# lip Melancthon

## The Wittemberg Professor and Theologian of the Reformation

David J. Deane

PHILIP MELANCTHON.

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## *THE WITTEMBERG PROFESSOR*

AND

## *THEOLOGIAN OF THE REFORMATION.*

BY

DAVID J. DEANE,

AUTHOR OF "TWO NOBLE LIVES," "ROBERT MOFFAT, THE MISSIONARY HERO OF KURUMAN," ETC., ETC.






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WITTEMBERG.

# PREFACE.

IN compiling this brief biography of Philip Melancthon the author has not designed a book for the student, to whom the treasures of history are open, but for the general reader.

The intimate friend and companion of Martin Luther for a period of nearly twenty-eight years is, for that fact alone, worthy of a place in the biographical literature of the present day ; and when, in addition, that friend is found to be a man of most eminent learning, of great worth and exalted piety, and one who exerted an influence upon the great Protestant Reformation second only to Luther himself, no apology is needed for placing a record of his life and times before the Christian public of the present day.

A talented writer says : "Without Luther the Reformation would never have taken hold of the common people ; without Melancthon it would never have succeeded among the scholars of Germany." And no man ever valued the work of Melancthon more than the great Reformer himself.

To admire a bold man, who in the face of opposition and peril stands firm as a rock in defence of right, is natural to every true heart. But none the less worthy of admiration is the man who, constitutionally timid, with feeble health and frame, is so impelled by overpowering love for truth that he stands forth in its defence amid manifold fears, calumnies, and much shrinking of the flesh; going onward, never thinking of retreat, conciliatory, peaceful, alarmed at the clangour of arms, yet firm in his resistance of evil, and counting his life but of little value if only the cause of God can be advanced and the way of truth made known. Such a man was Philip Melancthon.

The need for a popular biography of this great scholar seems the more pressing, as hardly any such work exists for English readers. This need the author endeavours to supply, sending forth his book at a price within the reach of all, and in a form which he trusts will be found interesting. In his compilation he has mainly relied upon the information afforded by Dr. Merle D'Aubigné in his *History of the Reformation of the Sixteenth Century*, supplemented by frequent reference to Mosheim's *Institutes of Ecclesiastical History*, Cox's *Life of Melancthon*, founded upon Camerarius' biography and now out of print, various encyclopædias, and an excellent sketch of the great scholar's character and place in the struggle for Reform by Dr. Philip Schaff, of New York. To these writers the author acknowledges his indebtedness, and places the result of his labours before the public in the volume now offered for their perusal.

THE GREAT COURTYARD, WARTBURG.

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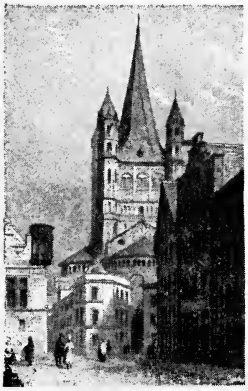


# PHILIP MELANCTHON.

## CHAPTER I.

### EUROPE ON THE EVE OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

THE fifteenth century closed upon a Europe comparatively at peace. The fierce wars which had marked the greater part of its progress had for a time been stayed. Constantinople had been wrested from the Christians in 1453, and the furious assaults of the Turks under Mohammed II. had ended with his life in 1481. In Bohemia the fratricidal war between the Hussites and the Papists had been brought to a close, partly by conquest and partly by crafty diplomacy. In the West, the conflicts between England and France had been terminated by a treaty of peace in 1492; and at the close of the century the monarchs of both countries were engaged in consolidating the royal power over their subjects.

But at this period four great powers contended for supremacy in Europe, threatening its peace, and ever ready to attack each other. These powers were the Pope, the German Emperor, the King of France, and the Ottoman Sultan,—each on the watch to advance his own interests at the expense of his neighbour.

And as there was a temporary cessation in military strife, so was there also a period of quietness in ecclesiastical affairs. Opposition had for a time been

crushed, and the fierce commotions caused by the Waldenses, the Albigenses, the Beghards and others had, so far as any apparent danger to the papal hierarchy was concerned, ceased. True, complaints were uttered against the haughty domination of the Roman pontiffs; the frauds, violence, avarice, and injustice of the court of Rome; the insolence, tyranny, and extortion of the papal legates; the crimes, ignorance, and extreme profligacy of the priests and monks; and the unrighteous severity and partiality of the Roman laws. But the pontiffs set these complaints at defiance, feeling themselves secure, and indulging their lusts and vicious propensities as freely as their innate depravity demanded. Claiming to be the successors of St. Peter and the vicars of Jesus Christ, they arrogated to themselves supreme dominion over the consciences of men, and universal jurisdiction over the kings and princes of the earth.

The occupant of the papal chair during the closing years of the fifteenth century was a Spaniard named Roderic Borgia, who in 1492 became pope as Alexander VI. He was a monster who may not improperly be called the Nero of the pontiffs—a man of whom so many and great villainies, crimes, and enormities are recorded that it must be certain he was destitute not only of all religion, but of all decency and shame. He died in 1503 of poison, which he and his son Cæsar had intended for others.

As was the head, so were the members. The subordinate rulers and teachers of the Church eagerly followed the example of their leader. Most of the bishops, with the canons their associates, led luxurious and jovial lives in the daily commission of sins, and squandered in the gratification of their lusts those funds which the preceding generation had consecrated to God and the relief of the poor. Many of them likewise treated the peasants and others subject to their control, much more rigorously and harshly than the civil magistrates and princes treated their

dependents. The greater part of the priests, on account of their indolence, unchastity, avarice, love of pleasure, ignorance, and levity, were regarded with utter contempt, not only by the wise and good, but also by the common people.

The immense numbers of monks produced everywhere great grievances and complaints. The Benedictines, and the other great orders which were allowed to possess lands and fixed revenues, abused their wealth, and rushed headlong into every species of vice, regardless altogether of the rules they professed. The Mendicant Orders, on the contrary, and especially those who professed to follow the rules of St. Dominic and St. Francis, by their rustic impudence, their ridiculous superstition, their ignorance and cruelty, their rude and brutish conduct, alienated from them the minds of the people. They all had a strong aversion to learning, and were very unfriendly to the proceedings of those who laboured to improve the system of education, and who assailed the barbarism of the times, both orally and in their writings.

No order of monks was more powerful and influential than that of the Dominicans. They filled the highest offices in the Church, they presided everywhere over the Inquisition, and held the office of confessors in the courts of all the kings and princes of Europe. Many of the Mendicant monks held the principal chairs in the universities and schools, where they loaded the memories of their pupils with a multitude of barbarous terms and worthless distinctions; and when the pupil could repeat these with volubility he was regarded as eloquent and erudite.

Theology was taught in an unwise and absurd manner, being overwhelmed with useless quotations from the Fathers, or analysed according to the laws of dialectics. Of the Biblical doctors or expounders of the precepts of the Bible, only here and there an individual remained; and those that did remain

neglected the literal sense of the Scriptures, which they were unable to investigate on account of their ignorance of the sacred languages and of the laws of interpretation; and foolishly they wandered after concealed and hidden meanings.

The public worship of God consisted almost wholly in a round of ceremonies, and those for the most part vain and useless; being calculated not to affect the heart, but to dazzle the eye. Those who delivered sermons filled, or rather beguiled, the ears of the people with pretended miracles, ridiculous fables and wretched quibbles, thrown together without judgment. If among these declaimers there were some inclined to be more grave, for them certain commonplace arguments were prepared and arranged, on which they vociferated by the hour on almost all occasions; such, for instance, as the authority of the holy mother Church and the obedience due to it, the influence of the saints with God and their virtues and merits, the dignity, glory, and kindness of the Virgin Mary, the efficacy of relics, the enriching of churches and monasteries, the necessity for what they called good works in order to secure salvation, the intolerable flames of purgatory, and the utility of indulgences.

Among all classes and ranks in every country there was an amazing ignorance of religious subjects, and much superstition, united with gross corruption of morals. Those who presided over the common sins of the Church willingly tolerated these evils, and indeed encouraged them in various ways, rather than strove to stifle them, well knowing that their own interests were dependent thereon. Nor did the majority think it advisable to oppose strenuously the corruption of morals, for they well knew that if the crimes and sins of the people were diminished, the sale of indulgences would also decrease, and they would derive much less revenue from absolutions and other similar sources.

The doctrine and the sale of indulgences were

powerful incentives to evil among an ignorant people. What had man to fear when a small contribution towards building a church secured him from the fear of punishment in the world to come? What hope could there be of revival when all communication between God and man was cut off, and man moved only in a round of petty ceremonies and sensual observances, in an atmosphere of death?

A contemporary writer—Myconius, quoted by D'Aubigné—states:

"The sufferings and merits of Christ were looked upon as an idle tale, or as the fictions of Homer. There was no thought of the faith by which we become partakers of the Saviour's righteousness and of the heritage of eternal life. Christ was regarded as a severe judge, prepared to condemn all who should not have recourse to the intercession of saints or to papal indulgences. Other intercessors appeared in His place:—first the Virgin Mary, like the Diana of Paganism, and then the saints, whose numbers were continually augmented by the popes. These mediators granted their intercession only to such applicants as had deserved well of the orders founded by them. For this it was necessary to do, not what God had commanded in His Word, but to perform a number of works invented by monks and priests, and which brought money to the treasury. These works were Ave-Marias, the prayers of St. Ursula and of St. Bridget; they must chant and cry night and day.

"There were as many resorts for pilgrims as there were mountains, forests, and valleys. But these penances might be compounded for with money. The people, therefore, brought to the convents and to the priests money and everything that had any value—fowls, ducks, geese, eggs, wax, straw, butter, and cheese. Then the hymns resounded, the bells rang, incense filled the sanctuary, sacrifices were offered up, the larders overflowed, the glasses went round, and masses terminated and concealed these pious orgies.

