversant in the word of God, am conscious that I fall far short of the spirit which actuates you. I am sensible that what you in your candor and affection attribute to me I do not deserve. I really am much below the opinion you form of me. I am a sinful man, though one whom God has called out of the deepest darkness into his marvelous light, and unfit and unworthy as I am of it, has committed to me so great and weighty a ministry." And in all cases when he spoke of himself he expressed the most humble opinions of himself. He acknowledged his faults on all occasions, and always preferred others, or placed them above him in learning and piety. He frequently said he was far inferior to Erasmus and Melancthon, and even Carlstadt, in learning, and he considered Dr. Bugenhagen his superior as a preacher,

and yet he never had a superior either in learning or pulpit talents. Luther was emphatically a Bible man; he loved the Bible; it was the man of his counsel—his lamp and his light. His love for the Bible may be inferred from one of those strong expressions which only Luther could make—he says, “I had almost said, I would rather be in hell with the Bible, than in paradise without it.”

In 1540, Luther had to take up his pen against one who had been his friend, but who in consequence of his want of firmness in his own principles, had written against Luther's views on the Law—this was John Agricola, of Eisleben. Luther wrote a work against “the Antinomians,” and at once demolished Agricola's popularity without even mentioning his name.

We have not time here to notice the almost endless diets, conferences and conventions, that were held at the different places, from 1535 to 1545, nor the progress of the Reformation in the different countries of Europe; these things rather belong to the History of the Reformation. Suffice it to say, that before Luther left the stage of action, his labors had wrested nearly half his dominions from the pope. We will here add a few remarks of Thomas Chalmers, one of the most brilliant orators of the nineteenth century. This will give us perhaps as vivid an idea of the mighty conflict in which Luther was engaged, as anything else that can be said:

“The great service for which the Reformers, in their respective countries, deserve the gratitude of posterity, is, not that they shone upon us with any original light of their

own, but that they cleared away a most grievous obstruction, which had stood for ages, and intercepted from the eyes of mankind the light of revelation. This they did by asserting in behalf of God, the paramount authority of his word, over the belief and the consciences of men; and asserting in behalf of man, his right of private judgment on the doctrines which are contained in the oracles of God. This right of private judgment is a right maintained not against the authority of God, but against men who have assumed to themselves the office of being the infallible and ultimate interpreters of his word. It was against this that our reformers went forth, and prevailed. Theirs was a noble struggle for the spiritual liberties of the human race, against the papacy of Rome; and nobly did they acquit themselves of this holy warfare! At first it was a fearful conflict, when on the one side there was the whole strength of the secular arm, and on the other a few obscure, but devoted men, whose only weapons were truth and prayer, with suffering constancy. The Reformation by Luther is far the proudest exploit on record, who with naught but a sense of duty, and the energies of his own undaunted soul to sustain him, went forth single-handed against the hosts of a most obdurate corruption that filled all Europe, and had weathered the lapse of many centuries; who by the might of his own uplifted arm, shook the authority of that high pontificate, which had held the kings and the great ones of the earth in thralldom; who with no other weapons than those of argument and scripture, brought down from its peering altitude, that old spiritual tyranny whose head

had reached unto heaven, and which had the entrenchments of the deepest and strongest prejudices thrown around its base! When we can trace a result so magnificent as this, to the workings of one solitary individual; when the breast of Luther was capable of holding the germ or embryo of the greatest revolution which the world ever saw; when we observe how many kindred spirits caught from his, the fire of that noble inspiration by which it was actuated, and how powerfully the voice which he lifted up in the midst of Germany, was re-echoed to from the distant extremities of Europe by other voices. O! let us not despair of truth's omnipotence."

But we must now hasten to the close of Luther's splendid career. In 1541, his health began to decline, his physical energies began to abate, and he felt old age creeping upon him rapidly. Although his mental powers were as vigorous as ever, yet he found he could not endure the labors of his former days. The fact is, both his mental and physical labors were too great for any human being. He thought himself justly entitled to a little repose between the active labors of such an eventful life, and the rest of the grave. But he could find no rest; he preached and labored, and wrote on to the very last. Although in 1545 Luther was only in the 63d year of his age, yet he was fairly broken down. He suffered much from the inflammation of one of his eyes, whose sight he lost entirely. He also had severe pains in the head and limbs, was much troubled with the gravel, and frequently very much cast down. Yet he was a terror to the Roman-

ists, and no man at Wittenberg could take his place; he was still the first man in Germany; his influence was unbounded; he was consulted on nearly all subjects, civil and ecclesiastical. The Romanists were exceedingly anxious for Luther's death—nothing could have afforded them more satisfaction. In 1545 there was actually a pamphlet published at Naples, giving a minute and circumstantial account of Luther's death. This pamphlet states that Luther spent his last moments in drunkenness, and cursing his holiness the pope—that Luther before he died ordered himself to be placed upon the altar, and commanded his followers to worship him as a god—that when he was receiving the sacrament, the consecrated wafer leaped out of his stomach, and remained suspended in the air—that when he was buried there was such a frightful storm, accompanied with such thunder and lightning, that the people actually thought the day of judgment was come—that in the morning after his burial the tomb was found empty, and that such a strong stink of brimstone issued from the grave, that no person could go near it; and that in consequence of these marks of God's displeasure, many persons repented and turned to the Catholic communion! Philip, the Landgrave of Hesse, sent Luther a copy of this pamphlet, who of course was much amazed, and published a large edition of it in German, and one in Italian, adding nothing to it but the following note: "Now I, Martin Luther, doctor, acknowledge and testify, by this present writing, that I received the foregoing angry tale, respecting my death, on the 21st of March, and that I have read it

with great mirth and jollity, except the blasphemy that such lies should be attributed to the high, divine Majesty. For the rest, it tickles me to my right knee-pan, and my left heel, that the devil and his crew, the pope and the papists, hate me so heartily. May God convert them from the devil! But if it be decreed, that my prayer for sin, which is unto death cannot be answered—very well—then God grant that they may speedily fill up the measure of their iniquity, and do nothing more for their comfort and joy than with such books as these.” Although Luther’s confidence in God was strong, yet there were many things calculated to make his last days bitter. The influence of his doctrines extended far and wide, millions called themselves his followers, and among them were many who took the liberty for themselves which Luther had taken for himself—they thought and acted differently—some as might reasonably be expected were not sound in the faith. Agricola for instance and others. The controversy on the sacrament had divided the Reformers, even Melancthon and Luther were well nigh separating—the churches were not careful enough in enforcing the Bible discipline—many congregations in Saxony did not support their pastors properly—the intestine war that was threatening. All these things were calculated to embitter his declining days. In addition to these things, the students of the University were guilty of irregularities which Luther, it would seem, in his old days could not hinder. It appears that the young men of the University were in the habit of contracting secret marriages; this evil grew out of a too familiar intercourse

between the students and the daughters of the citizens of Wittenberg. Luther thought students had no business to run after the young ladies, and the fact is, it is a most injurious practice and has been the means of blasting the prospects of many a promising student. Luther declared in his strong language, "that things had come to such a pass in Wittenberg, that a father could scarcely send his boy to a neighbor's house on an errand, without the risk of having him return a married man." He exhorted, he prayed, he preached, he appealed to the magistrates and to the elector but all his labors seemed to be in vain. He was grieved and highly offended at the familiarity that existed between the students of the University, and the young ladies of Wittenberg. He said on one occasion, that the young ladies went so far as to visit the students at their rooms, this he considered highly unbecoming. It seems Luther had the same troubles to contend with in 1545, which still exist in 1848.

