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VOL. II

No. 6

TRANSLATIONS AND REPRINTS

FROM THE

ORIGINAL SOURCES OF EUROPEAN HISTORY

PERIOD OF THE EARLY REFORMATION
IN GERMANY

EDITED BY JAMES HARVEY ROBINSON, PH.D.

AND

MERRICK WHITCOMB, PH.D.

PUBLISHED FOR

THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

BY THE

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VOL. II. THE PERIOD OF EARLY REFORMATION IN GERMANY. No. 6.

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AN EXAMPLE OF THE LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN.

John Reuchlin, a famous Hebrew scholar, became involved in a controversy with a baptised Jew, Pfefferkorn, and his friends, in regard to the desirability of confiscating and destroying the books of the Jews. Reuchlin's tolerant attitude displeased the fanatical party, and he was led to defend his position in a book which he called the *Augenspiegel*. This reached the theological faculty of Cologne, which drew up a list of heretical propositions found therein; and Ortuin Gratius, one of the members of the faculty, added an appendix of Latin verses. Reuchlin was summoned before Hochstraten, the inquisitor general, at Cologne, but appealed to the Pope, who referred the case to the Bishop of Speyer. This prelate declared the book free from heresy. Then Hochstraten in his turn appealed to Rome, where the case was pending when the *Letters of Obscure Men* appeared. The persecution and trial of Reuchlin created a great deal of excitement in Germany among the literary men. In March, 1514, Reuchlin had published a collection of the letters of sympathy which he had received, under the title, *Letters of Distinguished Men, addressed to John Reuchlin*. These suggested to a famous humanist at Erfurt, Crotus Rubeanus, and his friends a method of attacking the theological party by means of a series of letters purporting to be written to Ortuin Gratius by his simple admirers and disciples. The modest title *Letters of Obscure Men* suggested itself as antithetical to that of the boastful collection which Reuchlin had issued of the letters of distinguished contemporaries. The first series was published in 1515, and a second series, in which Ulrich von Hutten doubtless took part, in 1517. The bad Latin, the fruitless quibbles, the naïve confessions of habitual looseness of life, and the hate which the theologians bore toward Reuchlin and the whole tribe of humanists, form the interest and the recurring themes of the letters. The wit is good, bad and indifferent. The general conception of the work is perhaps its most delicately humorous feature, and it is said that in two instances at least the monks took the letters seriously, believing them to be an authentic manifesto of their party.

See Creighton, *History of the Papacy*, Vol. V., pp. 29-51, Strauss, *Ulrich von Hutten*, 176 ff., Geiger's *Reuchlin*, and his *Renaissance und Humanismus in Italien und Deutschland*, 510 ff. The best version of the "Letters" is that of Böcking. 2 vols.

From the Latin: *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*, Ed. Böcking, Leipzig, 1863, Vol. I., pp. 226-227.

Henricus Schaffsmulius to Master Ortuin Gratius many salutations.

When I first went to the Curia you told me that I should write to you frequently and address any theological questions to you, for you wished to answer them more satisfactorily than those could about the Papal Court at Rome. I, therefore, wish now to ask your opinion in

the case of one who should on Friday, which is the sixth day, or upon any other fast day, eat an egg in which there is a chick. For we were recently dining at an inn in the Campo Fiore, and were eating eggs. And I, opening my egg, discovered that there was a chick within; but upon showing it to my companion, he urged me to swallow it straightway before the host caught sight of it, for otherwise I should have to pay a Carolinus or a Julius for a fowl, since it is the custom here to pay for everything the host places upon the table, because they will take nothing back. Now if he saw that there was a chick in the egg he would say: "You must pay me for a fowl too,"—for he would charge for a little one just as much as he would for a big one.

And I immediately swallowed the egg and the chick at the same time, and afterwards it occurred to me that it was Friday, and I said to my companion, "You have caused me to commit a mortal sin in eating meat on the sixth day."

But he said that it was not a mortal sin, not even a venial sin, since a chick may not be considered other than an egg until it is born. And he remarked that it is just so in the case of cheese in which there are worms, and of those in cherries, and in peas, and young beans, but they are eaten on the sixth day, and even on the vigils of the Apostles. But inn proprietors are such rascals, they say that these are meat in order to make gain thereby.

Then I went out and thought about it, and by Heaven, Master Ortuin, I am much disturbed, and I do not know what I ought to do about it. It is true that I might take counsel with a member of the Papal Court, but I know that they have bad consciences. As for myself, it seems to me that chicks in the egg are meat, because the matter is already formed and shaped into the members and body of an animal, and it has animal life. It is otherwise in the case of worms in cheese and in other comestibles, for worms are accounted to be fish, as I have heard from a physician, who is also a very able scientist.

I beseech of you earnestly to reply to my question. For if you hold that it is a mortal sin, then I wish to seek absolution before I go to Germany; for you probably know that our Lord, Jacob Hochstraten, borrowed a thousand florins from the bank, and I believe he would want to make something out of the case, and may the devil take that John Reuchlin and those other poets and men of law, who are trying to fight the Church of God,—that is to say, the theologians, who are the real backbone of the Church, as Christ said: "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my Church."

May the Lord God preserve you. Farewell.

Written in the City of Rome.

THE SALE OF INDULGENCES.

The Archbishop of Mainz arranged with the Pope in 1515 to conduct the sale of indulgences in his own vast archiepiscopal provinces, Mainz and Magdeburg, for one-half the proceeds. The plan was not carried out until 1517 when, we may infer, the undated Instructions to Subcommissioners were drawn up, a portion of which is given below. These instructions, Cardinal Hergenröther observes, "corresponding with the teaching of the church, cannot be a source of reproach to the Elector" (*Conciliengeschichte*, IX, 11).

The sub-commissioners appealed in turn to the parochial priests, and there are extant portions of another set of instructions issued by John Tetzel to the priests of his territory, exhorting them to prepare the minds of their parishioners for indulgences; and with these instructions he sent pattern sermons, of which one is given below.

ARCHBISHOP ALBERT'S INSTRUCTIONS TO THE SUB-COMMISSIONERS.

Gerdes: *Introductio in Historiam Evangelii Seculo XVI Renovati*,
Supplement to Vol. I, pp. 90, *sqq.*

* * * Here follow the four principal graces and privileges, which are granted by the apostolic bull, of which each may be obtained without the other. In the matter of these four privileges preachers shall take pains to commend each to believers with the greatest care, and, in-so-far as in their power lies, to explain the same.

The first grace is the complete remission of all sins; and nothing greater than this can be named, since man who lives in sin and forfeits the favor of God, obtains complete remission by these means and once more enjoys God's favor: moreover, through this remission of sins the punishment which one is obliged to undergo in Purgatory on account of the affront to the divine Majesty, is all remitted, and the pains of Purgatory completely blotted out. And although nothing is precious enough to be given in exchange for such a grace,—since it is the free gift of God and a grace beyond price,—yet in order that Christian believers may be the more easily induced to procure the same, we establish the following rules, to wit:

In the first place every one who is contrite in heart, and has made oral confession, or at all events has the intention of confessing at a suitable time, shall visit at least the seven churches indicated for this purpose, that is to say, those in which the papal arms are displayed, and in each church shall say devoutly five Paternosters and five Ave Marias in honor of the five wounds of our Lord Jesus Christ, whereby our salvation is won, or one *Miserere*, which Psalm is particularly well adapted for obtaining forgiveness of sins.

Sick or otherwise incapacitated persons shall visit with the same devotion and prayers the seven altars, which the commissioners and subcommissioners shall have erected in the church where the cross shall be raised, and on which they shall have affixed the papal arms.

Where, however, persons are found so weak that they cannot conveniently come to such a church, then shall their confessor or penitentiary cause an altar to be brought to a convenient place approved by him. And where such persons visit this place and offer up their prayers near the altar or before it, they shall deserve the indulgence as though they had visited the seven churches.

To those, however, who are upon beds of sickness the image of a saint may be sent, before or beside which they may offer up a certain number of prayers, according to the judgment of the confessor, in which case they shall be considered to have done as much as if they had visited the seven churches.

But where a certain one, particularly a woman, requests, on account of some especial cause, that the visitation of the churches and altars be remitted, the penitentiaries may grant the request on proper grounds; but the said visitation shall be replaced with an increased contribution.

Respecting, now, the contribution to the chest, for the building of the said church of the chief of the apostles, the penitentiaries and confessors, after they have explained to those making confession the full remission and privileges, shall ask of them, for how much money or other temporal goods they would conscientiously go without the said most complete remission and privileges; and this shall be done in order that hereafter they may be brought the more easily to contribute. And because the conditions and occupations of men are so manifold and diverse that we cannot consider them individually, and impose specific rates accordingly, we have therefore concluded that the rates should be determined according to the recognized classes of persons.