The bishops no longer preached, but they consecrated priests, bells, monks, churches, chapels, images, books, and cemeteries; and all this brought in a large revenue. Bones, arms, and feet were preserved in gold and silver boxes; they were given out during mass for the faithful to kiss, and this too was a source of great profit."

Truly of this age it may be said, "darkness covered the land, and gross darkness the people."

But faintly illumining the darkness were a few rays of light which heralded the coming dawn. First of these was the revival of letters consequent upon the fall of the Greek Empire, and the dispersion, after the capture of Constantinople, of its most learned men to Italy and other parts of Europe. Everywhere they carried with them the Greek language, which they taught for their own support, thus affording the key to unlock the treasures of classic lore, and diffusing a taste for literature and science over nearly the whole Latin world. Nor were other languages and sciences neglected. Hebrew was carefully studied, and acquaintance made with the works of Oriental writers. And as the mind expanded with the increase of knowledge, the human intellect revolted against the ecclesiastical traditions and intellectual tyranny of the Church of Rome. Learned men began to question the claims of the Papacy; and as the ability to study the Scriptures in their original languages increased, the hollowness of these claims became more and more apparent, and the willingness to admit them declined.

Another ray of light which helped to disperse the darkness at this time was the invention of the printing-press. This made easy the multiplication and dissemination of books, thus forming the channel through which the stream of truth, when once set flowing, should find its way to all parts of the civilised world.

Yet other beams radiated from the homes of those

who, even in this dark age, honestly strove to serve God according to the light vouchsafed to them, and were thus prepared to welcome a fuller and more glorious revelation when it appeared.

And as the last stroke fell announcing the departure of the fifteenth and the incoming of the sixteenth century, and all men were looking forward in expectation for the blow to descend that was to shatter the building of papal superstition and tyranny, two powerful instruments for accomplishing this purpose were being prepared in obscurity—one, a miner's son, then a student at Eisenach, named MARTIN LUTHER; the other, a little lad, then not quite four years of age, the son of a master-armourer, whose name was Philip Schwartzerd, a name which was afterwards altered to that of PHILIP MELANCTHON.

## CHAPTER II.

### MELANCTHON'S EARLY DAYS AND COLLEGE LIFE.

PHILIP MELANCTHON was born on February 16th, 1497, at Bretten, in the Palatinate of the Rhine, Germany.

The family name was Schwartzerd, meaning "black earth," and his father, George Schwartzerd, was a native of Heidelberg, who had settled at Bretten, a small town now included in the Grand-Duchy of Baden. He was a skilful master-armourer, and held the office of Engineer or Commissary of Artillery, under the Palatine princes Philip and Rupert. He is described as having been a man of strict integrity and of remarkable ingenuity. Frequently, when purchasers were too poor to afford the price they offered for his wares, he would refuse to accept it, and compel them to take back their money. His habit was to leave his bed at midnight to offer fervent prayer, and if the morning came without this duty having been performed, he was dissatisfied with himself throughout the rest of the day.

His wife, Barbara, was the daughter of a respectable bailiff or magistrate, named John Reuter. She was possessed of a gentle disposition, was somewhat inclined to superstition, but in other respects was a truly estimable woman.

The house in which Philip was born was situated in the market-place of Bretten. It belonged to his

parents, and for many years contained the following inscription :—

> Dei Pietate natus est in
> hac Domo Doctissimus Dn.
> Philippus Melancthon, D.
> xvi. Febr. A. m. cccc. xcvii.

By the Grace of God, the most learned Master Philip Melancthon was born in this house, the 16th day of February, 1497.

The same year that saw the birth of Melancthon at Bretten witnessed the removal of Martin Luther, then a lad of fourteen, from the school at Mansfield to the more important seminary at Magdeburg.

Of the infancy and childhood of the young Schwartzerd we know but little. He was not quite eleven when his father died. Two days before he expired George called his son to his bedside and exhorted him to keep the fear of God constantly before his eyes. "I foresee," said the dying armourer, "that terrible tempests are about to shake the world. I have witnessed great things, but greater still are preparing. May God direct and guide thee!"

After receiving his father's blessing, Philip was sent to Spires, so that he might not be present at his parent's death. He departed weeping bitterly.

Philip and his younger brother George were after that sad event received into the house of their maternal grandfather, John Reuter, who himself had a son. This worthy man acted as a father to the two boys. He engaged John Hungarus, an excellent man, as tutor to the three lads, who overlooked nothing. He punished for every fault, but always with discretion. Speaking of him more than forty years afterwards, Melancthon said : "It is thus that he made a scholar of me. He loved me as a son, I loved him as a father ; and we shall meet, I hope, in heaven."

At this early age the excellence of Philip's under-

standing was remarkable ; as was also his facility in learning and explaining what he had learnt. His tutor was charmed with his rapid progress. He could not remain idle, and was always looking for some one to discuss with him the things he had heard. It frequently happened that well-educated foreigners passed through Bretten and visited Reuter. Immediately the bailiff's grandson would go up to them, enter into conversation, and press them so hard in the discussion that the hearers were filled with admiration. To strength of genius Philip united great gentleness, and thus won the favour of all. At that time he stammered, but he so diligently set about correcting this defect, that in after life no trace of it was discernible.

The school at Pforzheim under the immediate superintendence of George Simmler, a man distinguished for his classical learning, was at this time highly celebrated. Thither, on the death of his grandfather, were sent Philip, his brother, and their young uncle John. The three lads resided with one of their relations, a sister of the renowned Hebrew scholar, Reuchlin. Eager in the pursuit of knowledge, Philip made rapid progress in learning, especially in Greek, of which he was passionately fond. Reuchlin frequently came to Pforzheim, and at his sister's house became acquainted with her young boarders. He was soon struck with Philip's replies, and presented him with a Greek Grammar and a Bible. These two books were to be the study of his life.

At the age of twelve, the young scholar wrote a Latin comedy, which he dedicated to Reuchlin, and with the aid of some of his schoolfellows performed before him. Reuchlin, charmed with the young man's talents, affectionately embraced him, called him his dear son, and sportively placed upon his head the red hat he himself had received when made doctor. Up to this time the lad had been known as Philip Schwartzerd, but Reuchlin, in accordance with the

custom prevalent among men of letters in that age, changed the German *Schwartzerd* into its more sonorous Greek equivalent *Melancthon*. Both names signify "black earth."

When twelve years of age Philip Melancthon went to the University of Heidelberg, where he matriculated on October 13th, 1509. This university had been founded in 1385, with an express view to breadth

HEIDELBERG.

and comprehensiveness of training, and was highly celebrated for its various professors in the different branches of knowledge. The new pupil soon attracted attention, not only by his extraordinary progress and amiable disposition, but by his zealous efforts to excite his fellow-students to the more diligent cultivation of polite literature. Conscious of his own mental superiority, he felt no envious apprehension of their outstripping him in their studies, or, if they had, his

character was so free from guile that he would have rejoiced at their success.

Such eminent talents, combined with so much application, were certain to produce good results, and soon Melancthon was looked upon as a first-rate youth; and though but a boy was employed to compose most of the public harangues and eloquent discourses that were delivered in the university. He even wrote some things for the professors themselves. The education of the two sons of Count Leonstein was entrusted to his care, and his proficiency in Greek was so remarkable that even at this early age he composed a *Rudiments of the Greek Language* which was afterwards published. At fourteen he took his Bachelor's degree.

In 1512 Reuchlin invited Melancthon to Tubingen, a town on the Neckar in the duchy of Wurtemberg. This university, which had been founded in 1477, was daily increasing in reputation, and was the resort of many learned men. Melancthon entered it in September, and attended by turns the lectures of the theologians, doctors, and lawyers; in fact, there was no branch of knowledge which he deemed unworthy of his study. In medicine he mastered Galen so thoroughly that he could repeat the greater part of his treatises; and although theology, as then taught, consisted of little else than scholastic subtleties, knotty questions, unintelligible jargon, and absurd superstition, yet he became much devoted to its more sober and rational part.

His genius and attractive disposition made him many friends; among them at this time was Œcolampadius, who was his senior by several years; they used to read Hesiod together. Among the professors Henry Bibelius—distinguished for his skill in botany—John Brassicanus and John Stofflerus in the mathematical department, and Francis Stadianus—the public lecturer on Aristotle—won his highest esteem. The two latter he mentions with particular

affection in his writings. Of Stofflerus, who for many years had the sole care of arranging the calendar, he says :—

"Had it not been for his indefatigable application we should have known nothing of the distribution of times and the changes of the months, nor of the seasons for ploughing, sowing, planting, and other agricultural pursuits, nor of a variety of other useful and ingenious arts."

Francis Stadianus he describes as a man of learning, who lived in such a manner as to deserve the affection of all the learned and good.

On January 25th, 1514, just before he attained the age of seventeen, Melancthon was made Doctor of Philosophy or *Master of Arts*. He immediately began a course of private tuition, and not long afterwards became a public lecturer at Tubingen. The grace and charm that he imparted to his lessons formed a most striking contrast to the insipid method pursued by the doctors and monks. He directed the attention of his scholars to the classical compositions of Virgil, Terence, Cicero, Livy, and the Greek writers; but his lectures were not exclusively devoted to the learned languages, they embraced a great variety of subjects, as rhetoric, logic, ethics, mathematics, and theology.

Such a bright star in the literary firmament, shining all the brighter because of the surrounding darkness, could not fail to attract the attention of the great men of the age. In 1515, Erasmus of Rotterdam, the greatest scholar of his time, exclaimed in admiration: "What hopes may we not conceive of Philip Melancthon, though as yet very young, and almost a boy, but equally to be admired for his proficiency in both languages! What quickness of invention! What purity of diction! What vastness of memory! What variety of reading! What a modesty and gracefulness of behaviour! and what a princely mind!" Such an eulogium, by such a

man, on a stripling of eighteen, is evidence of his great merit.