There was another matter that vexed and tormented him very much. It appears the ladies of Wittenberg were not quite so modest as they should have been, and as Luther wished them to be. The ladies adopted an outrageous fashion of dressing indecently low in the neck, so as to expose themselves in a very unbecoming manner. To this Parisian fashion Luther strongly objected; he declared that those half-naked females ought to be disciplined; yea, "such long-necked women," says he, "ought to be turned out of church." "But Luther found, as many others had found before and many have found since, that it is easier to carry



a point against any other earthly power than against the power of a lady's fashion, especially if it be an unreasonable and indefensible fashion! He who had single handed and alone, resisted and defeated the most tremendous power which ever existed on earth, was utterly unable to persuade or compel the ladies of his own church to cover their bosoms, when it was fashionable to leave them uncovered! Luther considered the reputation and usefulness of the University and Theological Seminary to be in imminent danger from these and like causes." In consequence of these things and his inability to stem these torrents of iniquity, he threatened to leave Wittenberg forever, and actually carried his threat into execution. Luther left Wittenberg with the full determination never to return; he was perhaps somewhat petulant at this time, as old people often are; he went to Leipsic, from that place he wrote a letter to his wife, and informed her that he would never return to Wittenberg—that she should sell all their property in the city and move to Zeulsdorf, to a small farm which was a gift of the elector of Saxony—and requested her to communicate this information to Melancthon, (he was not on the best terms with Melancthon at this time, on account of his leaning to the views of Zwingle,) and also wished Bugenhagen to bless the congregation in his name, as the last benediction of their old pastor. Great was the consternation at Wittenberg—the citizens, the professors and students, all deeply deplored the step Luther had taken. They all united in urging the elector to use all his influence to induce Luther to return. The elector sent his own fam-

ily physician, Dr. Ratzenberger, with a pressing letter to Luther, and invited him to meet him (the elector) at Torgau, they did meet at Torgau, and Luther promised to return to Wittenberg. But whether the students and fashionable ladies at Wittenberg, behaved better and became more modest after his return we are not informed. After visiting his friends Scherl, at Leipsic, and Amsdorf, at Zeitz, and prince George of Anhalt, at Merseburg, he returned to Wittenberg, and resumed his labors.

On the 17th of November, 1545, he finished his Commentary on the Book of Genesis, with these remarkable words: "This is now my dear Genesis! May our dear Lord God give others the ability to do it better, who may follow me. I can do no better, for I am weak. Pray to God for me, that he would grant me a peaceful and a happy end." Luther now felt that he could not live long, and soon after his return wrote his will, which like every thing that he did, is also extraordinary.

We will furnish a few extracts of Luther's will. Luther's property was as follows, viz. (we obtain this information from the Madgeburg Life of Luther, of 1834, p 245.)

1. The property at Wachsdorf was worth 1500 gold florins.

2. The property at Zeulsdorf, (a gift of the elector) was worth 956 guilders.

3. An orchard and out lot, worth 400 gold florins.

4. A small house at Wittenberg called the Bude, 300 gold florins.

5. The buildings of the old Augustinian Convent, which the elector Frederick gave to Luther—this was sold for 3700 gold florins.

6. One thousand gold florins, which Luther had lent to the count of Mansfeldt.

7. Silver plate and jewelry, worth 1000 gold florins.

8. Household furniture, worth about 600 gold florins.

Luther's whole estate amounted in all to 9456 guilders. A guilder is worth about 40 cents of our money.

Luther was 450 guilders in debt; this would reduce his property to about \$4000, a very small estate indeed for a man like Martin Luther. We now copy from Prof. Stowe. "This is all I am worth, and I give it all to my wife for the following reasons, viz.

1. Because she has always conducted herself towards me lovingly, worthily and beautifully, like a pious, faithful and noble wife, and by the blessing of God, she has borne me and brought up for me five living children, who yet live, and God grant that they may long live.

2. Because she will pay my debts.

3. But most of all because I will not have her dependent upon her children, but the children dependent on her, that they may love and honor her as God has commanded. For I see how the devil, by wicked and envious mouths, heats and excites children, even though they be pious, against this command, especially when the mothers are widows, and the sons get wives, and the daughters get husbands, and again, socrus nurum, nurus socrum; for I hold that the mother will be the best guardian for her own

children, and will use what little property and goods she may have, not for their disadvantage and injury, but for their good and improvement, since they are her own flesh and blood, and she has borne them under her heart. And if after my death, she should find it necessary or desirable to marry again, (for I cannot pretend to set limits to the will or the providence of God,) I trust, and herewith express my confidence, that she will conduct herself towards our mutual children as becometh a mother, and will faithfully impart to them the property, and do whatever else is right.

I also entreat all my good friends to be witnesses for my dear Katey, and help to defend her, should any good-for-nothing monks reprove and slander her, as if she had secretly some personal property, of which she would defraud the children; for I testify there is no personal property but what I have enumerated above, except the plate and jewelry. When it is seen how much I have built and bought, and what great expense of housekeeping and charity I have maintained with my small income, others will be astonished that I am not more in debt.

Finally, I beg, since in this will or testament I have not used legal forms or words, (and for this I have my reasons,) that every one will let me be the person that I really am, namely, open, and known both in heaven, on earth, and in hell, and let me have respect and authority enough, so that I may be trusted and believed more than any lawyer. For so God, the Father of all mercies, hath entrusted to me, a poor, miserable, condemned sinner, the gospel of

his dear Son, and therein thus far I have behaved myself truly and faithfully, and it has made much progress in the world through me, and I am honored as a teacher of the truth, notwithstanding the curse of the pope, and the wrath of emperors, kings, princes, priests, and all kinds of devils; much rather then, let me be believed in this little matter, especially as here is my hand, which is very well known, and I hope it may be enough when it can be said, and proved, that this is the serious and deliberate desire of Dr. Martin Luther, (who is God's lawyer and witness in his gospel,) to be proved by his own hand and seal.

MARTIN LUTHER.

The witnesses are Philip Melancthon, John Bugenhagen, and Caspar Cruciger. Melancthon's signature bears a noble testimony to his affection for the great Reformer, it is thus: "Ego Philippus Melanchthon testor, hanc esse et sententiam et voluntatem, et manum Reverendi Domini Dr. Martini Lutheri, Preceptoris, et Patris nostri carissimi." "I, Philip Melancthon, am witness that this is the production and will and hand writing of the Reverend Teacher, Dr. Martin Luther, our very dear father and instructor."

## CHAPTER X.

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### *Death of Luther.*

WE now come to the death of the great Reformer. We will give the account of Justus Jonas, who was present and saw and heard everything he has recorded.