Kings and Queens and their offspring, archbishops and bishops, and other great rulers as well, provided they seek the places where the cross is raised, or otherwise present themselves, shall pay at least five and twenty Rhenish guilders in gold. Abbots and the great prelates of Cathedral churches, counts, barons, and others of the higher nobility, together with their consorts, shall pay for each letter of indulgence ten such guilders. Other lesser prelates and nobles, as also the rectors of celebrated places, and all others, who, either from permanent incomes or merchandise, or otherwise, enjoy a total yearly

revenue of five hundred gold guilders, shall pay six guilders. Other citizens and tradespeople and artisans, who have individual incomes and families of their own, shall pay one such guilder; others of less means only a half. And where it is impossible to adhere rigidly to the schedule above indicated, then we declare that the said kings, bishops, dukes, abbots, prelates, counts, barons, members of the higher nobility and rectors, together with all others above mentioned, shall place or cause to be placed in the chest a sum in accordance with the dictates of sound reason, proportionate to their magnificence or generosity, after they have listened to the advice and council of the subcommissioners and penitentiaries and of their confessors, in order that they may fully obtain the grace and privileges. All other persons are confided to the discretion of the confessors and penitentiaries, who should have ever in view the advancement of this building, and should urge their penitents to a freer contribution, but should let no one go away without some portion of grace, because the happiness of Christian believers is here concerned not less than the interests of the building. And those that have no money, they shall supply their contribution with prayer and fasting; for the Kingdom of Heaven should be open to the poor not less than to the rich.

And although a married woman may not dispose of the husband's goods against his will, yet she shall be able to contribute in this instance against the will of her husband of her dowry or of her own private property, which has come to her in a regular manner. Where she has no such possessions, or is prevented by her husband, she shall then supply such contribution with prayer; and the same we wish to have understood concerning sons who still remain under parental control.

Where, however, the said poor wives and sons who still remain under parental control may obtain by entreaty or otherwise from other rich and pious persons the means needed for such payments and contributions, they shall place the sums so acquired in the chest. Where, however, they have absolutely no way of procuring such contributions, then they may obtain through prayer and supplication the said treasures of grace as well for themselves as for the dead.

In all the cases above indicated, however, some room shall be left for the exercise of discretion on the part of the subcommissioners and confessors, who shall have regard to God and their consciences, so that peace of conscience and the welfare of all the above said persons shall be happily secured.

The second signal grace is a confessional letter containing the most extraordinarily comforting and hitherto unheard of privileges,

and which also retains its virtue even after our bull expires at the end of eight years, since the bull says: "they shall be participators now and for ever." The meaning of the same, preachers and confessors shall explain and bring unto all possible prominence; for there will be granted in the confessional letter, to those who buy: first, the power to choose a qualified confessor, even a monk from the mendicant orders, who shall absolve them first and foremost, with the consent of the persons involved, from all censures by whomsoever imposed; in the second place, from each and every crime, even the greatest, and as well from those reserved to the apostolic see, once in a lifetime and in the hour of death; third, in those cases which are not reserved, as often as necessary; fourth, the chosen confessor may grant him complete forgiveness of all sins once in life, and at the hour of death, as often as it may seem at hand, although death ensue not; and, fifth, transform all kinds of vows, excepting alone those solemnly taken, into other works of piety (as when one has vowed to perform the journey to the Holy Land, or to visit the holy Apostles at Rome, to make a pilgrimage to St. James at Compostella, to become a monk, or to take a vow of chastity); sixth, the confessor may administer to him the sacrament of the altar at all seasons, except on Easter day, and in the hour of death.

We furthermore ordain that one of these confessional letters shall be given and imparted for the quarter of a Rhenish gold guilder, in order that the poor shall not thereby be shut out from the manifold graces therein contained; it may however happen that nobles and other wealthy persons may, out of devotion and liberality, be disposed to give more. Whatever is given over and above the ordinary fee shall be placed in the chest. In cases where such letters are demanded by colleges or cloisters, whether of men or women, the fee which they shall be obliged to pay must be computed by the subcommissioners according to their number and their property. The same subcommissioners must seal the confessional letters which shall be issued, and sign them with their own hand, setting forth the fee which has been paid for the letter.

It is also our desire that the name of only one person should be written in the confessional letter, except in case of man and wife, who are one in the flesh. To these may also be added the sons and daughters who are still under parental control, and have as yet nothing of their own. And in order that each and every one of the said persons, as well as the poor and those of moderate means, may be able to obtain such confessional letters, we hereby clothe our general subcommissioner with power to fix a certain sum to be paid collectively by the

persons whose names are written in a confessional letter, as it may best subserve the interests of the aforesaid church building.

We desire also, that the names of each and every one who buys a letter, or obtains one for any cause without remuneration shall be written by him who issues the same in a special book. And he that issues shall endorse his name upon each letter, in order that an account of the sales may be given later, and that no mistakes may creep in.

We desire, moreover, that the said confessional letters be issued in all places covered by our commission for the sale of indulgences, even where the cross has *not* been raised, during the period of eight years, by those who hold authentic written commissions either from us or from our general subcommissioners.

The third most important grace is the participation in all the possessions of the church universal, which consists herein, that contributors toward the said building, together with their deceased relations, who have departed this world in a state of grace, shall from now and for eternity, be partakers in all petitions, intercessions, alms, fastings, prayers, in each and every pilgrimage, even those to the Holy Land; furthermore, in the stations at Rome, in the masses, canonical hours, flagellations, and all other spiritual goods which have been brought forth or which shall be brought forth by the universal, most holy church militant or by any of its members. Believers will become participants in all these things who purchase confessional letters. Preachers and confessors must insist with great perseverance upon these advantages, and persuade believers that they should not neglect to acquire these along with their confessional letter.

We also declare that in order to acquire these two most important graces, it is not necessary to make confession, or to visit the churches and altars, but merely to purchase the confessional letter. . . .

The fourth distinctive grace is for those souls which are in purgatory, and is the complete remission of all sins, which remission the pope brings to pass through his intercession to the advantage of said souls, in this wise; that the same contribution shall be placed in the chest by a living person as one would make for himself. It is our wish, however, that our subcommissioners should modify the regulations regarding contributions of this kind which are given for the dead, and that they should use their judgment in all other cases, where in their opinion modifications are desirable. It is furthermore not necessary that the persons who place their contributions in the chest for the dead should be contrite in heart and have orally confessed, since this grace is based simply on the state of grace in which the dead departed, and on the contribution of the living, as is evident

from the text of the bull. Moreover, preachers shall exert themselves to give this grace the widest publicity, since through the same, help will surely come to departed souls, and the construction of the Church of St. Peter will be abundantly promoted at the same time. . . .

EXTRACT FROM SERMON ON INDULGENCES GIVEN BY TETZEL TO
PAROCHIAL CLERGY.

From the Latin. Amort: De origine, progressu, valore ac fructu indulgentiarum. Augsburg, 1735. Pars II, Sectio I, 22, pp. 15-16.

SERMO TERTIUS.

Venerable Sir, I pray you that in your utterances you may be pleased to make use of such words as shall serve to open the eyes of the mind and cause your hearers to consider how great a grace and gift they have had and now have at their very doors. Blessed eyes indeed, which see what they see, because already they possess letters of safe conduct by which they are able to lead their souls through that valley of tears, through that sea of the mad world, where storms and tempests and dangers lie in wait, to the blessed land of Paradise. Know that the life of man upon earth is a constant struggle. We have to fight against the flesh, the world and the devil, who are always seeking to destroy the soul. In sin we are conceived,—alas! what bonds of sin encompass us, and how difficult and almost impossible it is to attain to the gate of salvation without divine aid; since He causes us to be saved, not by virtue of the good works which we accomplish, but through His divine mercy; it is necessary then to put on the armor of God.

You may obtain letters of safe conduct from the vicar of our Lord Jesus Christ, by means of which you are able to liberate your soul from the hands of the enemy, and convey it by means of contrition and confession, safe and secure from all pains of Purgatory, into the happy kingdom. For know that in these letters are stamped and engraven all the merits of Christ's passion there laid bare. Consider, that for each and every mortal sin it is necessary to undergo seven years of penitence after confession and contrition, either in this life or in Purgatory.

How many mortal sins are committed in a day, how many in a week, how many in a month, how many in a year, how many in the whole course of life! They are well-nigh numberless, and those that commit them must needs suffer endless punishment in the burning pains of Purgatory,

But with these confessional letters you will be able at any time in life to obtain full indulgence for all penalties imposed upon you, in all cases except the four reserved to the Apostolic See. Therefore throughout your whole life, whenever you wish to make confession, you may receive the same remission, except in cases reserved to the Pope, and afterwards, at the hour of death, a full indulgence as to all penalties and sins, and your share of all spiritual blessings that exist in the church militant and all its members.

Do you not know that when it is necessary for anyone to go to Rome, or undertake any other dangerous journey, he takes his money to a broker and gives a certain per cent—five or six or ten—in order that at Rome or elsewhere he may receive again his funds intact, by means of the letter of this same broker? Are you not willing, then, for the fourth part of a florin, to obtain these letters, by virtue of which you may bring, not your money, but your divine and immortal soul safe and sound into the land of Paradise?