On another occasion he wrote: "Of Melancthon I have already the highest opinion, and cherish the most magnificent hopes; so much so that I am persuaded Christ designs this youth to excel us all: he will totally eclipse Erasmus." And in a letter written to Melancthon, he concludes: "Farewell, most learned Melancthon, use all thine energies that the splendid hopes which Germany conceives of thy genius and thy piety may not only be equalled but exceeded." Yet again in a letter to Julius Pflug, the counsellor of George Duke of Saxony, the learned Dutchman gives Melancthon this character: "He not only excels in learning and eloquence, but by a certain fatality is a general favourite. Honest and candid men are very fond of him, and even his adversaries cannot hate him!"

Seckendorf, in his history of Lutheranism, states that were the various eulogies which literary men, and even religious opponents, have pronounced upon Melancthon to be collected together, they would fill a very considerable volume.

The Holy Scriptures especially engaged his attention. Those who frequented the church at Tubingen had remarked that he frequently held a book in his hands, which he was occupied in reading between the services. This unknown volume appeared to be larger than the prayer book, and a report was circulated that Melancthon used to read profane authors during these intervals. But the suspected book proved to be a copy of the Bible printed shortly before at Basle by John Frobenius. All his life he continued this study with the most unceasing application. He always carried the volume with him, even to the public assemblies to which he was invited.

Yet at this time he shared in the common errors of his age. "I shudder," he observed many years

later, "when I think of the honour I paid to images while I was yet a Papist."

During his residence at Tubingen there occurred an opportunity of rendering essential service to his early friend and patron John Reuchlin, who had become involved in a disagreeable contention with certain ecclesiastics, the cause of which was as follows. There dwelt at Cologne a baptised rabbi, named Pfefferkorn, who was intimately connected with the inquisitor Hochstraten. This rabbi and the Dominicans solicited and obtained an order from the Emperor Maximilian by which all the Jews were to bring their Hebrew books, the Bible only excepted, to the town hall of the place in which each resided, for the books there to be burnt. The Jews instantly implored the emperor to suspend his order till these books had been examined by a competent committee of learned men. Maximilian consented, and invited Reuchlin to give his opinion on the Hebrew books; which was, that no books should be destroyed save such as were written expressly against Christianity. This decision the emperor approved, and restored the imperilled books to their owners.

The monks and inquisitors of Cologne were violently enraged, and accused Reuchlin of heresy and of inclining to Judaism, threatening him with the dungeons of the Inquisition. Hochstraten had a tribunal formed at Mentz against him, and his works were committed to the flames. At this critical juncture Melancthon aided his friend. Frequent conferences took place between them both at Tubingen and at Stuttgart, where Reuchlin resided, the result being, conjointly with his high reputation, the honourable acquittal of the great Hebrew scholar.

One of the earliest productions of Melancthon now extant is an oration on the liberal arts, delivered in 1517, when he was twenty years of age. In this he relates the classical story of the Seven-stringed Lyre and the Origen of the liberal arts, and as he

approaches the close he exhorts his hearers in the following animated words: "Let the example of those illustrious persons who surround me inspire you. Be animated by the great and glorious expectations of your country, and apply the utmost vigour of your minds to what you know to be of pre-eminent importance—the attainment of sound learning and real virtue. Do not be seduced from this noble course by flattering pleasures or by evil examples. Let no dishonourable principle influence your minds; and that I call dishonourable which diverts you from the literary pursuits and from the sacred studies to which you are devoted."

Shortly after this event the Elector Frederick formed the design of inviting some distinguished scholar to the University of Wittemberg as professor of the ancient languages. He applied to Reuchlin, who recommended Melancthon. Frederick foresaw the celebrity that the rising scholar would confer on the institution, and Reuchlin, charmed with the brilliant opening for his young friend, wrote to him in the words applied to Abraham: "*Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house: and I will make thy name great; and thou shalt be a blessing.*" And the old man added, "Yea, I hope it will be so with thee, my dear Philip, my handiwork and my consolation."

Melancthon acknowledged this invitation as a call from God. But his departure caused deep sorrow to the University of Tubingen. He had been there about six years, and was now twenty-one years of age. He left his native place for his new sphere of labour, saying, "The will of the Lord be done." George Simmler, an eminent lawyer and contemporary, referring to Tubingen, states, "The whole city lamented his departure. No one can conceive or estimate how much the academy lost of distinction and of emolument when he departed."

The journey to Wittemberg was performed on horse-

back, in company with several Saxon merchants, whose guidance and protection he valued as he was unacquainted both with the roads and the country. He paid his respects to the elector, whom he found at Augsburg. At Leipsic the university gave a banquet in his honour, and at this city he formed an acquaintance with the learned Hellenist Mosellanus.

## CHAPTER III.

### PROFESSOR AT WITTEMBERG.

MELANCTHON arrived at Wittemberg on August 25th, 1518, two days after Leo X. had signed the brief, charging Cardinal Cajetan to summon Luther before him, "to prosecute and constrain without any delay." And two days later the pope signed a letter to Frederick, in which he sought to detach him from Luther's cause. It was just at the time when the Reformer most needed a friend into whose bosom he could pour out his sorrows and whose faithful affection should comfort him in his hours of dejection, that God gave him such a friend in Philip Melancthon.

The reception accorded to Melancthon by the Wittemberg professors was less favourable than by those of Leipsic. The first impression he created was somewhat disappointing to their expectations. They saw a young man, looking even younger than his age, small of stature, with feeble and timid air. Could this be the illustrious doctor who had been so warmly recommended to them by Reuchlin and Erasmus? Neither Luther nor his colleagues entertained any great hopes of his success, when they saw his youth, his shyness, and his diffident manner.

But, four days later, when his inaugural address was delivered, he spoke in such elegant Latin, and showed so much learning, an understanding so cultivated, and a judgment so sound, that all who heard him were struck with admiration. Fears departed,

and those who had been inclined to condemn were now loud in praise.

When the speech was finished, all crowded round the young professor with congratulations, but no one felt more joy than Luther, and he hastened to assure the diffident youth of his admiration and affection. Writing to Spalatin, chaplain to the Elector Frederick, on August 31st, he says: "Melancthon delivered four days after his arrival so learned and so beautiful a discourse that every one listened with astonishment and admiration. We soon recovered from the prejudices excited by his stature and appearance; we now praise and admire his eloquence. We return our thanks to you and to the prince for the service you have done us. I ask for no other Greek master. But I fear that his delicate frame will be unable to support our mode of living, and that we shall be unable to keep him long on account of the smallness of his salary. I hear that the Leipsic people are already boasting of their power to take him from us. O my dear Spalatin, beware of despising his age and his personal appearance. He is a man worthy of every honour."

Enthusiastic in the work he had undertaken, Melancthon began immediately to lecture on Homer and St. Paul's Epistle to Titus. "I will make every effort," wrote he to Spalatin, "to conciliate the favour of all those in Wittemberg who love learning and virtue." On September 2nd Luther again wrote to the elector's chaplain, saying: "I most particularly recommend to you the very learned and very amiable Grecian, Philip. His lecture-room is always full. All the theologians in particular go to hear him. He is making every class, upper, lower, and middle, begin to read Greek."

Melancthon fully responded to Luther's affection, and found in him a kindness of disposition, strength of mind, courage, and discretion, that he had never before found in any man. "If there is any one," said

he, "whom I dearly love, and whom I embrace with my whole heart, it is Martin Luther."

Referring to the meeting of these two eminent men, and its influence upon the Reformation, Dr. Merle D'Aubigné states: "Thus did Luther and Melancthon meet; they were friends until death. We cannot too much admire the goodness and wisdom of God in bringing together two men so different, and yet so necessary to one another. Luther possessed warmth,

Melancthon. Luther.

MARKET PLACE, WITTEMBERG.

vigour, and strength; Melancthon clearness, discretion, and mildness. Luther gave energy to Melancthon, Melancthon moderated Luther. They were like substances in a state of positive and negative electricity which mutually act upon each other. If Luther had been without Melancthon, perhaps the torrent would have overflowed its banks; Melancthon, when Luther was taken away from him by death, hesitated and gave way, even where he should not have yielded. Luther did much by power; Melancthon perhaps did

no less by following a gentler and more tranquil method. Both were upright, open-hearted, generous; both ardently loved the Word of eternal life, and obeyed it with a fidelity and devotion that governed their whole lives."

The arrival of Melancthon at Wittemberg effected a complete change in the methods of study, not only at that university, but throughout Germany and the learned world. No longer was there the barrenness which scholasticism had cast over education, but a professor who knew how to clothe the driest subjects with grace and beauty, and the mildness of whose spirit and clearness and precision of ideas captivated all hearers. "Thanks to him," said the German historian Plank, "Wittemberg became the school of the nation."

It was of the greatest importance at this time that a man who knew Greek thoroughly should teach in the university at Wittemberg. The new developments of theology impelled both masters and pupils to study the sacred writings in their original languages. Luther immediately applied himself to the task, and in doing so found that the meaning of a Greek word could often make clear important theological ideas. As, for instance, the word which according to the Roman Church meant penance, or human expiation or satisfaction required by the Church, really meant in Greek true conversion of heart and newness of life. With this discovery, a thick mist rolled away from his eyes.

And as Luther benefited by the study of Greek under Melancthon, so he, on his part, derived much good through his acquaintance with the new theology. The doctrine of Justification by Faith filled him with wonder and joy. Yet he independently examined the system expounded by Luther, and moulded it according to the peculiar form of his own mind; for although he was but twenty-one years of age, he was one of those geniuses whose mind seemed fully

developed, and who think for themselves from their earliest years.

The zeal of the teachers was speedily communicated to the disciples, and the method of instruction was, with the elector's consent, reformed. Those courses that possessed merely scholastic importance were suppressed, but the study of the classics received a fresh impulse. The University of Wittemberg was transformed, and the contrast between it and other universities became daily more striking. Yet all was done within the limits of the Church, and none suspected that they were on the eve of a great contest with the pope.