The counts of Mansfeldt had some difficulties about the ownership of some mines that had become valuable in consequence of the discovery of new beds of ore. As Luther was born in the territory, and as they both had the most unbounded confidence in the judgment and honesty of Luther, they mutually agreed to refer the matter in dispute to him. Justus Jonas says, Luther did not generally concern himself about such worldly matters, but as the counts of Mansfeldt were at variance, and lived in an unhappy manner, he felt it his duty as a peace-maker, to yield to their earnest solicitations. Accordingly, on the 23d of January, 1546, he left Wittenberg accompanied by his sons and faithful servant. The first day they came to Bitterfeldt, where they remained all night; next morning at 11, A. M., they arrived at Halle, and spent four days very pleasantly in the family of Dr. Justus Jonas. The party was detained at Halle in consequence of high water. At Halle he preached on the conversion of St. Paul. On the 28th, he and his sons and Dr. Jonas, crossed the river

with some difficulty and danger. While in the midst of great danger, Luther remarked to Jonas, "Would it not be fine sport for the devil, if Luther and his sons, and Dr. Jonas, were to drown?" The fatigue of the journey set very hard upon him. At Eisleben he was met by a cavalcade of 130 horsemen, and escorted into the town. When he arrived at the place where he was to remain, he complained of being very sick, but after the application of warm cloths to his abdomen, and eating and drinking a little, he got better. From the 29th of January to the 17th of February inclusive, he was engaged in the business that brought him to Eisleben. In addition to the transaction of the business of the counts, he preached four sermons, and ordained and consecrated two ministers of the gospel. During this time he talked much about his infirmities, and declared if he ever got back to Wittenberg, he would rest from his labors. His conversation at the table was very edifying and encouraging. Every evening he was accustomed to retire for secret prayer, at 8 o'clock, and always returned to the company with a cheerful countenance, as though a great burden had been removed from his mind. In his private devotion he generally stood at a window; this he had done for many years. No matter who was in his company, at or a little before 8 o'clock, he would always retire for three-quarters of an hour and pray. Sometimes his prayers were heard by the company who were in an adjoining room.

On the 17th of February he was quite unwell, and the counts and his other friends urged him not to leave his

room. Still in the evening he was able to appear at the supper table ; and as he had promised to discuss the question of the recognition of friends in a future state, all were anxious to hear him on that interesting subject. At the supper table we accordingly all requested his opinion,—he said, “ What did Adam do ? he had never seen Eve, he was asleep ; when he awoke he did not say, ‘ what art thou ? ’ or ‘ whence comest thou ? ’ But he said, thou art flesh of my flesh, and bone of my bone. How did he know that the woman was not made of stone ? It was because he was filled with the Holy Ghost, and had the true knowledge of God. We too, in the future world, will have the same knowledge, being renewed in Christ, and having the same knowledge, we too shall recognize our fathers and mothers and each other, even better than Adam knew Eve.” Soon after having said this, he arose from the table and went to his chamber ; his two sons, Paul and Martin, and Mr. Celius, soon followed him. As usual, he went to the window, leaned his chest upon it, and attended to his private devotions. John Aurifaber then came into the room, Dr. Luther said to him, I feel a great oppression and sickness about the breast, as I have often felt before. Aurifaber said to him, dear doctor, I have often seen ammonia, (in German Einhorn,) given in such cases, if you wish it I will bring you some. Luther assented. The countess had the article, (Einhorn, which was salts of Ammonia.) But before Aurifaber went to the countess for the medicine, he ran to Justus Jonas and ~~Celius~~ Celius had left the room a few minutes before,)



and informed them that Luther was getting worse. Celius and Jonas hurried to his side, and found him laboring under a very severe pain in the chest. They immediately rubbed him with hot cloths, and in a little time he said he felt somewhat better. Just then count Albright and John Aurifaber arrived, the count asked him how he did, to which he replied, "I feel somewhat better." The ammonia was then scraped and put into some wine, and in order to convince him that there was no danger in taking it, Conrad von Wolframsdorf, one of the count's counsellors, took a spoonfull of the medicine. This treatment of Luther shows the wretched system of medicine three hundred years ago; to give a man laboring under an acute attack of pneumonia nothing but scraped ammonia and wine! There is a difference of opinion as to the specific disease of which Luther died, and as there was no post mortem examination, it must remain doubtful whether he died of asthma, pneumonia, or cancer of the stomach, (angina pectoris,) it is most generally supposed he died of the last mentioned disease. I was somewhat perplexed to know what Jonas means by the word "Einhorn," until I saw Dr. Stowe's account of Luther's death. He says, "The count then gave Luther some salts of Ammonia, a medicine then newly discovered." This is no doubt the Einhorn of Dr. Jonas. Luther then took the medicine, after which he lay down and slept calmly and soundly from 9 till 10 o'clock. Dr. Jonas, Rev. Michael Celius, (pastor of Eisleben,) his servant Ambrose, and his two sons Martin and Paul, remained with him, the others retired.

Precisely at 10 o'clock he awoke, and seeing us all in the room, he said, are you all here yet, why don't you go to bed? We replied, no dear doctor, we want to remain with you. He then arose from the couch on which he lay, and went into the adjoining room; he did not complain, but as he passed the sill of the door, he exclaimed, "In manus tuas commendo spiritum meum, redemisti me, Domine Deus veritatis." (Into thy hands I commit my spirit, for thou hast redeemed me, O Lord God of truth.) He now went to bed after shaking hands with each of us, and giving us all a good night, he then said to Dr. Jonas and Celius and the others, "Pray for our Lord Jesus, and for his gospel, that it may go well with him, for the Council of Trent, (then in session, it commenced in 1545,) and the wicked pope, are raging most furiously against him." The room being warm and comfortable, and the lights burning, he slept calmly until the clock struck one, when he awoke and called his servant Ambrose, and told him to make the fire. Dr. Jonas then asked him how he felt, he exclaimed, "Ah! my dear Dr. Jonas, I am enduring intense pain, and I suppose I shall die here at Eisleben, where I was born and baptized." Jonas replied, "Reverend father, God our heavenly Father will aid you, through Christ whom you have preached." He then arose, and without any assistance walked two or three times through the room, complaining of a severe pain in the chest. His body was again rubbed with flannels wrung in hot water, and he again experienced some relief. But soon after he became very sick, so much so

that his friends became alarmed, and sent in haste for count Albright and his wife, the two physicians of Eisleben, viz. Simon Wild, a surgeon, and Dr. Ludwick, a physician, the landlord, (Wirt,) John Albright, the secretary of the town and his wife; in the course of half an hour they all appeared. The countess brought all sorts of drugs with her, and did all in her power to alleviate his pain, but without success. Luther exclaimed, "O! dear God, I am very sick, and very much oppressed." He then said to his friends, "I shall now die, and remain in Eisleben." Michael Celius then said to him, "Reverend father, call upon our dear Lord Jesus Christ, our great High Priest, our only Mediator, you have done a great work for him, he will have mercy upon us, and you shall yet recover." "No," said Luther, "I feel the cold death-sweat, I shall breathe out my soul, for my distress is increasing." Luther then offered up the following prayer in German, "O! my heavenly Father, the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, thou God of all consolation, I thank thee that thou hast revealed thy dear Son Jesus Christ to me, I have believed in him, I have confessed and proclaimed him. I have loved and honored him, and that too whilst the wicked pope and the ungodly world have reviled and persecuted him! I beseech thee, O Lord Jesus, to take my *little soul* to thyself! O! my heavenly Father, although I must be torn from this world, yet I am certain I shall forever be happy with thee in heaven, for no one is able to pluck me out of thy hands."