Wherefore I counsel, order, and by virtue of my authority as shepherd, I command that they shall receive together with me and other priests, this precious treasure, especially those who were not confessed at the time of the holy Jubilee, that they may be able to obtain the same forever. For the time may come when you may desire, but yet be unable to obtain the least portion of the grace.

Also on the part of SS. D. N. the Pope and of the most holy apostolic See and of the most reverend sir, my legate, to each and every one who shall have profited by the sacred Jubilee and made confession, and to all who may profit by this present brief opportunity, and who shall have lent a helping hand to the construction of the aforesaid house of the Prince of the Apostles, they shall all be participants and sharers in all prayers, suffrages, alms, fasts, supplications, masses, canonical hours, disciplines, pilgrimages, papal stations, benedictions, and all other spiritual goods which now exist or may exist forever in the church militant, and in all of these, not only they themselves, but their relatives, kindred, and benefactors who have passed away; and as they were moved by charity, so God, and SS. Peter and Paul, and all the saints whose bodies rest in Rome, shall guard them in peace in this vale, and conduct them through it to the heavenly kingdom. Give everlasting thanks in the aforesaid names and in mine to the reverend secular priests and prelates, etc.

DISPUTATION OF DR. MARTIN LUTHER, THEOLOGIAN,
CONCERNING THE VALUE OF INDULGENCES.

That the Ninety-Five Theses were not meant by Luther to be taken as a complete and final statement of his doctrinal conclusions, but rather as a text to form the basis of academic disputation, as was customary at the time, seems evident from his subsequent utterances. Early in the year following the publication of the Theses Luther prepared with greater care a statement of doctrine—the Resolutions—copies of which he sent to neighboring German prelates and to the Pope.

With the copy forwarded to the Bishop of Brandenburg he enclosed a personal letter¹ explaining the nature of the Ninety-Five Theses—that they were not to be taken as dogma, but merely as themes for disputation. “For there is much in them,” he writes, “concerning which I am doubtful; much else that I do not understand; other things of which I am not persuaded; but nothing that I stubbornly adhere to; for I subject everything to the holy church and her judgment.” Again in his letter to the Pope,² dated May 30, 1518, he expresses his surprise that the Theses should have obtained such extensive circulation. He regretted it; since they were points for disputation and not teaching, “somewhat equivocally composed, as was the custom,” (*i. e.*, the academic custom, giving greater latitude to their defender). If he had foreseen their wide diffusion he would have taken pains to make them clearer.

An excellent Latin text of the Ninety-Five Theses, copied verbatim from a manuscript in the Royal Library at Berlin, may be found in the sixth volume of Ranke's *Deutsche Geschichte im Zeitalter der Reformation*. The text subjoined is substantially that of Wace and Buchheim.

In the desire and with the purpose of elucidating the truth, a disputation will be held on the underwritten propositions at Wittenberg, under the presidency of the Reverend Father Martin Luther, Monk of the Order of St. Augustine, Master of Arts and of Sacred Theology, and ordinary Reader of the same in that place. He therefore asks those who cannot be present and discuss the subject with us orally, to do so by letter in their absence. In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

I. Our Lord and Master Jesus Christ in saying, “Repent ye” (*poenitentiam agite*), etc., intended that the whole life of believers should be penitence (*poenitentia*).

¹ de Wette: *Dr. M. Luther's Briefe, Sendschreiben u. Bedenken*. Berlin, 1825. Vol. 1, p. 114.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 121.

2. This word cannot be understood as sacramental penance (*poenitentia*), that is, of the confession and satisfaction which are performed under the ministry of priests.

3. It does not, however, refer solely to inward penitence (*poenitentia*¹); nay such inward penitence is naught, unless it outwardly produces various mortifications of the flesh.

4. The penalty (*poena*) thus continues as long as the hatred of self (that is, true inward penitence); namely, till our entrance into the kingdom of heaven.

5. The Pope has neither the will nor the power to remit any penalties except those which he has imposed by his own authority, or by that of the canons.

6. The Pope has no power to remit any guilt, except by declaring and warranting it to have been remitted by God; or at most by remitting cases reserved for himself; in which cases, if his power were despised, guilt would certainly remain.

7. Certainly God remits no man's guilt without at the same time subjecting him, humbled in all things, to the authority of his representative the priest.

8. The penitential canons are imposed only on the living, and no burden ought to be imposed on the dying, according to them.

9. Hence, the Holy Spirit acting in the Pope does well for us in that, in his decrees, he always makes exception of the article of death and of necessity.

10. Those priests act unlearnedly and wrongly who, in the case of the dying, reserve the canonical penances for purgatory.

11. Those tares about changing the canonical penalty into the penalty of purgatory seem surely to have been sown while the bishops were asleep.

12. Formerly the canonical penalties were imposed not after but before absolution, as tests of true contrition.

13. The dying pay all penalties by death, and are already dead to the canon laws, and are by right relieved from them.

14. The imperfect vigor or love of a dying person necessarily brings with it great fear, and the less it is, the greater the fear it brings.

¹ It will be noticed that it is necessary to render the one Latin word *poenitentia* now "penitence" and now "penance."

15. This fear and horror is sufficient by itself, to say nothing of other things, to constitute the pains of purgatory, since it is very near to the horror of despair.

16. Hell, purgatory, and heaven appear to differ as despair, almost despair, and peace of mind differ.

17. With souls in purgatory it seems that it must needs be that as horror diminishes so love increases.

18. Nor does it seem to be proved by any reasoning or any Scriptures, that they are outside of the state of merit or of the increase of love.

19. Nor does this appear to be proved, that they are sure and confident of their own blessedness, at least all of them, though we may be very sure of it.

20. Therefore the Pope, when he speaks of the plenary remission of all penalties, does not mean really of all, but only of those imposed by himself.

21. Thus those preachers of indulgences are in error who say that by the indulgences of the Pope a man is freed and saved from all punishment.

22. For in fact he remits to souls in purgatory no penalty which they would have had to pay in this life according to the canons.

23. If any entire remission of all penalties can be granted to any one it is certain that it is granted to none but the most perfect, that is to very few.

24. Hence, the greater part of the people must needs be deceived by this indiscriminate and high-sounding promise of release from penalties.

25. Such power over purgatory as the Pope has in general, such has every bishop in his own diocese, and every parish priest in his own parish, in particular.

26. The Pope acts most rightly in granting remission to souls not by the power of the keys (which is of no avail in this case), but by the way of intercession.

27. They preach man who say that the soul flies out of Purgatory as soon as the money thrown into the chest rattles.

28. It is certain that, when the money rattles in the chest, avarice and gain may be increased, but the effect of the intercession of the Church depends on the will of God alone.

29. Who knows whether all the souls in purgatory desire to be redeemed from it—witness the story told of Saints Severinus and Paschal?

30. No man is sure of the reality of his own contrition, much less of the attainment of plenary remission.

31. Rare as is a true penitent, so rare is one who truly buys indulgences—that is to say, most rare.

32. Those who believe that, through letters of pardon, they are made sure of their own salvation will be eternally damned along with their teachers.

33. We must especially beware of those who say that these pardons from the Pope are that inestimable gift of God by which man is reconciled to God.

34. For the grace conveyed by these pardons has respect only to the penalties of sacramental satisfaction, which are of human appointment.

35. They preach no Christian doctrine who teach that contrition is not necessary for those who buy souls [out of purgatory] or buy confessional licenses.

36. Every Christian who feels true compunction has of right plenary remission of punishment and guilt even without letters of pardon.

37. Every true Christian, whether living or dead, has a share in all the benefits of Christ and of the Church, given by God, even without letters of pardon.

38. The remission, however, imparted by the Pope is by no means to be despised, since it is, as I have said, a declaration of the divine remission.

39. It is a most difficult thing, even for the most learned theologians, to exalt at the same time in the eyes of the people the ample effect of pardons and the necessity of true contrition.

40. True contrition seeks and loves punishment; while the amplex of pardons relaxes it, and causes men to hate it, or at least gives occasion for them to do so.

41. Apostolic pardons ought to be proclaimed with caution, lest the people should falsely suppose that they are placed before other good works of charity.

42. Christians should be taught that it is not the wish of the Pope that the buying of pardons should be in any way compared to works of mercy.

43. Christians should be taught that he who gives to a poor man, or lends to a needy man, does better than if he bought pardons.

44. Because by works of charity, charity increases, and the man becomes better; while by means of pardons, he does not become better, but only freer from punishment.

45. Christians should be taught that he who sees any one in need, and, passing him by, gives money for pardons, is not purchasing for himself the indulgences of the Pope but the anger of God.

46. Christians should be taught that, unless they have superfluous wealth, they are bound to keep what is necessary for the use of their own households, and by no means to lavish it on pardons.