The end of the year 1518 saw the memorable conference between Cardinal Cajetan and Luther at Augsburg, at which, without his errors having been refuted, the Reformer was required to retract. It also witnessed his heroic stand on behalf of the truth, and the hour when, feeling that the elector could no longer afford to protect him, he realised the necessity of quitting Germany to seek a refuge in France.

Amid these trying and perilous circumstances his heart turned to his friend. Thus we find him writing to Melancthon from Augsburg on the eve of his first appearance before the cardinal as follows: "Show yourself a man as you do at all times. Teach our beloved youths what is upright and acceptable to God. As for me, I am going to be sacrificed for you and for them, if such is the Lord's will. I would rather die, and even, which would be my greatest misfortune, be deprived of your sweet society, than retract what I felt it my duty to teach, and thus ruin perhaps by my own fault the excellent studies to which we are now devoting ourselves. Italy, like Egypt in times of old, is plunged in darkness so thick that it may be felt. No one in that country knows anything of Christ, or of what belongs to Him; and yet they are our lords and masters in faith and morals. Thus the wrath of God is fulfilled among us, as the prophet saith, 'I will

give children to be their princes, and babes shall rule over them.' Do your duty to God, my dear Philip, and avert His anger by pure and fervent prayer."

While these important events were happening at Augsburg, Melancthon continued his teaching at Wittemberg. His efforts at this time were directed to the revival and purification of the Aristotelian or Peripatetic philosophy, as opposed to the scholastic systems that had been founded upon it, and which had made of theology a mass of confused subtleties utterly obscuring all true conceptions of religion. Luther, perceiving the support which the scholastic philosophy afforded to the errors of the Romish Church, utterly rejected it, and at first Melancthon was inclined to agree with him; but perceiving that it was not so much the philosophy of Aristotle that was responsible for these results as the perverted interpretation of it by the schoolmen, he gave it a qualified support. Thus, while thoroughly condemning scholasticism, as generating dissension rather than promoting truth, he took Aristotle for his guide in philosophical inquiries, and accepted his principles so far as they were connected with utility. But he brought his penetrating mind to bear upon this subject, and always paid a superior deference to the Word of God.

In the German schools Melancthon was looked upon as a common or general preceptor. Uniting the study of the Aristotelian philosophy with ancient learning in general, he extracted from Aristotle all that was essentially good, and illustrated it by the aids of literature and general criticism, adapting all to the principles of true religion. At the same time whatever was valuable in the writings or doctrines of the Stoics and Platonists he adopted for his use, and whatever his genius suggested he incorporated into his system.

This system, which from its founder was called the Philippic method, was pursued in most of the German academies, under the sanction of both the civil and

ecclesiastical authorities. In all the Lutheran schools abridgments of the various branches of philosophy by Melancthon, composed in a familiar style, were constantly and for a long period taught; of this nature were his *Logic*, *Ethics*, *Physics*, and his *Treatise on the Soul*. Nor did he confine his attention to a few subjects only, but reduced almost every art and science, then known, into a form and arrangement which greatly abbreviated the labour of the student. Several learned men from Italy and Great Britain, who became tutors in the German schools, materially assisted him in these efforts.

After the failure of Cardinal Cajetan to procure Luther's recantation, the Reformer appealed on November 28th, 1518, from the pope to a general council of the Church. This he did anticipating that the papal thunder of excommunication would be launched against him. It was a bold stroke, and brought him under the ban of the Church's greater excommunication, and necessitated more than ever his departure from Germany.

But when all was in readiness for leaving Wittemberg, and the courtiers of Leo X. were urging that pontiff to measures of severity, he entered upon a course of conciliation and apparent mildness. A fresh legate was despatched from Italy, bearing as a present to the elector the Golden Rose—emblem of the sovereign pontiff's special regard. This legate was the pope's chamberlain, a Saxon noble named Charles Miltitz, and he was commissioned to proceed to Germany, there to examine the state of affairs, and to seek to gain over the elector's councillors, so that Rome might secure possession of her powerful antagonist.

On January 12th, 1519, Maximilian, Emperor of Germany, died, and the Elector Frederick became administrator of the empire.

The meetings between Luther and Miltitz took place in the house of Spalatin at Altenburg. The

result was a kind of truce, stated in Luther's report to the elector as follows :—

"Both parties are forbidden to preach, write, or do anything further in the discussion that has been raised.

"Miltitz will immediately inform the holy Father of the state of affairs. His holiness will empower an enlightened bishop to investigate the matter, and to point out the erroneous articles I should retract. If they prove me to be in error I shall willingly recant, and will do nothing derogatory to the honour and authority of the holy Roman Church."

Luther was as desirous of peace as the papal legate, but a more powerful hand than Luther's was at work. "God does not guide me," he said, "He pushes me forward. I am not master of myself. I desire to live in repose ; but I am thrown into the midst of tumults and convulsions."

The Reformation could not be stayed. At the very moment when the Roman pontiff thought to stifle the work in Germany, Luther's writings and opinions were being scattered far beyond the frontiers of the empire, and the Reformation began in France, the Low Countries, Italy, Spain, England, and Switzerland.

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE LEIPSIC DISCUSSION.

THE truce arranged through the efforts of Miltitz was broken by the pride of Rome's partisans, the immediate cause of the renewal of the combat being the famous Leipsic discussion, which, beginning on June 27th, 1519, continued until the fifteenth of the following month.

The immediate cause of this discussion was a disagreement between Dr. Eck, the celebrated papal theologian and syllogiser, and Andrew Carlstadt, a doctor of divinity and friend and colleague of Luther, over the subject of free will. Dr. Eck, who was a man proud of his talents and power in debate, challenged Carlstadt to a personal discussion to be held at Leipsic, and invited Luther, against whom he had already written, to be present. Carlstadt accepted the challenge, and on the day appointed appeared in the arena attended by Luther.

But while Eck attacked Carlstadt, his real aim was Luther, and with the view of compelling him to enter the lists, Eck published thirteen theses in which he expressly attacked the chief doctrines set forth by the Reformer. The thirteenth was thus worded: "We deny that the Roman Church was not raised above the other Churches before the time of Pope Sylvester; and we acknowledge in every age as the successor of St. Peter and the vicar of Jesus Christ him who has filled the chair and held the faith of

St. Peter." If Luther controverted this, he at once attacked the papal supremacy.

Luther was not a man to hold back at such a crisis. He boldly replied to the challenge of his antagonist, and published some new theses in opposition to those of Dr. Eck. The last directly assailed the supremacy of the pope in these words: "It is by contemptible decretals of Roman pontiffs, composed within the last four centuries, that they would prove the primacy of the Church of Rome; but this primacy is opposed by all the creditable history of eleven centuries, by the declarations of Holy Scripture, and by the resolutions of the Council of Nice, the holiest of all councils."

The discussion was held in the castle of Pleissenburg, in presence of Duke George and other princes, counts, abbots, knights, doctors of divinity, and many persons of distinction.

Carlstadt and Eck disputed warmly for several days on the subject of free will; then Luther engaged Dr. Eck, first, for five days, on the papal supremacy, and afterwards on the doctrines of purgatory, indulgences, repentance, absolution of the priest, and satisfaction. On July 16th the business was concluded by a speech from Hoffman, the rector of the university at Leipsic, and the singing of the *Te Deum*.

Melancthon was an interested spectator at this disputation. He sat among the other spectators modest and silent, listening to the discussion, but taking little active part during its progress. But between the sittings he conversed with Carlstadt and Luther, and aided them in their preparations, suggesting the arguments with which his extensive learning furnished him.

These violent discussions on sacred themes, when the passions of the disputants became far too apparent, had little charm for the young professor. Referring to that between Eck and Carlstadt, he wrote: "We cannot help feeling surprised when we think of the

violence with which these subjects were treated. How could any one expect to derive any profit from it? The Spirit of God loves retirement and silence; it is then that He penetrates deep into our hearts. The bride of Christ does not dwell in the streets and market-places, but leads her Spouse into the house of her mother."

Though Melancthon's peaceful nature turned away from these heated disputes, yet the Leipsic discussion marks an important epoch in the development of his opinions. Till that time literature had been his sole delight. This conference gave him a new impulse, and turned his thoughts to theology. Henceforward his extensive learning was to bow before the Word of God. He received the evangelical truths with childlike simplicity, and explained them with a grace and clearness that charmed all hearers, treading boldly in the path so new to him; for, said he, "Christ will never abandon His followers."

From this time the two friends, Luther and Melancthon, walked together, contending for liberty and truth —one with the energy of St. Paul, the other with the meekness of St. John. Referring to the difference of their callings, Luther wrote a few years afterwards, in 1529: "I am rough, boisterous, stormy, and altogether warlike, fighting against innumerable monsters and devils. I was born for the work of removing stumps and stones, cutting away thistles and thorns, and clearing the wild forests; but Master Philippus comes along softly and gently, sowing and watering with joy, according to the gifts which God has abundantly bestowed upon him."

Luther, having separated from the Papacy, felt towards it a decided aversion and indignation. All the witnesses that in every age had testified against Rome passed in review before him, each revealing some abuse or error. He pointed to this moment as that of his emancipation from the papal yoke.

Although Hoffman—whose duty it was, in con-

junction with the masters of the university, to adjudge the victory—would not take upon him to say which party was victorious, but referred the matter to the universities of Paris and Erfurth, Eck gave way to all the intoxication of what he wished to represent as a victory. He inveighed against Luther, and heaped charges upon him. He wrote to the Elector Frederick begging him to summon a council and "exterminate these vermin before they multiply beyond all bounds."

Melancthon had written a letter to Œcolampadius giving an account of the disputation, in which he had spoken of Eck in terms of commendation. But the pride of the doctor was wounded, and immediately he wrote against "that grammarian of Wittemberg, who was not ignorant indeed of Latin and Greek, but who had dared to publish a letter in which he had insulted him—Dr. Eck."