The expression which we have translated in the above

prayer, "little soul," is in German, "Seelchen," the diminutive of soul. Luther then said in Latin, "God so loved the world that he gave his Son, &c." John iii. 16, and also quoted part of the 68th Psalm in Latin, (the 20th verse.) They then gave him some more medicine, but he said, "I am going, I shall yield up my soul!"—he exclaimed three times in rapid succession in Latin, "Father into thy hands I commit my spirit." He became calm and quiet. He was rubbed, and shook, and called, but he gave no answer and did not open his eyes—the countess and the physicians bathed his temples, and rubbed his pulse with spirits, but to no purpose—he seemed to be rapidly sinking. Dr. Jonas went near to him and called loudly to him, and said, "Venerable Father do you still hold on to Christ, and the doctrines you have preached, and will you die with these views?"

"His fading countenance once more brightened, his clear blue eye sparkled with intelligence, and he replied in a distinct and thrilling tone, 'Yes.' He then turned upon his right side, and fell into a gentle sleep, and slept for half an hour, and it was thought he was getting better, but we were all afraid of that sleep and tried to keep him awake by holding the light near his face. Just then Hans Henry, count of Schwartzenburg, and his wife, came in; soon after the doctor grew very pale, his feet and nose became cold, he then drew a deep, but soft breath, and with that breath he calmly resigned his spirit into the hands of God! To the truth of this we testify before God," says Justus Jonas.

Prof. Stowe relates the following beautiful and touching incident, which is no doubt true, although Justus Jonas does not mention it. "Luther's eyes were becoming fixed in their sockets, the glassy hue of death was fast gathering on them, when one of the old men in attendance, (perhaps Nicholas Oember,) who had been his companion in childhood, in that awful moment, forgetting entirely the mighty Reformer, and thinking only of the friend of his heart, knelt down by the sofa, and putting his arms across his bosom, and his face to his cheek, exclaimed in the plaintive notes of childhood, "Martin! dear Martin! do speak to me once more!" But there was no reply. The mighty spirit had already gone. Before the words were fully uttered, Luther was already with Moses, with Paul, with John, and with Christ; *and in the last only did he find a superior.*"

Thus died the greatest man that ever God placed upon our earth, on the 18th day of February, 1546, at the age of 62 years, 3 months and 10 days.

The death of Luther produced a profound sensation throughout all Germany. He was the friend of man, and the greatest human benefactor the world had ever seen. His funeral, and the solemn and thrillingly interesting scenes connected with it, is a strong proof of the affections of the people for him. No man that ever lived had more friends than Luther.

It may also be observed that every effort was made to resuscitate him; Jonas says he was rubbed and placed between feather beds and blankets, but all to no purpose.

His friends thought it could not be possible that Luther should be dead. Yet so it was !

The counts of Mansfeldt were anxious he should be buried at Eisleben, but the elector of Saxony insisted upon having him buried at Wittenberg. The elector of Saxony gave orders for the immediate removal of Luther's body to Wittenberg, and of course promised to defray all expenses, be they great or small.

On the 19th, his body was placed in a cast leaden coffin, and at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, was carried to St. Andrew's church, in Eisleben, where Dr. Jonas preached to a number of noble gentlemen and ladies, and an immense concourse of citizens, from 1 Thess. iv. 13—18.

He treated I. Of the character and talents of Dr. Luther. II. Of the resurrection and eternal life. III. The warning to the opposers, that the death of Luther would leave an efficacy behind it, to demolish the kingdom of satan. The sermon though not very systematic, is interesting and exciting. The corpse remained in the church during the night, and was watched by ten principal citizens of Eisleben. On the morning of the 20th, Michael Celius preached another sermon from Isaiah lvii. 1, to a large congregation. Before he was removed from Eisleben, a painter of that town took his portrait; another by the name of Fortennagel, from Halle, did the same. On the 20th, between 12 and 1 o'clock, the solemn procession commenced moving from Eisleben—the concourse was immense—as the funeral began to move and the solemn funeral dirge was sung, the people all commenced weeping—the excitement became

very great, and the heaving bosoms and flowing tears of thousands testified how much Luther was beloved! In the evening at 5 o'clock, the procession arrived at the walls of Halle, after having stopt at the villages through which the funeral had passed; at every place thousands of the people came to look upon the funeral of the departed friend of Germany. But at Halle, the concourse of citizens became so great that the procession could hardly force its way through the immense throng to St. Mary's church. When the funeral got into the church, the silence was interrupted by the singing of the hymn composed by Luther himself many years before, (for it was the first hymn he ever composed.)

“Aus tiefer Noth schrei' ich zu dir,  
Mein Gott, erhör' mein rufen.”

“From deep distress I call on thee,  
My God regard my calling.”

This hymn the congregation attempted to sing, but as Jonas says, they rather cried it than sang it, they could not sing for weeping, but frequently burst out aloud in weeping. The corpse remained in the church all night, and was watched by a number of citizens—next morning at 6 o'clock, the funeral procession started for Wittenberg, followed by the same weeping multitude, at 12 o'clock the funeral arrived at the walls of Wittenberg, here it was met by an immense multitude of nobles and citizens. Never perhaps was there a greater and more universal burst of grief! There was the disconsolate wife of the noble Re-

former—there was his beloved Melancthon—there too was Bugenhagen and all the preachers and professors, the students and citizens, and many distinguished strangers, both princes and nobles, and all, all overwhelmed with grief. The meeting of Catharine von Bora, and the corpse of her departed husband, is described as a scene of deep and thrilling interest. Mrs. Luther was in a carriage with the principal officers of the town—greater honors could not have been shown to a monarch, than were freely and spontaneously conferred upon Luther. The funeral procession then moved slowly to the great castle church of Wittenberg. The order of the procession was as follows, viz.

1. The counts of Mansfeldt, accompanied by forty-five cavaliers.
2. The professors of the University.
3. The students of the University.
4. The honorable town council.
5. The congregation and citizens. These went before and with singing (as was then the custom) passed through the town.
6. The corpse surrounded by a cavalcade of sixty-five cavaliers and two young counts.
7. Mrs. Luther and several matrons.
8. Then his three sons.
9. Then his brother Jacob and family from Mansfeldt.
10. Then two of the Kaufmans, sons of Luther's sister, from Mansfeldt.
11. A number of noblemen and princes who appeared as mourners.
12. Philip Melancthon, Dr. Bugenhagen, Dr. Jonas, Dr. Brück and others of the older doctors.
13. Then an immense concourse of men, women and children. All Wittenberg and the country around for twenty miles seemed to be emptied of its inhabitants. Such was the throng, that the like had never been