47. Christians should be taught that while they are free to buy pardons they are not commanded to do so.

48. Christians should be taught that the Pope, in granting pardons, has both more need and more desire that devout prayer should be made for him than that money should be readily paid.

49. Christians should be taught that the Pope's pardons are useful if they do not put their trust in them, but most hurtful if through them they lose the fear of God.

50. Christians should be taught that, if the Pope were acquainted with the exactions of the Preachers of pardons, he would prefer that the Basilica of St. Peter should be burnt to ashes rather than that it should be built up with the skin, flesh, and bones of his sheep.

51. Christians should be taught that as it would be the duty so it would be the wish of the Pope even to sell, if necessary, the Basilica of St. Peter, and to give of his own money to very many of those from whom the preachers of pardons extract money.

52. Vain is the hope of salvation through letters of pardon, even if a commissary—nay, the Pope himself—were to pledge his own soul for them.

53. They were enemies of Christ and of the Pope who, in order that pardons may be preached, condemn the word of God to utter silence in other churches.

54. Wrong is done to the Word of God when, in the same sermon, an equal or longer time is spent on pardons than on it.

55. The mind of the Pope necessarily is that, if pardons, which are a very small matter, are celebrated with single bells, single processions, and single ceremonies, the Gospel, which is a very great matter, should be preached with a hundred bells, a hundred processions, and a hundred ceremonies.

56. The treasures of the Church, whence the Pope grants indulgences, are neither sufficiently named nor known among the people of Christ.

57. It is clear that they are at least not temporal treasures, for these are not so readily lavished, but only accumulated, by means of the preachers.

58. Nor are they the merits of Christ and of the saints, for these, independently of the Pope, are always working grace to the inner man, and the cross, death, and hell to the outer man.

59. St. Lawrence said that the treasures of the Church are the poor of the Church, but he spoke according to the use of the term in his time.

60. We are not speaking rashly when we say that the keys of the Church, bestowed through the merits of Christ, are that treasure.

61. For it is clear that the power of the Pope is sufficient of itself for the remission of [canonical] penalties and of [reserved] cases.

62. The true treasure of the Church is the Holy Gospel of the glory and grace of God.

63. This treasure, however, is deservedly most hateful, because it makes the first to be last.

64. While the treasure of indulgences is deservedly most acceptable, because it makes the last to be first.

65. Hence the treasures of the Gospel are nets, wherewith of old they fished for the men of riches.

66. The treasures of indulgences are nets, wherewith they now fish for the riches of men.

67. Those indulgences, which the preachers loudly proclaim to be the greatest graces, are seen to be truly such as regards the promotion of gain.

68. Yet they are in reality most insignificant when compared to the grace of God and the piety of the cross.

69. Bishops and parish priests are bound to receive the commissaries of apostolical pardons with all reverence.

70. But they are still more bound to see to it with all their eyes, and take heed with all their ears, that these men do not preach their own dreams in place of the Pope's commission.

71. He who speaks against the truth of apostolical pardons, let him be anathema and accursed.

72. But he, on the other hand, who exerts himself against the wantonness and license of speech of the preachers of pardons, let him be blessed.

73. As the Pope justly thunders against those who use any kind of contrivance to the injury of the traffic in pardons,

74. Much more is it his intention to thunder against those who, under the pretext of pardons, use contrivances to the injury of holy charity and of truth.

75. To think that the Papal pardons have such power that they could absolve a man even if—by an impossibility—he had violated the Mother of God, is madness.

76. We affirm on the contrary that Papal pardons cannot take away even the least of venial sins, as regards its guilt.

77. The saying that, even if St. Peter were now Pope, he could grant no greater graces, is blasphemy against St. Peter and the Pope.

78. We affirm on the contrary that both he and any other Pope has greater graces to grant, namely, the Gospel, powers, gifts of healing, etc. (1 Cor. xii.)

79. To say that the cross set up among the insignia of the Papal arms is of equal power with the cross of Christ, is blasphemy.

80. Those bishops, priests and theologians who allow such discourses to have currency among the people will have to render an account.

81. This license in the preaching of pardons makes it no easy thing, even for learned men, to protect the reverence due to the Pope against the calumnies, or, at all events, the keen questioning of the laity.

82. As for instance: Why does not the Pope empty purgatory for the sake of most holy charity and of the supreme necessity of souls—this being the most just of all reasons—if he redeems an infinite number of souls for the sake of that most fatal thing, money, to be spent on building a basilica—this being a very slight reason?

83. Again; why do funeral masses and anniversary masses for the deceased continue, and why does not the Pope return, or permit the withdrawal of, the funds bequeathed for this purpose, since it is a wrong to pray for those who are already redeemed?

84. Again; what is this new kindness of God and the Pope, in that, for money's sake, they permit an impious man and an enemy of God to redeem a pious soul which loves God, and yet do not redeem

that same pious and beloved soul out of free charity on account of its own need?

85. Again; why is it that the penitential canons, long since abrogated and dead in themselves, in very fact and not only by usage, are yet still redeemed with money, through the granting of indulgences, as if they were full of life?

86. Again; why does not the Pope, whose riches are at this day more ample than those of the wealthiest of the wealthy, build the single Basilica of St. Peter with his own money rather than with that of poor believers?

87. Again; what does the Pope remit or impart to those who through perfect contrition have a right to plenary remission and participation?

88. Again; what greater good could the Church receive than if the Pope, instead of once, as he does now, were to bestow these remissions and participations a hundred times a day on any one of the faithful?

89. Since it is the salvation of souls, rather than money, that the Pope seeks by his pardons, why does he suspend the letters and pardons granted long ago, since they are equally efficacious?

90. To repress these scruples and arguments of the laity by force alone, and not to resolve them by giving reasons, is to expose the Church and the Pope to the ridicule of their enemies, and to make Christian men unhappy.

91. If then pardons were preached according to the spirit and mind of the Pope, all these questions would be resolved with ease; nay, would not exist.

92. Away then with all those prophets who say to the people of Christ: "Peace, peace," and there is no peace.

93. Blessed be all those prophets who say to the people of Christ: "The cross, the cross," and there is no cross.

94. Christians should be exhorted to strive to follow Christ their head through pains, deaths, and hells.

95. And thus trust to enter heaven through many tribulations, rather than in the security of peace.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER OF ULRICH VON HUTTEN
TO THE ELECTOR OF SAXONY, 1520.

In September, 1520, Ulrich von Hutten, fearing an attack upon his life or liberty, accepted the invitation of his friend Franz von Sickingen, and repaired to the castle of Ebernburg. From this retreat, between the time of his arrival and the 28th of the same month, he sent forth four letters of political import, which contain the substance of his effort to rally the elements of German strength against the power of Rome. Of these letters the first was addressed to Charles V., then upon his way to assume the imperial honors; another to the Elector Albert, Cardinal Archbishop of Mainz; a third to the Elector Frederick of Saxony, and a fourth to Germans of all Estates.

The letter to Frederick is of greatest interest, and its description of the economic forces then at work in Germany may profitably be compared with Luther's treatment of the same matters in his *Address to the German Nobility*.

From the Latin and contemporaneous German version in the *Epistolæ Ulrichi Hutteni*, Edited by Böcking. Vol. I., pp. 393 ff.

* * * We see that there is no gold and almost no silver in our German land. What little may perhaps be left is drawn away daily by the new schemes invented by the council of the most holy members of the Roman curia. What is thus squeezed out of us is put to the most shameful uses. Would you know, dear Germans, what employment I have myself seen that they make at Rome of our money? It does not lie idle! Leo the Tenth gives a part to nephews and relatives (these are so numerous that there is a proverb at Rome, "As thick as Leo's relations"). A portion is consumed by so many most reverend cardinals (of which the holy father created no less than one and thirty in a single day), as well as to support innumerable referendaries, auditors, prothonotaries, abbreviators, apostolic secretaries, chamberlains and a variety of officials forming the élite of the great head church. These in turn draw after them, at untold expense, copyists, beadles, messengers, servants, scullions, mule drivers, grooms, and an innumerable army of prostitutes and of the most degraded followers. They maintain dogs, horses, monkeys, long-tailed apes, and many more such creatures for their pleasure. They construct houses all of marble. They have precious stones, are clothed in purple and fine linen, and dine sumptuously, frivolously indulging themselves in every species of luxury. In short, a vast number of the worst of men are supported in

Rome in idle indulgence by means of our money. . . . Does not Your Grace perceive how many bold robbers, how many cunning hypocrites commit repeatedly the greatest crimes under the monk's cowl, and how many crafty hawks feign the simplicity of doves, and how many ravening wolves simulate the innocence of lambs? And although there be a few truly pious among them, even they cling to superstition, and pervert the law of life which Christ laid down for us.