This brought Melancthon into the field, and his reply to the Ingoldstadt doctor was his first theological writing. Its urbanity is in marked contrast to the style of his adversary. He first laid down the fundamental principles of Scripture interpretation, showing that Scripture ought not to be interpreted by the Fathers, but the Fathers by Scripture. "How often has Jerome been mistaken!" said he, "how frequently Augustine! how frequently Ambrose! how often the opinions are different! and how often they retract their errors! There is but one Scripture, inspired by the Holy Ghost, and pure and true in all things.

"Luther does not follow certain ambiguous explanations of the ancients, say they; and why should he? When he explains the passage of St. Matthew, *Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church*, he says the same thing as Origen, who alone is a host; as Augustine in his homily; and as Ambrose in his sixth book upon St. Luke; I will mention no others. What then, will you say the Fathers contradict one another? And is there any-

thing astonishing in that? I believe in the Fathers because I believe in Scripture. The meaning of Scripture is one and simple, the heavenly truth itself. It is obtained by comparing Scripture with Scripture; it is deduced from the thread and connection of the discourse. There is a philosophy that is enjoined us as regards Holy Scripture; and that is, to bring all human opinions and maxims to it, as to a touchstone by which to try them."

It was long since Christendom had listened to such powerful truths set forth with so much elegance. To Eck's railing Melancthon opposed argument; and his tract, which consisted of five folio pages, proved extremely serviceable to the Lutheran cause. The Word of God was restored to its place and the Fathers to theirs. Henceforth a simple method of ascertaining the meaning of Scripture would be available, and a means afforded of replying to all those who, like Dr. Eck, sought to obscure the subject by their subtlety.

Miltitz tried again to calm the agitation, but his efforts were unavailing. The Golden Rose which he had brought into Germany was presented to the elector, but that prince did not condescend to receive it in person. He knew the artifices of Rome, and judged the gift at its true value.

Eck, burning with rage after the debate at Leipsic, hurried away to Rome in order to secure Luther's destruction. Taking with him some of the most powerful Dominicans of the pontifical court, especially Cajetan and Prierio, he pressed Leo X. to excommunicate the Reformer forthwith. Overcome by their importunities, Leo issued his first bull of excommunication against Luther on June 15th, 1520, in which forty-one of his tenets were condemned, his writings adjudged to the flames, and he himself commanded to confess his faults within sixty days and implore the clemency of the pope, otherwise he was to be cast out of the Church. Orders were also

given to seize the persons of Luther and his partisans, and send them to Rome.

While Rome was thus thundering against the bold monk of Wittemberg, he on his part prepared to meet her attack. This he did by first publishing his tract on "The Babylonian Captivity of the Church," which was followed a little later by his treatise "Against the Bull of Antichrist," and by a solemn appeal, on November 17th, 1520, in the presence of a notary and five witnesses, from the pope to a general council of the Church hereafter to be held.

Foreseeing, also, that this appeal would be treated with contempt at Rome, and that as soon as the sixty days were expired another bull of excommunication would be launched against him, Luther determined to withdraw from the Roman Church before the new rescript of the pope was issued. In order to proclaim this secession by a public act, he caused a fire to be kindled outside the walls of Wittemberg on December 10th, and in presence of a vast multitude of spectators, burnt the bull issued by the pope against him, together with a copy of the pontifical canon laws. In thus acting he signified his withdrawal from the Romish Church, which looks upon the pope as its infallible head, but not from the Universal Church as represented by a legitimate and free council, whose sentence he was prepared to obey.

The second bull of excommunication against Luther was issued on January 4th, 1521. By this he was expelled from the bosom of the Romish Church for having contemned the authority of the pontiff.

But while these events had been agitating the inhabitants of Rome and causing excitement throughout Germany, more tranquil scenes had been passing at Wittemberg. There Melancthon was diffusing a mild but brilliant light. From fifteen hundred to two thousand auditors, assembled from Germany, England, the Low Countries, France, Italy, Hungary, and Greece, were often gathered around him. He was

twenty-four years of age, and had not entered the ecclesiastical state. His visits were welcomed by all the inhabitants of the town, but it was known that foreign universities, Ingoldstadt in particular, were seeking to attract him within their walls. His Wittemberg friends were most anxious to retain him among them, and sought to do this by the ties of marriage. The young doctor frequented, in particular, the house of the burgomaster Krupp, who belonged to an ancient family. Krupp had a daughter named Catherine, a woman of mild character and great sensibility, and Melancthon's friends urged him to ask her in marriage. He was, however, so absorbed in his books, that he would hear of nothing besides. His Greek authors and his Testament were all-sufficient. The arguments of his friends he met with counter arguments. But at length they prevailed and his consent was given. All the preliminary steps were arranged, and Catherine was given him to wife.

We are informed that he received her very coldly, exclaiming, with a sigh : " It is God's will ! I must renounce my studies and my pleasures to comply with the wishes of my friends." He appreciated, however, Catherine's good qualities. " The young woman," said he, " has just such a character and education as I should have asked of God. May God, by His right hand, prosper the matter. Certainly she deserves a better husband."

Matters were settled in August, the betrothal took place on September 25th, and the wedding at the end of November, 1520. Old John Luther with his wife and daughter visited Wittemberg on this occasion, and many learned men and people of note were present at the ceremony.

Catherine proved a devoted and affectionate wife, and quickly won the love of her husband. She was, perhaps, over-anxious concerning him, and grew alarmed when the least prospect of danger threatened her dear partner. She overwhelmed him with

entreaties to renounce any step he proposed taking of such a nature as to compromise his safety, and probably to her influence may be ascribed some of the timidity and fears with which he has so often been reproached. On one occasion he wrote : " I was compelled to give way to her weakness . . . such is our lot."

When once Melancthon had tasted the joys of domestic life, he felt all their sweetness. Nowhere was he happier than with Catherine and his children. She was an affectionate mother as well as a loving wife, and theirs was a home where love reigned supreme. A French traveller one day finding " the master of Germany " rocking his child's cradle with one hand, and holding a book in the other, started back with surprise. But Melancthon, without being disconcerted, explained to him with so much warmth the value of children in the eyes of God, that the stranger, according to his own words, quitted the house wiser than he had entered it.

Melancthon's marriage gave a domestic circle to the Reformation. His house, a three-storied building, is still standing, and bears an inscription on the outer wall, intimating that " here dwelt, taught, and died Philip Melancthon." It was close to the Augustine monastery, and had a little garden behind, which was connected with that belonging to Luther. In this garden was a stone table, now overshadowed by a yew tree which Melancthon planted, and here he and his illustrious neighbour might often have been seen in earnest conversation. Henceforth there was one house in Wittemberg to which those who had received the new life were always welcome. Immense numbers of strangers came to Melancthon on different matters, and the established rule of his household enjoined him to refuse nothing to any one.

Wittemberg was at that time a town of poor dwellings in a sandy plain on the borders of civilisation. At first Melancthon complained that he could hardly

get decent food. His highest salary was only three hundred guilders (about £30), and it appears that neither he nor Luther received any payment for their books, except indirectly, in the shape of presents. In the first year after his marriage, Melancthon could not afford to buy a new dress for his wife. But both he and his wife were extremely liberal to all in need; and when his money was spent, he would secretly carry his plate to some merchant that he might have the means to comfort the distressed. The ability to carry out his benevolent desires with so limited an income was greatly helped by the conscientious carefulness of an old and faithful servant, named John, to whom the whole duty of provisioning the family was entrusted. To this domestic he was greatly attached.

Melancthon's good nature was extreme, and was sometimes abused by the unworthy. The following story related by his friend and biographer, Camerarius, exemplifies this. Among Melancthon's treasures were several gold and silver medals, remarkable for their inscriptions and figures. One day he was showing them to a stranger who had happened to call upon him. "Take any one you like," said the professor with his usual generosity. "I should like them all," replied the stranger. "I confess," says Philip, "that this unreasonable request displeased me a little at first; I nevertheless gave them to him."

It was Melancthon's custom to retire to rest shortly after supper, and to resume his studies at two or three o'clock in the morning. It was during these early hours that his best works were written. He was careless in protecting his manuscripts, which usually lay on the table exposed to the gaze of any visitor, so that he was robbed of several. When friends had been invited to his home, he would beg one of them, before sitting down to table, to read some small composition in prose or verse. When on his journeys he always took some young men with him, and con-

versed with them in a manner both amusing and instructive. If the conversation languished, each had to recite in turn passages extracted from the ancient poets. He frequently made use of irony, but always tempered with mildness. "He scratches and bites," said he of himself, "and yet he does no harm."

MELANCTHON'S HOUSE AT WITTEMBERG.

Learning was his passion. His one great object in life was to diffuse literature and knowledge. In his estimation the Holy Scriptures ranked far above the writings of pagan authors. Speaking of himself, he said: "I apply myself solely to one thing, the defence of letters. By our example we must excite youth to

the admiration of learning, and induce them to love it for its own sake, and not for the advantage that may be derived from it. The destruction of learning brings with it the ruin of everything that is good: religion, morals, divine and human things. The better a man is the greater his ardour in the preservation of learning; for he knows that of all plagues ignorance is the most pernicious."

Melancthon was an affectionate son as well as a kind husband and father, and ever cherished fond recollections of his natal city. When paying a visit to his mother at Bretten a few years after his marriage, he dismounted from his horse as soon as he came in sight of his birthplace, and, falling on his knees, returned thanks to God that he had been permitted to see it once more. And whenever a traveller brought him news from Bretten, he was as much delighted as if he had once more returned to the joys of his childhood.