seen at Wittenberg—the streets, and lanes, and houses were all full of human beings. With great difficulty the procession got to the church, which was soon crowded to overflowing. Dr. Bugenhagen, the pastor of the congregation arose and read his text, (1 Thess. iv. 13.) “But I would not have you to be ignorant, brethren, concerning them which are asleep, that ye sorrow not, even as others that have no hope.” After Dr. Bugenhagen had pronounced the words of the text he could say no more—he was completely overwhelmed—he could not utter a word, but burst out in an uncontrollable paroxysm of grief. This opened the sluices of thousands of hearts—the whole congregation joined in this deep out-burst of sorrow—the excitement reached those who had crowded around the church, and from them it was communicated to those in the streets, until it spread through the whole city—and the whole immense population joined in the bitter lamentation! This loud and heartfelt weeping continued for several minutes; after the first gush of feeling the congregation became composed and the preacher finished his sermon. And a noble specimen of oratory it was. After Dr. Bugenhagen had finished his discourse by a Latin quotation from Luther, viz. “Pestis eram vivus, moriens tua mors ero papa.” “Living I had been the pest of the pope, dying I shall be thy death.” Melancthon delivered a funeral oration in Latin to the learned; both these discourses are given in the 12th Vol. of Luther’s works, but we have not room to quote from them. After the singing of a funeral dirge, the coffin was lowered into the grave in the aisle of

the church, very near the pulpit. The vast congregation was then dismissed, with sad and melancholy steps the people returned to their homes, scarcely able, even after what they had just seen, to believe it possible that the noble form of Luther should be seen no more in the streets of Wittenberg—how could they realize their great loss? Luther had been among them for 38 years—he had been the friend and benefactor not only of their city, but of the whole nation—his voice had often thrilled their hearts with joy, but now that voice was hushed in the silence of death! It was as though the wheels of nature had been deranged. Wittenberg had been raised from an insignificant town to one of the most famous cities in the world. Luther had done this—he was the star of attraction—he was the life and soul of Wittenberg—and although Melancthon and other distinguished men were there, Luther was not. When Luther died the sun of Wittenberg set, and set forever! The glory of Wittenberg even now, after more than three centuries have rolled away, is that Luther labored, and taught, and lies buried there. Many distinguished warriors and statesmen have visited the grave of Luther—Peter the Great, of Russia, and Napoleon, and Frederick the Great, but they were all small men compared with the mighty Reformer.

Luther is gone, but he “being dead yet speaketh,” and will continue to speak until the affairs of this world shall be wound up. Luther did more for the emancipation of the human mind from the thralldom of error and superstition than any man that ever lived; and it becomes us all

to be thankful to God, that Luther ever lived and labored for our world. In the language of one of his German biographers we can say :

Dank dir, Unsterblicher! und jeder danke,  
 Dem du so hoch beglückt.  
 Dein Name sei uns köstlicher Gedanke  
 Wenn andre Wahn und Fessel drückt.  
 O! wehe, wehe dem, der dich verkennet  
 Dich der so viel gethan!  
 Wer deinen Namen nicht mit Erfurcht nennet,  
 Der ist ein Slav, kein freier Deutcher Mann!

Translation: "Thanks to thee immortal Luther! let every man thank thee whom God so highly honored.

Thy name shall be embalmed in our affections, when we think of the oppressions endured by others.

O! woe, woe to him who does not acknowledge thee as the individual who has achieved so much for us.

He who mentions not thy name with reverence is a slave, and no German freeman."

In the wall opposite the resting place of Luther is a bronze plate with the following inscription :

MARTINI LUTHERI, SACRÆ THEOLOGIÆ DOCTORIS CORPUS HOC LOCO SEPULTUM EST, QUI ANNO CHRISTI MDXLVI., XII. CALENDAS MARTII EISLEBII IN PATRIA. S. M. O. C. V. ANN. LXIII. M. II. D. X.

Melancthon also wrote the following epitaph on Luther :

Qui Christum docuit pure, et bona plurima fecit,  
 Lutheri hac urna molliter ossa cubant.

## CATALOGUE OF LUTHER'S WRITINGS.

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THE works of Luther are very voluminous, and even a cursory glance at them would require a number of volumes. In order, however, to give the reader an idea of the immense labors of the great Reformer, and the extent and variety of his acquirements, and the versatility of his talents, we subjoin a list of all his publications. Prof. Stowe has given such a list from the German in the *Biblical Repository* of July, 1844, and has accompanied it with the following judicious remarks: "One great object I have in view in preparing these articles, is to direct the attention of the many who are now studying the German language in this country, to the writings of Luther. They are not obsolete, most of them are as good now as ever they were, and admirably adapted to the state of theological discussion at this time both in England and the United States. To give some idea of the number and variety of topics which engaged his pen, a condensed bill of fare to the student who would feast upon his works, I here subjoin, in chronological order, a select list of his principal German writings. The complete catalogue of all his works, Latin and German, comprises in the appendix to Seckendorf, twenty-four large folio pages, closely printed in double columns."

1517—18.

1. Sermon on Indulgences and Grace. 2. Defence of the Sermon. 3. The Seven Penitential Psalms, with a Commentary. 4. Exposition of the Lord's Prayer. 5. Sermon on Penitence. 6. Exposition of the 110th Psalm.

1519.

7. A brief Guide to Confession. 8. Sermon on Usury. 9. Sermon on the Sacrament of the body of Christ, (advocating the use of the cup for the laity.) 10. Sermon on Excommunication. 11. Sermon on Marriage. 12. Instruction respecting certain articles alleged against him by his opponents. 13. Sermon on Prayer and the Procession. 14. Sermon preached at the castle in Leipsic. 15. Sermon on Preparation for Death. 16. Another Sermon on Usury.

1520.

17. Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation. 18. Sermon on the Mass. 19. On the Freedom of a Christian man. 20. Exposition of certain articles in the Sermon on the Sacrament of the body of Christ. 21. Protest and Appeal. 22. Answer to a paper published under the seal of the Official at Stolpen. 23. On Good Works. 24. On the Papacy of Rome. 25. On Eck's new Bulls and Lies. 26. Against the Bulls of Anti-Christ. 27. Why the Pope and his Disciples have burnt Dr. Martin Luther's Books. 28. Ground and Reason of all the Articles which are unjustly condemned by the Romish Bulls. 29. A short Exposition of the holy Lord's Prayer,

before and behind, (that is, what is expressed and implied.)  
 30. A brief Form of the Decalogue, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer.

1521.

31. Instruction to Penitents respecting the prohibited books of Dr. Martin Luther. 32. Sermon respecting the Kingdom of Christ and the Kingdom of Herod, preached on Three Kings' Day. 33. The Sufferings of Christ and Anti-Christ illustrated in 26 engravings by Cranch, the elder. 34. Sermon on the worthy receiving of the Sacrament of the true body of Christ, preached at Wittenberg before his serene highness, the Prince and Margrave of Bradenburg. 35. Sermon preached at Erfurt on the journey to Worms. 36. Sermon on a three-fold good Life, to instruct the conscience. 37. Instruction how men are rightly and understandingly to be baptized into the Christian Faith. 38—41. Four Tracts in answer to Bok and Emser and Murner, in respect to the Leipsic Discussion. 42. Whether the Pope has power to require Confession. 43. The 119th Psalm in German, to aid in useful Prayer, and to exalt God's Word against its greatest enemies, the Pope and the Doctrines of Men. 44. The 37th Psalm of David, to teach and comfort a Christian man against the plots of the wicked and malicious Hypocrites. 45. German Exposition of the 68th Psalm for Easter, Ascension and Pentecost. 46. The Magnifical (Luke i. 46—55,) translated and expounded. 47. Gospel of the Ten Lepers, (Luke xvii. 11—19,) translated and expounded. 48. Judgment of the Paris Theologians on the doctrine of Dr. Lu-

ther, and Dr. Luther's Anti-Judgment. 49. Dr. Martin Luther's letter to the Diet at Worms, after his departure therefrom, sent from Freidberg.