Now, if all these who devastate Germany, and continue to devour everything, might once be driven out, and an end made of their unbridled plundering, swindling and deception, with which the Romans have overwhelmed us, we should again have gold and silver in sufficient quantities, and should be able to keep it. And then this money, in such supply and value as it may be present, might be put to better uses, for example: to put on foot great armaments and extend the boundaries of the Empire; also that the Turks may be conquered, if this seems desirable; that many who, because of poverty, steal and rob may honestly earn their living once more, and that those who otherwise must starve may receive from the state contributions to mitigate their need; that scholars may be helped, and the study of the arts and sciences and of good literature be advanced; above all that every virtue may receive its reward; want be relieved at home; indolence banished, and deceit killed.

Then, too, the Bohemians, when they come to know this, will make common cause with us, for it was material obstacles alone that kept them back, in earlier times, from dealing with the avarice of their priests. The Greeks would do the same, who, unable to bear the Romish tyranny, have been for a long time, at the instigation of the Popes, regarded as heretics. The Russians would also become Christians and join us, they who, when recently they proposed to embrace Christianity, were repelled by the demand of His Holiness for a yearly tribute to be levied upon them of 400,000 ducats. Even the Turks would thereby hate us less; and no heathen, as formerly, would have occasion to molest us. For up to the present day the shameful lives of the heads of the Church have made the name of Christian hateful to all strangers.

Ebernburg, September 11, 1520.

ERASMUS TO RICHARD PACE.

The Bull of Leo X., which excommunicated Luther and ordered that his works should be burned, alarmed Erasmus and he felt the necessity of disclaiming, in a series of letters to his influential friends, all connection with the Lutheran movement. The partisans of Rome, however, and most particularly the monks, who had additional reason for hating Erasmus as leader of the Humanists, were not so easily silenced; but were loud in their denunciation of Erasmus as having furnished the literary basis for the anti-Roman movement; or as they expressed it: "Erasmus laid the egg and Luther has hatched it."

The letter to Richard Pace, a figure of some prominence in the English Church, and successor to Colet as Dean of St. Paul's, has been selected as seeming to show an interesting conflict of motives which may have possessed Erasmus at this period.

From the Latin: Translation in Drummond's *Erasmus*, Vol. II, p. 77.

BRUSSELS, July 5, 1521.

". . . . I fear the Dominicans and some of the divines will use their victory intemperately, especially those of Louvain, who have some private grudge against me, and have found in Jerome Aleander an instrument most admirably adapted to this purpose. This man is mad enough naturally, without any one to instigate him; but, as it is, he has instigators who might drive even the most moderate to madness. The most virulent pamphlets are flying about on all sides, and Aleander ascribes them all to me, though I was ignorant of the existence of many of them before I heard of them from him. Luther has acknowledged his own books in the presence of the Emperor, and yet the 'Babylonian Captivity,' which is one of them, is ascribed to me. A prolific author indeed I must be, seeing that I was able to write so many pamphlets, while meantime I was emending the text of the New Testament with the utmost labor, and editing the works of Augustine, not to speak of other studies. May I be lost if in all Luther's works there is a single syllable of mine, or if any calumnious book was ever published of which I was the author; on the contrary, I do all I can to deter others. Now, however, they are adopting a new course, and asserting that Luther has borrowed some of his doctrines from my works, as if he had not borrowed more from Paul's Epistles. I now, at last, see clearly that it was the policy of the Germans to implicate me whether I would or not in Luther's business; a most impolitic piece of policy indeed, for nothing would sooner have alienated me from them. Or what aid could I have given to Luther if I had asso-

ciated myself with him in his danger? The only result would have been that two must perish instead of one. I can never sufficiently wonder at the violent spirit he has displayed in his writings, by which he has certainly brought immense odium on all the friends of polite literature. Many indeed of his doctrines and exhortations are excellent, and I wish he had not vitiated the good in his writings by intolerable faults. If, however, he had always written in the most reverent spirit, still, I had no inclination to risk my life for the truth. It is not everybody who has strength for martyrdom, and I am afraid that if any outbreak should take place I should imitate St. Peter. When the Popes and the Emperors decree what is right, I obey, which is the course of true piety; but when they command what is wrong, I submit, and that is the safe course. I think also that good men are justified in acting thus if there is no hope of success. They are again trying to fix on me the authorship of the book on Julius, so determined are they to leave nothing untried to injure both myself and the cause of letters, which they cannot bear to see prospering. . . .”

A MANDATE OF MAURICE, BISHOP OF WORMS, AGAINST THE LUTHERAN DOCTRINE.

January 20, 1524.

In the admonition given below the attitude of the Catholic prelaty towards the Lutheran movement is clearly shown. The student will note that every species of disorder which the bishop had observed was unconditionally ascribed to Luther.

From the Latin. Le Plat: *Monumentorum ad Historiam Concilii Tridentini amplissima Collectio. Tom. II., pp. 214-7.*

To the honorable lord Archpresbyter of Braunsberg and all other priests, both regular and secular, parish priests, vicars, preachers of God's word, clerks and the learned in general of this diocese, salutation and true grace in our Lord:

We had certainly believed that its very recklessness would ere this have hurried to its own destruction the Lutheran faction, which not a few Christians in their blindness are hastening to join. And this we still believe will take place as soon as it shall please God in his mercy to turn from us the scourge of his wrath.¹ His anger will not last forever, nor will he forget to pity, whose mercy extends to all his

¹ It is apparent from a later paragraph in this letter, here omitted, that the bishop regarded the heresy as a visitation of God upon the sins of his people.

creatures. Nor will he allow his church like a storm beaten vessel to be cast about by the raging waves of this tempest of heresy, for he has founded it upon the firm rock, and vouchsafed that it should be consecrated with the blood of many martyrs.

In what way could this pestiferous defilement be lasting, which brings upon the Church, the undefiled bride of Christ, such a mass of horrible abominations. Since those who are enthusiastic adherents of this sect, wounding the pious hearts of simple Christians by their deadly declamations, execrate with unheard-of animosity the most holy sacrifice of the mass, as if it were the blackest abomination, and, rejecting it in their heart, they revile it in shameful terms, which could not be repeated without a blush. They reject the sacraments of the Church to follow their own lusts. They proclaim the duty of reproduction according to the old law, in such unmeasured terms that they would seem plainly to condemn the purity of virginity. For this reason they command the cloisters of monks and nuns to be thrown open, that everyone may be free, in violation of the vows and chastity, to go forth and marry at will. They would, moreover, in their rashness, allow priests to marry as well.

They preach with impious words that the crucifixes of our Lord Jesus Christ and the figures of the saints should be thrown down and burned, and especially those of the glorified mother, the Virgin Mary, and forbid as sacrilegious the venerable hymns and songs of praise addressed to her. They declare the Pope, bishops, priests, monks and nuns dedicated to God, as well as the whole body of the clergy, hateful to the laity, and reject the whole ecclesiastical system; they heap ignominies upon it, and accuse it of the most enormous crimes. Moreover with foul mouths they attack kings and princes, and whoever is in authority,—those whom the apostle bade us obey even if they were not righteous.

They claim, indeed, to oppose abuses, which are obviously enough to be found every where in this world, and would cut off superfluous ceremonies and bring everything back to a state in accordance with apostolic tradition; they claim to inculcate real respect for the Christian religion and reintroduce original customs. Especially, having thrown aside human institutions, they emphasize only evangelical teaching, rejecting the salutary provisions of the law and the canons. They regard anything as permissible to them, on the pretext of Christian liberty, and petulantly throw aside temporal and spiritual jurisdiction and censures alike. They hold satisfaction for sins, purgatory, confession, penance (*poenitentia*), fasts, canonical hours and other pious devotions, the intercession of the saints, the intercession for

souls, and indulgences, to be mere inventions of man, and hold them in scorn as idle catch-pennies. However, in their mad longing for novelties, they either push the original customs of the church too far or change them in accordance with their evil desires. All order being thus done away with, they refuse obedience to those in authority, promote schism, excite tumults and, confusing heaven and earth, produce universal anarchy.

To describe the object of these monsters of depravity in a word, they strive to introduce whatever in the way of error has hitherto been condemned singly, in one great filthy mass of shame [*in hanc spurcam omnium flagitiorum sentinam congestam*]. And yet these things, enormous and impious as they are, and which must seem execrable to every right-minded Christian, still have their pertinacious advocates, not only laymen, but, as we must confess with great heaviness of heart, priests as well, both regular and secular, who, forgetful of their position and vows, embrace these novelties as ardently as if they were dictated by the Holy Spirit. They persuade the people, moreover, who are always credulous and ready for change, and drag them in a pitiable fashion towards the abyss of damnation. The people are in this way led precipitately to accept Luther's teachings, so that anything they understand to be from Luther they straightway regard as gospel truth, and look upon anything not from Luther as necessarily opposed to the gospel. * * * * * We, therefore, command you strictly that, first, you should in your own prayers and through those of your flock supplicate God to remove the cause of the aforesaid evils. * * * * * Secondly, that you diligently exhort this same people, committed to your care, priests and clerks, as well as both sexes of the laity, and lead them by salutary admonition and the word of truth (not by the violence of recrimination) that they should not hereafter venture in any way publicly or privately to support, teach, argue or discuss the above-mentioned Lutheran teaching, nor shall you yourselves dare to do this, or permit it to be done in any church, dwelling, assembly or elsewhere. But prevent this so far as possible, and observe and cause to be observed the venerable rites of the church, taught by the apostles of Christ and the holy fathers and prompted by the holy spirit, which have now for many centuries been recognized by the religious consensus of the whole Christian world. Nor shall you presume to violate or change in any way any rule instituted by the Church, or, so far as in you lies to prevent, allow others to do so.¹

¹ The letter closes with a malediction upon all who shall refuse to obey the instructions.