## CHAPTER V.

### "IN PERILS OFT."

AFTER burning the pope's bull, Luther re-entered Wittemberg. On the morrow a crowded audience awaited his appearance in the lecture-room, expecting an address from the intrepid doctor. All were excited, but a solemn feeling pervaded the assembly. Upon his arrival Luther resumed his lectures on the Psalms—a course that he had commenced in March of the preceding year. When his explanations were finished he remained silent for a few minutes, then continued energetically, "Be on your guard against the laws and statutes of the pope. I have burnt his decretals, but this is merely child's play. It is time, and more than time, that the pope were burnt; that is, the See of Rome with all its doctrines and abominations." Then in a more solemn tone he added, "If you do not contend with your whole heart against the impious government of the pope you cannot be saved. Whoever takes delight in the religion and worship of popery will be eternally lost in the world to come."

"If you reject it," continued Luther, "you must expect to incur every kind of danger, and even to lose your lives. But it is better to be exposed to such perils in this world than to keep silence! So long as I live I will denounce to my brethren the sore and the plague of Babylon, for fear that many who are with us should fall back like the rest into the bottomless pit."

These bold words, following upon a bold deed, produced a great effect upon the assembly. The firmness of Luther spread to his friends and fellow-countrymen. The perils that threatened him threatened also his supporters. Yet the nation rallied round the Reformer, and the University of Wittemberg especially became daily more attached to this hero who had shed such glory upon it. Carlstadt, doctor of divinity, and archdeacon at Wittemberg, exclaimed against that "furious lion of Florence" which tore all human and divine laws, and trampled under foot the principles of divine truth.

Melancthon about this time addressed the states of the empire in a writing characterised by his peculiar elegance and wisdom. After proving by various passages of Scripture that the pope is not superior to the other bishops, he says:

"What is it that prevents our depriving the pope of the rights that we have given him? It matters little to Luther whether our riches—that is to say the treasures of Europe—are sent to Rome; but the great cause of his grief and ours is, that the laws of the pontiffs and the reign of the pope not only endanger the souls of men but entirely ruin them. Each one may judge for himself whether it is becoming or not to contribute his money for the maintenance of Roman luxury; but to judge of religion and its sacred mysteries is not within the scope of the community. It is on this ground, then, that Luther appeals to your faith and zeal, and that all pious men unite with him—some aloud, others with sighs and groans. Call to remembrance that you are Christians, ye princes of a Christian people, and wrest these sad relics of Christendom from the tyranny of Antichrist. They are deceivers who pretend that you have no authority over priests. That same spirit which animated Jehu against the priests of Baal urges you, by this precedent, to abolish the Roman superstition, which is much more horrible than the idolatry of Baal."

War was declared on both sides. Society was shaken, and the timid were afraid. Many deprecated the storm that had been raised, and would have tolerated error and corruption so long as peace was maintained. But wise men, though often deploring the need of strife, thought differently, and tried to remedy the prevailing abuses.

"We are well aware," said Melancthon, "that statesmen have a dread of innovation; and it must be acknowledged that, in this sad confusion which is denominated human life, controversies, and even those which proceed from the justest causes, are always tainted with some evil. It is requisite, however, that in the Church the Word and commandments of God should be preferred to every mortal thing. God threatens with His eternal anger those who endeavour to suppress the truth. For this reason it was a duty incumbent on Luther, and from which he could not draw back, especially as he was a doctor of the Church of God, to reprove the pernicious errors which unprincipled men were disseminating with inconceivable effrontery. If controversy engenders many evils, as I see to my great sorrow, it is the fault of those who, filled with diabolical hatred, are now seeking to uphold it."

Maximilian was succeeded by Charles V., King of Spain. This prince, the youngest but most powerful monarch of Christendom, had been elected Emperor of Germany, and was crowned with great magnificence at Aix-la-Chapelle on October 22nd, 1520. Immediately after the ceremony, he, with the Elector Frederick, the assembled princes, ministers, and ambassadors, repaired to Cologne, as the plague was raging in the city where the coronation had taken place. It was clearly seen that the cause of the Reformation would speedily be brought before the new emperor, and every effort was made on the part of Rome to prejudice this monarch against Luther and to secure his condemnation.

Among the crowd of strangers who thronged Cologne at this time were the two papal nuncios Marino Caraccioli and Jerome Aleander. The latter had been specially charged by the Roman consistory to prevail upon Charles to crush the rising Reformation. Both set every wheel in motion to obtain the emperor's sanction to the burning of Luther's books throughout the empire, and especially under the eyes of the German princes assembled at Cologne. Already Charles II. had given his consent to the burning of these books in his hereditary states. Would he act in the same manner for Germany?

Men's minds were in great agitation. Charles' ministers and even the nuncios themselves were expostulated with. "Such measures," it was explained, "far from healing the wound, will only increase it. Do you imagine," said those who defended the Reformer, "that Luther's doctrines are found only in those books that you are throwing into the fire? They are written where you cannot reach them—in the hearts of the nation."

The nuncios, especially Aleander, defended the burning piles. "These flames," said he, "are a sentence of condemnation written in colossal characters, equally intelligible to those who are near and those who are afar off, to the learned and to the ignorant, and even to those who cannot read."

But papers and books were not what the nuncios really required, it was Luther himself. "These flames," said Aleander, "are not sufficient to purify the infected air of Germany. If they terrify the simple, they do not punish the wicked. We require an imperial edict against Luther's person."

Charles was not, however, as easily led as the nuncios expected. "As I have but recently ascended the throne," said he to Aleander, "I cannot, without the advice of my councillors and the consent of the princes, strike such a blow as this against a numerous faction surrounded by so many powerful defenders.

Let us first learn what our father, the Elector of Saxony, thinks of the matter; we shall afterwards see what reply we can make to the pope."

All the eloquence and artifice of the papal nuncios was therefore tried upon the elector, but without avail. Though placed in a very difficult position, he replied with dignified firmness that neither the emperor nor any other person had shown that Luther's writings had been refuted and deserved to be burned. He requested, therefore, that Doctor Luther should be furnished with a safe-conduct, so that he might appear before a tribunal of learned, pious, and impartial judges.

The friends of the Reformer rejoiced, and Melancthon was overjoyed when the elector's reply reached Wittemberg. "The German nobility," said he, "will direct their course by the example of the prince, whom they follow in all things as their Nestor. If Homer styled his hero *the bulwark of the Greeks*, why should not we call Frederick *the bulwark of the Germans?*"

The elector, knowing that Erasmus was at this time at Cologne, and that the opinion of a man so greatly respected would have much influence invited this illustrious scholar to visit him. "What is your opinion of Luther?" asked Frederick. The prudent Dutchman at first evaded a reply, but seeing that the elector required one, said in a half-jocular tone: "Luther has committed two great faults: he has attacked the crown of the pope and the bellies of the monks." Then, seeing the earnestness of the elector, Erasmus laid aside his reserve and gave his opinion as follows:—

"The cause of all this dispute is the hatred of the monks towards learning, and the fear they have of seeing their tyranny destroyed. What weapons are they using against Luther?—clamour, cabals, hatred, and libels. The more virtuous a man is, and the greater his attachment to the Gospel, the less is he

opposed to Luther. The severity of the bull has aroused the indignation of all good men, and no one can recognise in it the gentleness of a vicar of Christ. Two only, out of all the universities, have condemned Luther; and they have only condemned him, not proved him in the wrong. Do not be deceived; the danger is greater than some men imagine. Arduous and difficult things are pressing us. To begin Charles' reign by so odious an act as Luther's imprisonment would be a mournful omen. The world is thirsting for evangelical truth; let us beware of setting up a blamable opposition. Let this affair be inquired into by serious men, men of sound judgment; this will be the course most consistent with the dignity of the pope himself."

While Rome was thus seeking the destruction of the Reformer, Germany was overwhelming him with acclamations. Although the plague was raging at Wittemberg, new students arrived every day, and from four to six hundred disciples habitually sat at the feet of Luther and Melancthon in the halls of the academy.

## CHAPTER VI.

### THE DIET OF WORMS.

THE Diet of Worms, the first assembly of the empire over which the new emperor would preside, was to be opened on January 6th, 1521. As Nuremberg, where it should have been held, was suffering from the plague, it was convoked to meet at Worms ; and to that city princes, dukes, archbishops, and other members of the nobility and dignitaries of the Church, as well as deputies from the towns and ambassadors from the kings of Christendom, journeyed ; their brilliant trains thronging the roads that led to the city. All the princes were desirous of participating in this first act of the young emperor's government, and each was pleased at the opportunity afforded for displaying his power.

Two matters of primary importance were to engage the attention of the diet ; the first being the nomination of a council of regency to govern the empire when Charles was absent, and the second, the cause of the Reformation. The latter subject formed the chief topic of conversation between the noble personages who arrived at Worms.

Indications were not wanting that the diet would be stormy and difficult to manage. Charles was young, pale, of weak health, with a character as yet undeveloped, and had not hitherto shown any remarkable talent, nor apparently adopted any decided line of conduct. William de Croi, his chamberlain, tutor, and prime minister, died at Worms ; and here numerous

ambitions met and passions came into collision. The various parties vied with each other in trying to insinuate themselves into the counsels of the young emperor, and were met by the outspoken boldness of the German princes. The papal nuncios multiplied their intrigues ; and over all loomed the terrible will of the Roman Papacy, which had for ages past crushed every doctor, king, or people that had obstructed its progress.

A letter written at Rome in January, 1521, by a Roman citizen, reveals the intentions of the papal court. "If I am not mistaken," says the writer, "the only business in your diet will be this affair of Luther, which gives us much more trouble than the Turk himself. We shall endeavour to gain over the young emperor by threats, by prayers, and feigned caresses. We shall strive to win the Germans by extolling the piety of their ancestors, and by making them rich presents, and by lavish promises. If these methods do not succeed, we shall depose the emperor ; absolve the people from their allegiance ; elect another (and he will be one that suits us) in his place ; stir up civil war among the Germans, as we have just done in Spain ; and summon to our aid the armies of the kings of France, England, and all the nations of the earth. Probity, honour, religion, Christ—we shall make light of all, provided our tyranny be saved."