1522.

50. Exhortation to all Christians to keep themselves from Uproar and Rebellion. 51. Eight Sermons preached at Wittenberg, against all violent measures in promoting reformation, (among the most eloquent of all Luther's productions.) 52. On the Abuses of the Mass. 53. The Bull *in Cæna Domini* of his Holiness the Pope, translated into German by Dr. Luther, with King David's Commentary on this Bull in Psalm 10th. 54. Treatise against Dr. Carlstadt's Innovations at Wittenberg. 55. Martin Luther's opinion on receiving the Sacrament in both kinds. 56. On shunning the Doctrines of Men. 57. Answer to the Texts quoted to strengthen the Doctrines of Men. 58. Sermon on the Future Coming of Christ. 59. On the Sufferings of Christ. 60. Sermon on John xvi. 61. Against the Spiritual State falsely so called of the Pope and Bishops. 62. German answer of Martin Luther to the Book of King Henry of England, I fear not the Truth—Lies touch me not. 63. German Translation of the New Testament, with a Preface. 64. Exposition of the Epistles and Gospels which are read in the Church from Advent to Christmas. 65. The same, from Christmas to Sunday after Epiphany. 66. On Married Life. 67. A Christian Sermon preached at Erfurt, for the Reformation of every Christian man. 68. Do. on Faith and Works. 69. Re-

flections and Instructions on Monasteries and all Spiritual Vows. 70. Exhortation, Warning and Retrospection. 71. A Missive to all who are suffering Persecution for the Word of God, comfortingly written by Dr. Martin Luther to the noble and steadfast Harmuth von Cronenberg. 72. To the Bohemian Legislators assembled at Prague.

1523.

73. On the Obedience due to the civil Magistrates. 74. On the Order of Divine Service in the Church. 75. On the Order of a common Treasury. 76. Sermon on the Birth of Christ. 77. Explanation of two abominable Figures of the Ass-Pope and Calf-monk, set forth by Melancthon, with Luther's Amen. 78. Exhortation to the German Clergy to abandon false Chastity, and hasten to the right, connubial Chastity. 79. Reason and Answer why the Nuns may in a godly sort forsake the Nunneries. 80. That Jesus Christ was born a Jew. 81. Manual of Baptism in German. 82. Ground and Reason, out of the Scripture, that a Christian Congregation or Church have the right and power to judge of Doctrine, to call their Teachers, and to install and dismiss them. 83. Instruction and Proof that the possession of the Evangelical Doctrine in Word and Deed, and the reception of the Sacrament in both kinds, cannot with good conscience be dispensed with through fear of man. 84. Christ's Indulgence. 85. Poem on the two Martyrs of Christ, who were burnt at Brussels by the Sophists of Louvaine. 86. Letter to the Prebendary of Wittenberg, to put an end to



the Disorders in Public Worship. 87. Exhortation to all Christians in Worms to hold fast the Gospel—Doctrine they had received. 88. To the dear, elect Friends of God, all the Christians in Riga, Reval and Dorpat in Lavonia. 89. A letter of Comfort to the Christians of Augsburg. 90. Exposition of the Seventh Chapter of the First Corinthians. 91. The Epistle of Peter preached and explained. 92. Translation of the Five Books of Moses, with a Preface. 93. A Writing of kinds of men who hold themselves in the Faith, and what that is. 94. An Advice that Princes should not take Arms against the Sovereign on account of Persecution for the Faith. 95. Answer and Supplication, on the request of the Elector of Saxony, that he should abstain from severity in writing. 96. A Papal Brief against Luther to the Council of Bamberg, with Luther's Notes.

1524.

97. To the Councillors of all the Cities of Germany, that they should establish and maintain Christian Schools. 98. A Sermon on the Circumcision, from Luke ii. 21. 99. A Brief Exposition of John i. 29—34. 100. An account of the manner in which the honorable and virtuous Virgin, Florintina von Oberweimar (or Upper Weimar) made her escape from the Nunnery, through the help of God. 101. A Christian Letter of comfort to the Miltenbergers, and how they should avenge themselves on their enemies, out of Psalm cxx. 102. Exposition of Psalm cxxvii for the Christians of Riga and Lavonia. 103. The Epistle of Jude and the Second of Peter, preached and

explained. 104. Two Imperial Edicts, inconsistent and contradictory, against Luther, with Luther's Preface and Postscript. 105. A Writing against the blind and mad condemnation of the Seventeen Articles by the miserable and shameful University of Ingolstadt. 106. Advice that Parents should neither force nor hinder the Marriage of their Children, and that Children should not make Matrimonial Engagements without the Consent of their Parents. 107. A Writing against the new Idol and old Devil, which is said to be raised at Meissen, (on the canonization of Benno, an old Bishop of Meissen.) 108. A Letter to the Princes Frederick and John of Saxony, on the Rebellious Spirit. 109. Reflection whether we should decide by the Mosaic or the Imperial Code. 110. Reflection whether a man should abstain from Marriage on account of the Poverty of his family. 111. On Trade and Usury. 112. On the sum of God's Law, and the use and abuse of the Law, from 1 Tim. i. 3. 113. The Abominations of the Silent Mass. 114. Prefaces to Job, Proverbs and Ecclesiastes. 115. The Psalter in German, after the manner of the Hebrew language. 116. Several Sermons. 117. Luther's Correspondence with Wolfgang of Saalhausen. 118. On the Use and Profession of Christian Freedom. 119. To the Chapter of Wittenberg, to put away the Ungodly Ceremonies. 120. To a gentlemen in Austria, instructed in the Christian Doctrine.

1525.

121. Against the Heavenly Prophets on the Images and Sacraments. 122. Martyrdom of B. Henry, burnt in

Diedmar, with an Exposition of Psalm ix. 123. Two Bulls of Pope Clement VII. on the Papal Romish Jubilee, translated into German with a Preface and Notes. 124. A Lecture against Rebels, on 1 Tim. i. 18—20. 125. An Address to be read before receiving the Sacrament. 126. A Warning to all the Christians in Strasburg to be on their guard against the Fanaticism of Dr. Carlstadt. 127. An Exhortation to Peace, (to the Swabian Peasants.) 128. Against the Thievish and Murderous Peasants. 129. A Letter respecting the severe Books against the Peasants. 130. A dreadful History and Judgment of God on Thomas Muenzer. 131. Two Sermons on the Death of Frederick, Elector of Saxony, from 1 Thess. iv. 13—18. 132. Sermon on Psalm xxvi. 133. A Christian Exhortation respecting the externals of Public Worship and Uniformity therein, to the Christians of Lavonia. 134. Exposition of the Epistles and Gospel for the Feast of the Three Kings, and from Advent to Easter. 135. Preface to John Walter's Psalm-tunes set to four Parts. 136. Various sermons. 137. Exhortation to Wolfgang Reissenbusch, to betake himself to the married state. 138. A Letter to Cardinal Albert, Archbishop of Mainz, advising him to get married.