THE TWELVE ARTICLES OF THE PEASANTS.

The great peasant war affords a serious commentary upon the general social and economic conditions in Germany at the opening of the Reformation. The abuses were, however, of long standing, and several local revolts had taken place before 1525. Even the religious element so prominent in "the 12 articles" was not new, and can easily be traced back to a period antedating the publication of Luther's Theses. The religious crisis bore, therefore, somewhat the same relation to the terrible outbreak of the slowly developed discontent that the financial crisis in France (the immediate reason for assembling the States General in 1789) bore to the great democratic movement of reform which constituted the essence of the French Revolution.

The articles given below are the sober manifesto of the conservative party, and closely resemble the local cahiers of the third estate which were drawn up in France in 1789. Much more radical schemes than "the 12 articles" were, however, drafted, providing for a complete revision of the constitution of the German Empire. These latter did not confine themselves to the complaints of the discontented peasants but included those of other classes as well.¹

In the translation the editors have availed themselves so far as possible of the partial translation of the articles given in Gieseler's Ecclesiastical History, vol. v, pp. 347 ff. (of the Edinburgh edition).

From the German of the period, in Oechsle; *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Bauernkrieges* (Heilbronn, 1830) pp. 246 ff.

The fundamental and correct chief articles of all the peasants and of those subject to ecclesiastical² lords, relating to those matters in which they feel themselves aggrieved.

M. cccc. quadratum, lx et duplicatum

V cum transibit, christiana secta peribit.

Ein M, vier c, zwei l darbey.

Und ein x das zwifach sey.

Bald man ein v dartzu ist schreyben

Werden nit souil secten des christen bleyben.

Peace to the Christian Reader and the Grace of God through Christ.

There are many evil writings put forth of late which take occasion, on account of the assembling of the peasants, to cast scorn upon the Gospel, saying: Is this the fruit of the new teaching, that no one

¹ For a very interesting example see Oechsle, pp. 163 ff. and 283 ff.

² The version printed in Bensen's *Geschichte des Bauernkrieges in Ostfranken* (1840), pp. 514 ff. adds: "and lay lords." The same version omits the characteristic but untranslatable rhymes.

should obey but all should everywhere rise in revolt, and rush together to reform, or perhaps destroy entirely, the authorities, both ecclesiastical and lay? The articles below shall answer these godless and criminal fault-finders, and serve in the first place to remove the reproach from the word of God and, in the second place, to give a Christian excuse for the disobedience or even the revolt of the entire Peasantry. In the first place the Gospel is not the cause of revolt and disorder, since it is the message of Christ, the promised Messiah, the Word of Life, teaching only love, peace, patience and concord. Thus, all who believe in Christ should learn to be loving, peaceful, long-suffering and harmonious. This is the foundation of all the articles of the peasants (as will be seen) who accept the gospel and live according to it. How then can the evil reports declare the Gospel to be a cause of revolt and disobedience? That the authors of the evil reports and the enemies of the Gospel oppose themselves to these demands is due not to the Gospel but to the Devil, the worst enemy of the Gospel, who causes this opposition by raising doubts in the minds of his followers; and thus the word of God, which teaches love, peace and concord, is overcome. In the second place, it is clear that the peasants demand that this Gospel be taught them as a guide in life, and they ought not to be called disobedient or disorderly. Whether God grant the peasants (earnestly wishing to live according to his word) their requests or no, who shall find fault with the will of the Most High? Who shall meddle in his judgments or oppose his majesty? Did he not hear the children of Israel when they called upon him and save them out of the hands of Pharaoh? Can he not save his own to-day? Yes, he will save them and that speedily. Therefore, Christian reader, read the following articles with care and then judge. Here follow the articles:

The First Article,—First, it is our humble petition and desire, as also our will and resolution, that in the future we should have power and authority so that each community should choose and appoint a pastor, and that we should have the right to depose him should he conduct himself improperly. The pastor thus chosen should teach us the Gospel pure and simple, without any addition, doctrine or ordinance of man. For to teach us continually the true faith will lead us to pray God that through his grace this faith may increase within us and become a part of us. For if his grace work not within us we remain flesh and blood, which availeth nothing; since the Scripture clearly teaches that only through true faith can we come to God. Only through his mercy can we become holy. Hence such a guide and pastor is necessary, and in this fashion grounded upon the Scriptures.

The Second Article.—According as the just tithe is established by the Old Testament and fulfilled in the New, we are ready and willing to pay the fair tithe of grain. The word of God plainly provides that in giving according to right to God and distributing to his people the services of a pastor are required. We will that for the future our church provost, whomsoever the community may appoint, shall gather and receive this tithe. From this he shall give to the pastor, elected by the whole community, a decent and sufficient maintenance for him and his (*im und den seynen*), as shall seem right to the whole community [*or, with the knowledge of the community*]. What remains over shall be given to the poor of the place, as the circumstances and the general opinion demand. Should anything farther remain, let it be kept, lest anyone should have to leave the country from poverty. Provision should also be made from this surplus to avoid laying any land tax on the poor. In¹ case one or more villages have themselves sold their tithes on account of want, and the village has taken action as a whole, the buyer should not suffer loss, but we will that some proper agreement be reached with him for the repayment of the sum by the village with due interest. But those who have tithes which they have not purchased from a village, but which were appropriated by their ancestors, should not, and ought not, to be paid anything farther by the village, which shall apply its tithes to the support of the pastors elected as above indicated, or to solace the poor, as is taught by the Scriptures. The small tithes, whether ecclesiastical or lay, we will not pay at all, for the Lord God created cattle for the free use of man. We will not, therefore, pay farther an unseemly tithe which is of man's invention.

The Third Article.—It has been the custom hitherto for men to hold us as their own property, which is pitiable enough, considering that Christ has delivered and redeemed us all, without exception, by the shedding of his precious blood, the lowly as well as the great. Accordingly, it is consistent with Scripture that we should be free and wish to be so. Not that we would wish to be absolutely free and under no authority. God does not teach us that we should lead a disorderly life in the lusts of the flesh, but that we should love the Lord our God and our neighbor. We would gladly observe all this as God has commanded us in the celebration of the communion.² He has not commanded us not to obey the authorities, but rather that we should be humble, not only towards those in authority, but towards everyone.

¹ The following two sentences are somewhat obscure in the original.

² A reference to the gospel of John, Chap. XIII.

We are thus ready to yield obedience according to God's law to our elected and regular authorities in all proper things becoming to a Christian. We, therefore, take it for granted that you will release us from serfdom, as true Christians, unless it should be shown us from the Gospel that we are serfs.

The Fourth Article.—In the fourth place it has been the custom heretofore, that no poor man should be allowed to touch venison or wild fowl, or fish in flowing water, which seems to us quite unseemly and unbrotherly, as well as selfish and not agreeable to the word of God. In some places the authorities preserve the game to our great annoyance and loss, recklessly permitting the unreasoning animals to destroy to no purpose our crops, which God suffers to grow for the use of man, and yet we must remain quiet. This is neither godly nor neighborly. For when God created man he gave him dominion over all the animals, over the birds of the air and over the fish in the water. Accordingly it is our desire if a man holds possession of waters that he should prove from satisfactory documents that his right has been unwittingly acquired by purchase. We do not wish to take it from him by force, but his rights should be exercised in a Christian and brotherly fashion. But whosoever cannot produce such evidence should surrender his claim with good grace.¹

The Fifth Article.—In the fifth place we are aggrieved in the matter of wood-cutting, for the noble folk have appropriated all the woods to themselves alone. If a poor man requires wood he must pay double for it, [*or perhaps*, two pieces of money]. It is our opinion in regard to a wood which has fallen into the hands of a lord, whether spiritual or temporal, that unless it was duly purchased it should revert again to the community. It should, moreover, be free to every member of the community to help himself to such firewood as he needs in his own home. Also, if a man requires wood for carpenter's purposes he should have it free, but with the knowledge of a person appointed by the community for that purpose. Should, however, no such forest be at the disposal of the community, let that which has been duly bought be administered in a brotherly and Christian manner. If the forest, although unfairly appropriated in the first instance, was later duly sold, let the matter be adjusted in a friendly spirit and according to the Scriptures.