In the spirit of this letter, the nuncios had pressed the emperor to execute the pope's bull ; but on the other hand, Frederick had besought him to take no steps against Luther until he himself had been heard. Desirous of pleasing both parties, Charles had written to the elector, prior to his departure for Worms, to bring Luther with him to the diet, assuring him that no injustice should be shown to the Reformer, that no violence should be used against him, and that learned men should confer with him.

But to have the bold monk appearing in the presence

of the princes, maintaining a cause already condemned by the pope, was by no means Rome's policy; and Aleander urged, entreated, and threatened the emperor, until he yielded, and informed the elector that unless Luther would retract what he had written he was to be left behind at Wittemberg. But meantime Frederick had quitted Saxony without him.

"I pray the Lord to be favourable to our elector," said Melancthon, as he saw him depart.

Although in weak health at the time, Luther was quite ready to go to Worms, and was grieved when forbidden to do so. He desired to correct the erroneous ideas of the princes, and to frankly lay before this august assembly the true nature of a cause so much misunderstood. Animated by these feelings, he wrote a letter to the elector, worded in such a manner that Frederick might show it to the diet. In it he said:

"I rejoice with all my heart, most serene lord, that his imperial Majesty desires to summon me before him touching this affair. I call Jesus Christ to witness that it is the cause of the whole German nation, of the Universal Church, of the Christian world, nay, of God Himself, and not of an individual, especially such a one as myself. I am ready to go to Worms, provided I have a safe-conduct, and learned, pious, and impartial judges. I am ready to answer. . . for it is not from a presumptous spirit, or with any view to personal advantage, that I have taught the doctrine with which I am reproached: it is in obedience to my conscience and to my oath as doctor of the Holy Scriptures; it is for the glory of God, for the salvation of the Christian Church, for the good of the German nation, and for the extirpation of so much superstition, abuse, evil, scandal, tyranny, blasphemy, and impiety."

Luther's condemnation and not his presence was what the partisans of Rome required, and for this Aleander urged Charles unceasingly. Writing from Worms at this time the Elector Frederick states to

his brother John: "Daily deliberations are held against Luther; they demand that he shall be placed under the ban of the pope and of the emperor; they endeavour to injure him in every way. Those who parade in their red hats, the Romans, with all their followers, display indefatigable zeal in this task."

Yielding to the importunities of the nuncio, Charles prepared a stringent edict, in which he enjoined the immediate execution of the pope's bull. This edict was laid before the assembled princes, the emperor, following the usual custom, adding, "If you can recommend any better course, I am ready to hear you."

An animated debate followed, which showed that the diet was not ready for this extreme measure. It was necessary to convince it, and this task Aleander undertook, being promised a hearing on February 13th.

For three hours he spoke, and the effect upon the assembly was great. Turning to the emperor, during the speech, he said: "I entreat your imperial Majesty to do nothing that may lead to your reproach. Do not interfere in a matter which does not concern the laity. Perform your own duties! Let Luther's doctrines be interdicted by you throughout the length and breadth of the empire: let his writings be burnt everywhere. Fear not! In Luther's errors there is enough to burn a hundred thousand heretics." And in concluding the speech he exclaimed, "But if the axe is not laid to the roots of this poisonous tree, if the death blow is not struck, then I see it overshadowing the heritage of Jesus Christ with its branches, changing our Lord's vineyard into a gloomy forest, transforming the kingdom of God into a den of wild beasts, and reducing Germany to that frightful state of barbarism and desolation which has been brought upon Asia by the superstition of Mahomet."

The immediate effect of the speech was powerful, but a brief time was sufficient to dissipate much of

the impression produced. The majority of the princes were willing to sacrifice Luther, but not the rights of the empire and the grievances of the German nation. Accordingly, a few days after Aleander's speech, Duke George, the most determined personal enemy of Luther, rose in the assembly and brought forward a most damning accusation against Rome: "The diet," said he, "must not forget its grievances against the court of Rome." Then, after enumerating a number of these, he added:

"These are some of the abuses that cry out against Rome. All shame has been put aside, their only object is money! money! money! so that the preachers who should teach the truth utter nothing but falsehoods, and are not only tolerated, but rewarded, because the greater their lies the greater their gain. It is from this foul spring that such tainted waters flow. Debauchery stretches out the hand to avarice. . . . Alas, it is the scandal caused by the clergy that hurls so many poor souls into eternal condemnation. A general reform must be effected. An ecumenical council must be called to bring about this reform. For these reasons, most excellent princes and lords, I humbly entreat you to take this matter into your immediate consideration."

Duke George then handed in a list of the grievances he had enumerated. Other speakers followed in the same strain, and the diet appointed a committee to draw up a list of all the grievances named, which were found to amount to one hundred and one. The result was that the emperor recalled the edict authorising Luther's books to be burned, and substituted a provisional order to deliver them into the keeping of the magistrates.

But the assembly wished to have the Reformer before them. "It is unjust," said his friends, "to condemn Luther without a hearing." And his adversaries urged that, "his doctrines have so taken hold of men's minds, that it is impossible to check their

progress unless we hear them from himself. There shall be no discussion with him, and if he avows his writings and refuses to retract them, then we will all with one accord . . . assist your Majesty to the utmost of our power in the execution of your decrees."

Finally the emperor decided to summon Luther before the diet, and safe-conducts were given him extending for twenty-one days.

The citation from the emperor was delivered to Luther on March 24th, and he at once made preparations for his journey. His friends, filled with alarm, thought that, unless saved by the miraculous interposition of God, he was going to certain death. Melancthon, with the warmth of true affection and anxious solicitude, said: "Luther supplies the place of all my friends; he is greater and more admirable for me than I dare express. You know how Alcibiades admired Socrates; but I admire Luther after another and in a Christian fashion. Every time I contemplate Luther I find him constantly greater than himself."

Melancthon greatly desired to accompany Luther to Worms, there to share whatever dangers might befall him, but their common friends, and no doubt the Reformer himself, opposed his wishes. Philip was wanted to fill his friend's place, and, if Luther never returned, to carry on the work of the Reformation. But Melancthon acquiesced with a sigh, saying: "Would to God that he (Luther) had allowed me to go with him."

April 2nd, the day of departure, arrived, and Luther had to take leave of his friends. Amsdorff, born of a noble family, impetuous and fearless, was to accompany him; also a celebrated professor of jurisprudence named Jerome Schurff, whom the elector had invited to Wittemberg, and a young Danish student, Peter Suaven, who resided with Melancthon. Turning to Melancthon, in a voice trembling with emotion, Luther said: "My dear brother, if I do not return, and should my enemies put me to death,

LUTHER JOURNEYING TO WORMS.

continue to teach and stand fast in the truth. Labour in my stead, since I shall no longer be able to labour for myself. If you survive, my death will be of little consequence."

To follow Luther to Worms, and to record the events connected with his appearance before the diet, is not the purpose of this biography of his co-worker, Melancthon. Suffice it to say that he nobly upheld the cause he espoused, and when a plain, straightforward retraction was required, he refused it, ending his refusal with the memorable words, "Here I stand, I can do no other; may God help me! Amen!"

All the efforts made to procure Luther's retraction having proved futile, and those of the Papists to induce Charles to violate the safe-conduct ineffectual, the Reformer was allowed to depart from Worms, and commanded to return home within twenty-one days. He was forbidden to disturb the public peace on his way, either by preaching or writing.

Luther left Worms on April 26th, 1521, and shortly after his departure the emperor signed an edict against him. In this document all the electors of the empire, the princes, prelates, and others whom it may concern, are forbidden, under pain of incurring the penalties due to the crime of high treason, to harbour Luther after the appointed time should expire; to conceal him, to give him food or drink, or to furnish him by word or deed, publicly or secretly, with any kind of succour whatever. They are also enjoined to seize him, or cause him to be seized, wherever he may be found, and keep him in safe custody until the emperor's will was made known concerning him. His adherents are to be apprehended and confined, and their property confiscated. His books are to be burned, and all poets, printers, painters, buyers or sellers of placards, papers, or pictures, against the pope or the Church, are to be seized, body and goods, and dealt with according to the good pleasure of those enjoined. And if any person, whatever be his dignity, dares to

act in contradiction to this degree of the emperor, he is to be placed under the ban of the empire.

Such was the danger that threatened the Reformer and his adherents.

But just as Rome drew her meshes tighter round her intrepid foe, an asylum opened for him. He was journeying homeward from Worms to Wittemberg, and was passing through the forests of Thuringia, when he was seized by a band of armed and masked horsemen, who bore him away to the castle of the Wartburg, a mountain fortress in the vicinity of Eisenach.

A cry of dismay sounded throughout Germany. "Luther has fallen into the hands of his enemies," was exclaimed in tones of sadness. The grief of the friends of the Reformation was prolonged. The spring passed away, summer, autumn, and winter succeeded, but still the walls of the Wartburg held their prisoner.

## CHAPTER VII.

### TROUBLOUS TIMES AT WITTEMBERG.

LUTHER'S confinement in the castle of the Wartburg placed Melancthon at the head of the Reformed cause, and perhaps no man ever felt more the responsibility of his position. At first he was sunk in affliction at the loss of his leader and friend, and in a letter written at a somewhat later date, referring to the period of this captivity, he says: "I feel the need I have of good advice. Our Elijah is still confined at a distance from us. . . . His absence absolutely torments me."

But presently the consternation and anxiety of Luther's friends at Wittemberg was lightened. The Reformer was alive; such was the report that reached them. Melancthon's sorrow was turned to joy. "Our beloved father lives," he exclaimed; "take courage and be firm." But his depression returned when further intelligence arrived of Luther's imprisonment.