1526.

139. The German Mass and order of Public Worship. 140. The Papacy and its members depicted and described. 141. To all the Christians of Reutligen. 142. Against Æcolampadius. 143. Sermon on the body and blood of Christ, against the Fanatics. 144. The cxii. Psalm of

David, on the wealth, honor and pleasure which the godly use well, and the ungodly abuse. 145. Two Sermons on Acts xv. and xvi. 146. Answer to passages quoted from Scripture in favor of Monastic Vows. 147. The Prophet Habakkuk expounded. 148. A good Sermon of Dr. Luther's on the text, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God. 149. Four comforting Psalms expounded to the Queen of Hungary. 150. Instruction and Warning against the right rebellious and treacherous Council of the whole Clergy of Mainz. 151. Dr. Luther's advice to the Saxon Chancellor, Brück, as to what the Elector should do against the Confederacy in Mainz. 152. Explanation of certain chapters in Exodus. 153. Certain Reflections on subjects connected with marriage.

1527.

154. That these words, "this is my body," stand fast against the Fanatics. 155. Whether a Man may flee through fear of Death, (written when the plague raged at Wittenberg. 156. Whether Soldiers can be in a condition of Salvation. 157. Sermon on Matt. xi. 25—30. 158. Answer to the King of England's blasphemous Title. 159. Consolation to the Christians of Halle on the Death of their Preacher. 160. Various sermons. 161. Predictions of John Lichtenberger, in German. 162. Blessed History of Leonard Kaiser, who was burnt in Bavaria for the Gospel's sake. 163. Sermon on Christ's Kingdom and Christian Freedom. 164. Reflections on a case of Matrimony. 165. A faithful Warning and Exhortation to all the pious Christians of Erfurt, to beware of false

doctrines, and hold fast to the true. 166. On the First Book of Moses, with an Instruction how Moses is to be read. 167. Five Reflections of Luther to certain of the Nobility.

## 1528.

168. On the Lord's Supper. 169. A new Fable of Æsop, of the Lion and the Ass, lately found and translated into German, (a humorous satire on certain would-be poets.) 170. The Prophet Zechariah expounded. 171. On Anabaptism. 172 and 173. Two Treatises on the Sacrament in both kinds. 174. A beautiful Christian letter of Consolation to a considerable person in Lower Saxony, who was burdened with various thoughts concerning God's providence. 175. On the false mendicant Roguery. 176. On the marriage of the worthy priest, S. Klingbeil, to the Bishop of Camin. 177. Exposition of the Decalogue. 178. Brief Exhortation to Confession.

## 1529.

179. On private and stolen letters, together with an exposition of a Psalm, against George, Duke of Saxony. 180. A small Catechism for common pastors and preachers. 181. The German Catechism. 182. Sermon on the lies against the Holy Ghost. 183. The Wisdom of Solomon, to Tyrants, translated into German. 184. To the high-born Princess, the Lady Sibyl, Duchess of Saxony, on Christian Housekeeping. 185. Sermons to the Suffering, from John xviii. xix. and xx. 186. War Sermon against the Turks. 187. A Writing to John, Elector

of Saxony, respecting defensive war. 188. A Writing of comfort to a person in great Temptation, with the addition of Psalm cxlii.

1530.

189. Admonition to the Clergy assembled at the Diet of Augsburg. 190. Description of a Court Life in Venice. 191. Certain Fables of Æsop, translated into German. 192. A Sermon, that men should keep their children at School. 193. A Letter on Translation, (defending his version of Romans iii. 28.) 194. A Warning to his dear Germans. 195. On Marriage. 196. A short and clear Instruction how the secret Revelation of John is to be understood and interpreted, very useful and consoling for those times. 197. The Prophet Daniel, in German. 198. The Prophecy concerning Gog, in Ezekiel xxviii. and xxxix. 199. Select and beautiful passages of the Holy Scriptures, wherewith Dr. Luther comforted himself in great temptations. 200. A Writing to the Landgrave of Hesse. 201. The beautiful cxviii. Psalm. 202. Certain Reflections on controverted Articles laid before the Diet at Augsburg. 203. Answer to Questions proposed to Dr. Luther by two persons of high rank. 204. Martin Luther's Revelation respecting Purgatory, to all Posterity. 205. Exposition of Psalms cxvii. and lxxxii. 206. On the Keys. 207. Exhortation to the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Lord. 208. Exposition of the cxi. Psalm. 209. Prefaces to the Apocryphal Books of the Old Testament. 210. Instruction to Preachers whether they should leave their churches, and give way to the

enemies of the Gospel. 211. Brief Exposition of the first twenty-five Psalms. 212. Brief Exposition of the vi. vii. and xvii. chapters of John. 213. Nine Sermons preached at Coburg, during the Diet at Augsburg. 214. A Confession of the Christian Doctrine and Faith, in Seventeen Articles. 215. Answer to the clamor of certain Papists against the Seventeen Articles. 216. Fine Christian Thoughts of the holy Fathers and Doctors, that a Christian should bear every cross with patience. 217. Advice to a Pastor how a Jewess should be baptized. 218. Answer to Five Questions proposed by a person of quality on the right use of the Sacraments. 219. On the Intercession of the Saints.

1531.

220. On the pretended Imperial Edict issued after the Diet of 1530. 221. Letter to Spangler, whether men may resist the Emperor. 222. Letter to a Citizen of Nuremberg, whether men with a good conscience may enter into combination against the unrighteous and violent attempts of the Emperor. 223. To the Citizens of Frauenstein. 224. Against the Assassins at Dresden. 225. Sermon on the Cross and Sufferings, and how a man should behave himself under them. 226. A Sermon on John xx. respecting Mary Magdalene. 227. Instruction and Warning to the Christians of N., near Freiberg, to receive the Sacrament in both kinds. 228. A writing that Christian Preachers, by their office, are bound to reprove the people for their sins. 229. How Christians should act in affairs of Matrimony. 230. Prefaces to the Psalter,

Jeremiah and the minor Prophets. 231. Summaries of the Psalms, and Reasons for translating. 232. Sermon on the Destruction of Jerusalem, from Luke xix. 41. 233. Sermon on Angels. 234. A Marriage Sermon from Hebrews xiii. 4. 235. Advice as to what a faithful Preacher of the Word should do when his office is despised and he is persecuted. 236. Comfort to an Afflicted person of Quality.

## 1532.

237. Exposition of Matt. v. vi. and vii. 238. Do. of Psalm cxlvii. 239. To the Council and nine Monks of Herford. 240. How the Law and the Gospel may be right solidly distinguished, and what Christ and his Kingdom are. 241. Exposition of the Benediction pronounced in the Mass. 242. Letters to the Elector, John of Saxony. 243. Letter to Albert, Margrave of Brandenburg, against certain rebellious Spirits. 244. Letters against Sneaks and secret Preachers. 245. Two Sermons at the Funeral of John, Elector of Saxony. 246. Letter of Consolation to a Nobleman. 247. Do. to the expelled Leipsicers. 248. A Comforting Sermon on the Coming of Christ, and the promised signs of the Last Day. 249. A Prophecy of Dr. Martin Luther, after the death of the Elector John.