The Sixth Article.—Our sixth complaint is in regard to the excessive services demanded of us, which are increased from day to

¹ Compare the above with the Art. II-IV of the decree abolishing the Feudal System in France, August, 1789. Translations and Reprints, Vol. I, No. 5, p. 3.

day. We ask that this matter be properly looked into so that we shall not continue to be oppressed in this way, and that some gracious consideration be given us, since our forefathers were required only to serve according to the word of God.

The Seventh Article.—Seventh, we will not hereafter allow ourselves to be farther oppressed by our lords, but will let them demand only what is just and proper according to the word of the agreement between the lord and the peasant. The lord should no longer try to force more services or other dues from the peasant without payment, but permit the peasant to enjoy his holding in peace and quiet. The peasant should, however, help the lord when it is necessary, and at proper times, when it will not be disadvantageous to the peasant, and for a suitable payment.

The Eighth Article.—In the eighth place, we are greatly burdened by holdings which cannot support the rent exacted from them. The peasants suffer loss in this way and are ruined; and we ask that the lords may appoint persons of honor to inspect these holdings, and fix a rent in accordance with justice, so that the peasant shall not work for nothing, since the laborer is worthy of his hire.

The Ninth Article.—In the ninth place, we are burdened with a great evil in the constant making of new laws. We are not judged according to the offence, but sometimes with great ill will, and sometimes much too leniently. In our opinion we should be judged according to the old written law, so that the case shall be decided according to its merits, and not with partiality.

The Tenth Article.—In the tenth place, we are aggrieved by the appropriation by individuals of meadows and fields which at one time belonged to a community. These we will take again into our own hands. It may, however, happen that the land was rightfully purchased, but when the land has unfortunately been purchased in this way, some brotherly arrangement should be made according to circumstances.

The Eleventh Article.—In the eleventh place we will entirely abolish the due called *Todfall* [*i. e.*, heriot], and will no longer endure it, nor allow widows and orphans to be thus shamefully robbed against God's will, and in violation of justice and right, as has been done in many places, and by those who should shield and protect them. These have disgraced and despoiled us, and although they had little authority they assumed it. God will suffer this no more, but it shall be wholly done away with, and for the future no man shall be bound to give little or much.

Conclusion.—In the twelfth place it is our conclusion and final resolution, that if any one or more of the articles here set forth should not be in agreement with the word of God, as we think they are, such article we will willingly recede from, when it is proved really to be against the word of God by a clear explanation of the Scripture. Or if articles should now be conceded to us that are hereafter discovered to be unjust, from that hour they shall be dead and null and without force. Likewise, if more complaints should be discovered which are based upon truth and the Scriptures, and relate to offences against God and our neighbor, we have determined to reserve the right to present these also, and to exercise ourselves in all Christian teaching. For this we shall pray God, since he can grant this, and he alone. The peace of Christ abide with us all.

SECRET INSTRUCTIONS OF CHARLES V. TO HIS VICE- CHANCELLOR, MATTHIAS HELD.

In August 1535, Charles V. returned to Italy after a successful campaign against the Mohammedan Pirates, who had taken possession of Tunis, to find his enemy, Francis I. of France, upon the point of invading Savoy and Piedmont, and ready to reassert his old claims on the Duchy of Milan, which had been reluctantly surrendered in the treaty of Cambrai. Charles submitted proposals for avoiding a war, suggesting a personal conflict between himself and Francis, which should settle once for all the question of Burgundy and Milan. Francis proceeded, however, to take possession of Piedmont, including the city of Turin. Charles moved northward, and, with the enthusiastic approbation of his soldiers, resolved to invade France. The invasion, July—September, 1536, ended in the disastrous retreat of the Emperor, who had accomplished nothing, owing partly to the fact that Francis had himself mercilessly devastated the Southeastern part of France in order to increase Charles' difficulties. The Emperor was thus in an especially discouraged mood in October, 1536, when the document here given was drawn up. Francis would hear of no accommodation, and in the succeeding January "Charles of Austria" was summoned to Paris to do homage to the French King for Flanders and Artois, which, it was claimed, were again vested in France by reason of Charles' violation of the Peace of Cambrai. Protestants had, moreover, just extended the Schmalkaldic League and restored a Protestant prince in Würtemberg.

From the French; Lanz: *Correspondenz des Kaisers Karl V.*, II, pp. 268 ff.
October, 1536.

In addition to the instructions which you, Messire Mathias Held, our dear and faithful councillor and Vice-Chancellor of the Empire,

have already received, drawn up in German, and relating to the business for which we have sent you to Germany, we think it essential to confide in you the following secret instructions, which you are to impart confidentially to the king, our good brother, and to the most reverend cardinal of Trent, without, however, allowing the matter to reach the ears of any one else.

First you shall inform my lord, our brother, concerning what you saw and heard of public matters up to the time of your departure, and of the existing relations with the pope, the Venetians, and other powers of Italy, as well as with the kings of France and of England. Of these matters we shall say no more here since we do not wish to lengthen this instruction unduly, and are, moreover, expecting more exact information of the status of affairs. You will also speak of the conditions in Flanders, and of various other matters which can be more advantageously communicated by you than written.

The information which you might otherwise convey to our brother, as to the policy which we desire and are in a position to adopt, cannot well be formulated without learning first what action the said king of France will take in regard to peace and the conditions which we have offered in the case of Milan. These you have seen, and of them you have a copy. We must, moreover, learn what farther violence the said king will resort to. Inform our brother of the measures we have taken to learn as soon as possible if matters can be arranged. He must, moreover, be made aware of the measures which the pope, the Venetians and the other powers will take should the king of France obstinately continue the war. It is further very essential to learn the aim and intentions of the electors, princes and estates of the Empire in respect to the matters with which you are commissioned, not only as regards the question of the faith, but concerning the sympathy and assistance which we may expect and hope from them. You must exercise the greatest diligence and prudence in this matter, and inform us of the disposition which you find.

In view of the ill-will which the king of France has always shown, and the frequent negotiations for peace which have come to naught, we are inclined to doubt whether any results will be reached in the present case, hence it is especially important that you should make every effort to learn what can be done to gain the favor and assistance of Germany in case of the continuance of the war.

It must always be kept in mind that the division in Germany is at bottom entirely due to the controversy in regard to our holy religion. This prevents Germany from being united as it should be in obedience to us and the holy Empire. This encourages the king of France, more-

ever, to persist in the war, and furnishes him an obvious excuse for impeding, in a most unwarrantable fashion, the meeting of the council. The confusion may even become worse in view of the said king's favorable attitude towards the Turks, should no means be found to restore peace. This point must be emphasized in Germany, and some agreement ought to be reached as to the measures which should be adopted in case the pope, through the influence of the said king of France or through fear on the part of the Holy Father of losing his authority in the kingdom of France,¹ should refuse to consent to the calling of the council, on the ground of the war between us and the king of France, or for other reasons. To say the truth it would seem, in spite of the evil deeds of the king of France, which are notorious and proven beyond the chance of doubt, that the Holy Father does not care to take any measure against the king, but that he will, in a word, remain neutral until he discovers which is in the wrong, as if the king of France had committed no offences up to the present and our actions belonged in the same category as his. He would seem to excuse himself and escape responsibility on the ground that he ought to arbitrate between us as a father and that, especially, he fears the loss of his authority in France. He may in this way be simply disguising the partiality which he constantly showed towards France before he became pope.

It is, however, none the less true that, in spite of the anxiety caused by the attitude of the Holy Father and the obstinacy of the king of France, we do not wish to use our power in any way against the apostolic authority and dignity, or do anything prejudicial, directly or indirectly, to the essentials of our religion or the holy Catholic institutions. But we see clearly that should the pope continue to maintain his attitude of indifference or dissimulation, and not frankly consent to a council, it is all the more necessary that some means should be devised as soon as possible to prevent an increase of confusion in Germany, which will cause the destruction both of religion and the imperial authority. Owing to this disorder we are prevented from doing anything for Christianity itself or towards the defence against the Turks, whom the king of France is constantly encouraging. Our power is thus paralyzed to an extent which manifestly jeopardizes our realms and estates and those of our brother.

For these reasons, while maintaining the great secrecy which the affair demands, you should confer very particularly with my lord our brother, as to whether there be any way of celebrating the council,

¹ Henry VIII. had but just thrown off the allegiance to the popes.

should Germany consent, even if the said pope and king of France should not agree to it, and as to how this may be done and with what certainty. This would seem to be a plan based upon perfect right and reason, and all the more, because the Holy Father has already promised a council and pledged himself expressly for the king of France.¹ The principal need of a council is, moreover, for the German nation. The king of Portugal will consent to and support the plan, as will probably the king of Poland, and the most of the powers of Italy. As for England, since it is utterly schismatic, the pope and the king of France cannot validly allege against the legitimacy of the council the fact that that country was not included.