## 1533.

250. To the Christians of Oschatz. 251. Answer and Instruction to the Leipsic Protestants, expelled by Duke George. 252. Sermon on Jesus Christ, preached before the Electoral Court of Torgau. 253. Some fine Sermons



on Christian love, from the first Epistle of John. 254  
 Form of the Christian life, from St. Paul, 1 Tim. i. 255.  
 To the Christians of Frankfort on the Maine. 256. Four  
 Reflections of Luther and his Colleagues on a Council.  
 257. To the Council of the Imperial City of Augsburg.  
 258. Answer to the Uproar of Duke George, and a Letter  
 of Comfort to the Christians wickedly expelled by him  
 from Leipsic. 259. A little Answer to Duke George's  
 last Book. 260. Three Sermons on good and bad Angels.  
 261. On private Masses and Consecration to the Priest-  
 hood. 262. Letters to a good Friend on a Book respect-  
 ing private Masses. 263. Dr. Martin Luther's Catalogue  
 of all the Books published by him from 1518 to 1533,  
 with a Preface.

## 1534.

264. Exposition of Psalms lxxv. ci. 265. Reflections  
 to the Elector John Frederick. 266. Four Letters of  
 Comfort to a person in private rank, in bodily and mental  
 distress. 267. Comfort to a person afflicted with melan-  
 choly and gloom. 268. On the Resurrection from the  
 Dead, 1 Cor. xv. 269. Counsel and Warming to an of-  
 fended person to avoid avenging himself. 270. Reflec-  
 tions on fleeing from Solitude. 271. Comforting Instruc-  
 tions how we may resist bodily Weakness, Pusillanimity,  
 and other Temptations of the Devil. 272. Prayer for the  
 hour of Death. 273. Preface to the Acts of the Apostles

## 1535.

274. Reflections whether a Christian who is well in-  
 structed in Divine Truth, can attend idolatrous worship

without violating his conscience. 275. Sermons on Baptism. 276. Reflections whether it is lawful to marry a deceased wife's sister. 277. Reflections whether the Holy Sacraments in both kinds may be administered in a private house. 278. A simple guide to Prayer for a good friend. 279. Reflections whether a Christian with a good conscience can be present at a consecration of a papal Bishop. 280. A comforting Writing for Christians banished for the sake of the Gospel. 281. The last and earnest Letter of reproof to Cardinal Albert, Archbishop of Mainz. 282. Reflection on two cases of nuptial Desertion. 283. Convocation of the free Christian Council.

1536 ,

284. Marriage Sermon on Ephesians, v. 22—23. 285. Instruction that the Spiritual and Temporal Authority should be carefully distinguished. 286. Reflections on the Sins of the Elect. 287. Severe Reproof and Warning to the Cardinal Albert, Archbishop of Mainz.

1537.

288. Complaint of the Birds to Lutter against his Servant, W. Siebergen, (a humorous reproof of the Servant for his fondness for ensnaring and caging birds.) 289. Exposition of the Christian Faith, preached at Smalkalden. 290. Comforting Letter to a person who was fearful and sad in Sickness. 291. Twenty-one Sermons. 292. Letter to Jezeln, a Jew of Rosheim.

## 1538.

293. On the Value of History. 294. Articles to be Discussed at the Council of Mantua, and what we on our part can give or take. 295. Letter to a good Friend against the Sabbatarians. 296. Reflections on the Expedition against the Turks. 297. Program against the Epigrams of Lemnius. 298. The three Confessions of the Christian Faith used harmoniously in the Churches. 299. The glorious Mandate of Christ, Go ye into all the World, and preach the Gospel to every creature. 300. The expression of Paul, Christ hath given himself for our Sins, wholesomely and comfortingly explained to all troubled and anxious Consciences. 301. Writing to Count Albert of Mansfield.

## 1539.

302. On the Councils and Churches. 303. Against the Bishop of Magdeburg. 304. Letter to a Pastor respecting taking arms against the Emperor, if he should attack the Protestants. 305. To the Council of Nuremberg, respecting general and special Absolution. 306. Writing respecting Holy Water and the Pope's Agnus Dei. 307. Writing to Margrave Joachim II. of Brandenburg, respecting the Order of the Churches. 308. Letters to the Provost of Berlin, respecting certain Ceremonies in Divine Worship. 309. Answer to Landgrave, Philip of Hesse, respecting his Bigamy. 310. Report on Mr. Eisleben's false Doctrine and shameful Conduct, and Answer to his insignificant and groundless Complaints against Luther.

1540.

311. Exhortation to Pastors to preach against Usury.  
312. Warning to a good Friend not to withdraw himself from the Lord's Supper on account of a Law-suit.

1541.

313. Against Hans Worst. 314. Exhortation to Prayer against the Turks. 315. Thoughts on Religious Peace  
316. Collation Speech on Transubstantiation. 317. Another Letter to a person of high rank respecting Transubstantiation.

1542.

318. Example of the Consecration of a right Christian Bishop, as it took place at Nuremberg in 1542. 319. Preface to the Latin and German burial Hymns. 320. German translation of Richard's Refutation of the Koran. 321. Owl's Looking-glass and Alcoran of the barefaced Monks. 322. Exhortation to Peace, to the Elector John Frederick and Duke Maurice, of Saxony. 323. Letter of Consolation to the widow of Cellarius on her husband's happy Death. 324. Letter to Prince George of Anhalt, respecting the Elevation of the Host. 325. Comfort to pious women who are unfortunate in Child-birth. 326. Lady Music, (a poem.) 327. On the Jews and their Lies. 328. Earnest Writing, that a faithful Pastor should not be deposed because he had severely reprov'd vice. 329. On the Genealogy of Christ. 330. On the last Words of David. 331. Reflections on the re-establishment of the Papal Ceremonies. 332. Earnest Exhortation to Students

at Wittenberg, to keep themselves from Prostitutes. 333.  
 Comforting Letter to W. Heinzen, organist at Halle. 334.  
 Exposition of the Epistles and Gospels for a year.

1544.

335. Short Confession respecting the holy sacrament.  
 336. Comforting letter to Jerome Baumgartner's wife, re-  
 specting her husband's Imprisonment. 337. Comforting  
 letter to pious parents whose son had died at the Univer-  
 sity. 338. Family Sermons.

1545.

339. On the use of Picture Books in religious instruc-  
 tion. 340. Luther to the Elector of Saxony and Land-  
 grave of Hesse, respecting the Imprisonment of the Duke  
 of Brunswick. 341. Representation to the Elector of  
 Saxony, against secret matrimonial engagements. 342.  
 Against the Roman Papacy established by the Devil. 343.  
 An Italian lying Letter, published at Rome, respecting Lu-  
 ther's Death, with Notes. 344. Sermon on the Kingdom  
 of Christ, from Psalm viii. 345. Luther's Dialogue with  
 Dr. George Major.

1546.

346. A little Book for simple Pastors. 347. Letter to  
 the Congregation at Pensa. 348—52. Several Sermons.  
 353. Sermon on Matt. xi. 25—30, (preached two days  
 before Luther's death—the last he ever preached.)



















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