Should the resort to a council in Germany, with the approbation of all or the greater part of that nation, prove impracticable, it should be determined whether there is not some other expedient, for example, to assure those who have fallen from the faith that no further coercion will be used if they will but sincerely conform with the other members of Germany in maintaining peace at home and in coöperating with our said brother and ourselves, or might not the treaty of Nuremberg be modified, or such a new one drawn up as the change of times and altered circumstances might dictate. Or may it not be advisable to call a national assembly in Germany and adjust, or neglect (*dis-simuler*²), such matters as may not be essential to our holy religion. Or let some other expedient be devised so that the imperial, Roman authority be not sacrificed, as well as our said brother and ourselves, even should it not supply a remedy in the matter of religion. For we can but wait until God grants such remedy as he shall judge fitting to his holy servince, since he knows the regret with which our said brother and we behold the sad state of affairs, and that our aim and desire is to serve him and apply ourselves to cure the existing evils so soon as any means shall offer themselves.

We are thus placed in a difficult and critical position, for we cannot have peace if our enemy does not consent, for, as it is well known, he is as obstinate as he is powerful, and regards neither God nor good faith, placing his chief hope in the division of Germany and the difference in religious matters which exist there, as well as in the approach of the Turk, whom, as it is reported, he spares no efforts to encourage. In view of this it behooves our brother to turn his attention to this matter, since everything is at stake, and to find some way

¹ The editors cannot be sure that this is the proper rendering of the obscure passage in the original.

² How much the Emperor meant frankly to concede cannot be inferred from his vague language.

of settling his difficulties in Hungary, and any other complications in which he may be involved. For it would be quite impossible for us to lend him any assistance, being, as we are, far in arrears for the outlays we have been forced to make in the past. Our kingdoms and countries are so surcharged with burdens that we do not know where we are to look for the absolutely necessary means of continuing this war. This is one of the chief motives which induces us to return to our Spanish kingdoms in order to take council there as to what may be done.¹

EXAMPLES OF THE CANONS OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENT.

From the Latin. Richter: *Canones et Decreta Concil. Trid.*

The formal codification of the doctrines and ordinances of the Roman Catholic Church was one of the most interesting and important results of the great schism of the sixteenth century. In spite of the protest of two catholic princes at least, Ferdinand I. and the King of France, who advocated some concessions to the demands of their subjects, the Council of Trent adhered to a strictly conservative policy. The method of codification took a positive and a negative form. When a matter had been sufficiently discussed the results were ratified in a solemn session in a series of *chapters* setting forth the accepted view of the church. Following these a series of *canons* were generally drawn up in which those holding various special opinions were declared accursed. A few examples of these decrees are given below, illustrating the central dogmas upon which the sacerdotal and sacramental organization rests.

Twenty-third Session, Chapter IV.—Inasmuch as in the sacrament of Orders, as also in Baptism and Confirmation, a character is imprinted which can neither be effaced nor taken away, this holy council with reason condemns the opinions of those who assert that the priests of the New Testament have only a temporary power; and that those who have once been properly ordained can again become laymen, if they do not exercise the ministry of God. And if anyone affirm that all Christians indiscriminately are priests of the New Testament, or that they are all mutually endowed with an equal spiritual power, he clearly does nothing but confound the ecclesiastical hierarchy,—which is “as an army set in array;”—as if, contrary to the doctrine of blessed Paul, “all were apostles, all prophets, all evangelists, all pastors, all

¹ The concluding paragraphs here omitted relate to a truce with Saxony and the Danish affairs, and the document closes with a suggestion that the emissaries of the king of France in Germany be cautiously arrested.

doctors." Wherefore this holy Synod declares that, besides the other ecclesiastical degrees, bishops, who have succeeded to the place of the apostles, especially belong to this hierarchical order; that they are placed, as the same apostle says, "by the Holy Ghost, to rule the Church of God," that they are superior to priests, administer the sacrament of Confirmation, ordain the ministers of the Church; and that they can perform very many other things, over which functions others of an inferior order have no power. Furthermore, the sacred and holy synod teaches that, in the ordination of bishops, priests, and of the other orders, neither the consent, nor vocation, nor authority, whether of the people or of any civil power or magistrate whatsoever, is required in such wise that, without this, the ordination is invalid: nay, rather doth it decree that all those who being once called and instituted by the people, or by the civil power and magistrate, ascend to the exercise of the ministrations, and those who of their own rashness assume them to themselves, are not ministers of the Church, but are to be looked upon as "thieves and robbers, who have not entered by the door."

Twenty-third Session, Canon I.—If any one shall say that the New Testament does not provide for a distinct, visible priesthood, or that this priesthood has no power to consecrate and offer up the true body and blood of the Lord, or remit or refuse to remit sins, but that its sole function is that of preaching the Gospel, and that those who do not preach are not priests, let him be anathema.

Twenty-third Session, Canon IV.—If any one shall say that the Holy Spirit is not given by holy ordination and that consequently the Bishops say in vain "Receive ye the Holy Spirit," and that certain characteristics are not thereby conferred, or that he who has once been a priest can ever be made a layman again, let him be anathema.

Seventh Session, Of the Sacraments, Canon I.—If any one saith that the sacraments of the New Law were not all instituted by Jesus Christ, our Lord; or that they are more or less than seven, to-wit, Baptism, Confirmation, the Eucharist, Penance, Extreme Unction, Orders and Matrimony; or even that any one of these seven is not truly and properly a sacrament, let him be anathema.

Canon VI.—If anyone saith that the sacraments of the New Law do not contain the grace which they signify; or that they do not confer that grace on those who do not place an obstacle thereunto; as though they were merely outward signs of grace or justice received through faith, and certain marks of the Christian profession, whereby believers are distinguished amongst men from unbelievers, let him be anathema.

Canon VIII.—If anyone saith that by the said sacraments of the New Law grace is not conferred through the very performance of the act [*ex opere operato*], but that faith alone in the divine promise suffices for the obtaining of grace, let him be anathema.

Canon IX.—If anyone saith that in the three sacraments, to-wit, Baptism, Confirmation, and Orders, there is not imprinted in the soul a character, that is, a spiritual and indelible sign, on account of which they cannot be repeated, let him be anathema.

Canon X.—If anyone saith that all christians have power to administer the word and all the sacraments, let him be anathema.

Canon XII.—If anyone saith that a minister, being in mortal sin—if so be that he observe all the essentials which belong to the effecting or conferring of the sacrament—neither effects nor confers the sacraments, let him be anathema.

Thirteenth Session, Chapter IV.—Since Christ our Redeemer declared that it was truly his body which he offered up in the form [*sub specie*] of bread, and since the Church has moreover always accepted this belief, this holy council declares once more that by the consecration of the bread and the wine the whole substance of the bread is converted into the substance of the body of Christ our Lord, and the whole substance of the wine into the substance of his blood, which change is aptly and properly termed transubstantiation by the Catholic Church.

Thirteenth Session, Canon I.—If any one shall deny that the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ together with his spirit and divinity, to-wit, Christ all in all, are not truly, really and materially contained in the holy sacrament of the Eucharist, and shall assert that the Eucharist is but a symbol or figure, let him be anathema.

Thirteenth Session, Canon VI.—If any one shall say that Christ, the only-begotten son of God, is not to be worshipped with the highest form of adoration [*Latria*] including external worship, in the holy sacrament of the Eucharist, or that the Eucharist should not be celebrated by a special festival, nor borne solemnly about in procession according to the praiseworthy and universal rite and custom of the holy Church, nor held up publicly for the veneration of the people and that those who adore it are idolaters, let him be anathema.

Twenty-Second Session, Canon III.—If any one shall say that the sacrifice of the mass is only a praiseworthy deed or act of edification, or that it is simply in commemoration of the sacrifice on the cross and is not in the nature of a propitiation; or that it can benefit only him who receives it, and ought not to be offered for the living and the dead, for sins, punishment, atonement and other necessary things, let him be anathema.

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Translated from the German.

This work is the stenographic report of the lectures delivered by one of the most popular of German professors before his students at Heidelberg. His style is admirably clear and his material is selected with skill. As a concise account of the German Reformation from a Protestant standpoint, this is, with Seebohm's volume mentioned below, likely to prove the best introduction to the subject for the beginner.

Notes on Books in English Relating to the Reformation. By Prof. George P. Fisher. 16 mo. Scribners.

Fisher, George P., The Reformation. 8 vo. Scribners.

Probably the best American work, covering the whole Reformation period. Contains in appendices a chronological table and list of works upon the Reformation.

Seebohm, Frederic: The Era of the Protestant Revolution. 16 mo. Scribners (Epochs Series).

A condensed history of the Reformation period in Europe, of special value as an outline for class work, and useful to the general reader who has already an acquaintance with the general political and social events of the period.

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(*) Only a few of the most important and accessible works can be mentioned here from the vast mass of material relating to the Reformation. The student wishing an extended bibliography will turn to DAHLMANN-WAITZ, *Quellenkunde*, 8th Ed., ff., or to the bibliographies given in Vol. IV. of the *Histoire Générale*, edited by Professors Lavissee and Rambaud.

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Janssen, J.: Geschichte des deutschen Volks seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters. 8 vols.

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