Constitutionally Melancthon was subject to be easily cast down, and the state of affairs at this time was such as to cause much despondency. The transactions at Worms and the subsequent concealment of Luther had inspired the Elector Frederick with an unusual degree of caution. Luther's writings were not allowed to be published, and the members of the university were interdicted from discussing questions likely to give offence to persons of distinction attached to the Papacy. Luther, in his fortress, chafed at his con-

finement, and wished again to be in the thick of the fray. "Alas!" said he, "there is nothing I desire more than to appear before my cruellest enemies." He deeply sympathised with Melancthon in his depression and solicitude, and at length managed to convey a letter to him. In this he wrote: "If I perish the Gospel will lose nothing; you will succeed me as Elisha did Elijah, with a double portion of my spirit." Then remembering Philip's timidity he exclaimed with energy: "Minister of the Word! Keep the wall and towers of Jerusalem until you are struck down by the enemy. As yet we stand alone upon the field of battle; after me they will aim blows at you."

Mental anxiety on behalf of the cause and the continued confinement affected the Reformer's health, and his friends at Wittemberg and the elector's court became uneasy and alarmed at his state of suffering. "I fear," said Melancthon, "that the grief he feels for the Church will cause his death. A fire has been kindled by him in Israel; if he dies, what hope will remain for us? Would to God that at the cost of my own wretched life, I could retain in the world that soul which is its fairest ornament! Oh! what a man! we never appreciated him rightly."

While in the Wartburg, Luther occupied his time in reading the Bible in Hebrew and Greek, in replying to the attacks of his opponents, and especially in the translation of the Scriptures into German; a work which it would have been difficult for him to have undertaken amid the cares and occupations of Wittemberg. This work was to establish the new building on the primitive rock, and after the lapse of many ages to lead Christians back from the subtleties of the schoolmen to the pure fountain head of truth.

But at length his sojourn in the Wartburg became insupportable, and Luther determined at all hazards to see his friends at Wittemberg again. A secret visit was arranged; and at the end of November,

1521, he quietly quitted the Wartburg, clad in his garb of a military knight, and repaired to Wittemberg. He safely reached Amsdorff's house, when his friends were immediately and secretly called together, Melancthon being one of the first to arrive. The captive of the Wartburg spent a brief but happy time in the midst of his friends. He learnt of the spread of the Reformation, of the hopes of the brethren; and, delighted at what he saw and heard, offered up a prayer of thanksgiving, and then, without delay, returned to his fortress asylum.

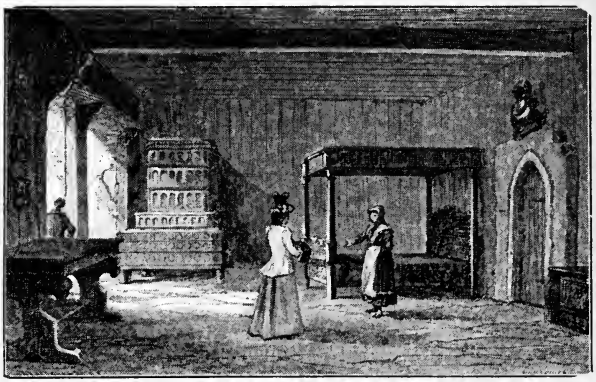
In this same year the Sorbonne—the famous school of theology at Paris and first authority of the Church next to the pope—had published a formal condemnation of Luther's writings, dated April 15th, 1521, and given its verdict against the Reformation. In some of his propositions Luther had said: "God ever pardons and remits sins gratuitously, and requires nothing of us in return except that in future we should live according to righteousness." And "of all deadly sins, this is the most deadly, namely, that any one should think he is not guilty of a damnable and deadly sin before God." And further Luther had added: "Burning heretics is contrary to the will of the Holy Ghost." To these propositions of the Reformer, and many others, the Sorbonne replied, "Heresy! Let him be accursed."

Melancthon, then a young man of twenty-four, took up the gauntlet which the first college in the world had thrown down. He stood forward on behalf of the truth and in defence of his friend, and in reply to the condemnation of the Parisian divines, published *An Apology for Luther, in opposition to the furious decree of the Parisian Theologasters.* In this pamphlet he did not confine himself to simply defending Luther or his propositions, but boldly carried the war into the enemy's camp: "You say he is a Manichæan!—he is a Montanist!—let fire and faggot repress his foolishness! And who is Montanist? Luther, who

would have us believe in Holy Scripture alone, or you, who would have men believe in the opinions of their fellow-creatures rather than in the Word of God?"

Thus spoke the youthful master of arts, but he proceeded further, and accused the doctors of the Sorbonne of having obscured the Gospel, extinguished faith, and substituted an empty philosophy in the place of Christianity. He also proved unanswerably that the heresy was at Paris and Rome, and the catholic truth at Wittemberg.

A very general agitation was caused in this city



LUTHER'S CHAMBER AT THE WARTBURG.

towards the end of 1521 by events that led to the abolition of the mass at Wittemberg. A zealous monk, named Gabriel Zwilling, the chaplain of the monastery of the Augustines, had declared in his preaching that private masses were contrary to Scripture, that the worship of the host was idolatry, and that the Lord's Sacrament should be partaken of in both the bread and the wine. Zwilling was supported by his brother monks, but opposed by the prior of the convent. The controversy quickly spread to the inhabitants of the city and the students of the

university, some taking sides with the monks and others with the prior. The elector's court was troubled, and Frederick sent his chancellor to Wittemberg, with orders to reduce the refractory monks to obedience by putting them, if necessary, on bread and water.

On October 12th, a deputation from the professors of the university, which included Melancthon, visited the convent, and exhorted the brethren to attempt no innovations, or at least to wait a little longer before so doing. The arguments with which the exhortations of the deputation were met were, however, so convincing that the professors were inclined to embrace them, and handed a report to the elector in which, after setting forth the errors of the mass, they said: "Let your highness put an end to every abuse, lest Christ in the day of judgment should rebuke us as He did the people of Capernaum."

Melancthon followed the report by publishing fifty-five propositions intended to enlighten men's minds on the Scriptural meaning of the Lord's Supper, in which he showed that there is but one sacrifice—one satisfaction for sins—Jesus Christ. Beside Him there is none other.

On Christmas Day Carlstadt administered the Lord's Supper in the parish church, according to its primitive form, and again on New Year's Day, and in January, 1522, the council and university of Wittemberg gave their sanction and authority to this sacrament being administered according to the new and reformed ritual.

Zwilling also attacked monasticism, with the result that fifteen monks left the Augustine monastery and laying aside the costume of their order returned into the midst of the world, there to follow the commandments of God and render themselves profitable to society.

Much trouble was caused at Wittemberg about this time by the pretensions of the Anabaptists and

the impetuosity of Carlstadt. This sect had arisen at Zwickau, where a clothier named Nicholas Storch, a former student of Wittemberg by name Mark Stubner, and a weaver Mark Thomas, professed to have received direct revelations from heaven, and took upon themselves, in conjunction with one Thomas Munzer, to complete the reformation which Luther had begun. Storch, Stubner, and Thomas arrived at Wittemberg on December 27th, and calling on the professors of the university, announced that they were sent by God to instruct the people. "We have held familiar conversation with the Lord," said they, "we know what will happen; in a word, we are apostles and prophets, and appeal to Dr. Luther."

"Who has commissioned you to preach?" asked Melancthon of his old pupil Stubner. "The Lord our God," he replied. "Have you written any books?" "The Lord our God has forbidden me to do so." Melancthon was agitated. "There are, indeed, extraordinary spirits in these men," he said, "but what spirits? Luther alone can decide. On the one hand let us beware of quenching the Spirit of God, and on the other of being led away by the spirit of Satan." He was also perplexed concerning the doctrine of these men in their rejection of infant baptism; and thought it worthy of examination, "for," said he, "we must neither admit nor reject anything lightly."

The elector hesitated to give an opinion as to the divine commission of these new teachers. "This is a great matter," said he, "and as a layman I cannot understand it. But rather than fight against God, I would take a staff in my hand and descend from my throne."

The opinions of the new prophets spread, and Luther in the Wartburg was apprised of the agitation prevailing at the elector's court and at Wittemberg. He saw that these afflicting events had been permitted by God to humble His servants, and to excite them by trials to strive more earnestly after sanctifica-

tion. "I always expected that Satan would send us the plague," he wrote to the elector. But at the same time he deprecated the use of harsh measures towards these new apostles. "Beware of throwing them into prison," he wrote to Spalatin; and, "Let not the prince dip his hand in the blood of these new prophets."

Carlstadt rejected many of the doctrines of the Anabaptists, and especially that concerning infant baptism, but from the time of their arrival in Wittemberg he quickened his movements in the way of violent reforms. "We must fall upon every ungodly practice, and overthrow them all in a day," he declared; and bringing together all the passages of Scripture against images, he inveighed energetically against the idolatry of Rome. "They fall down, they crawl before their idols," he exclaimed; "they burn tapers before them, and make them offerings. Let us arise and tear them from the altars."

The excited populace eagerly seized on these words. They entered the churches, carried away the images, broke them in pieces and burnt them. To judge by the language of these enthusiasts, there were no true Christians in Wittemberg save those who went not to confession, who attacked the priests, and who ate meat on fast days. If any one was suspected of not rejecting all the rites of the Church as an invention of the devil, he was set down as a worshipper of Baal. "We must form a Church," cried they, "composed of saints only."

Learning was also despised. Carlstadt advised his pupils to return home and till the land; and others spoke in the same strain. What need was there to study, when Storch and Thomas, who had never been at the university, were prophets? A mechanic, therefore, was as well qualified as all the doctors in the world, and perhaps better, to preach the Gospel.

The results of such teaching were quickly manifested. Men's minds, filled with these new doctrines,

were agitated, and led away from the truth. The university became disorganised, the students dispersed, and the governments of Germany recalled their subjects. Thus the cause of the Reformation was greatly imperilled, and seemed to totter on the verge of ruin.

Melancthon was deeply grieved by these disorders. He reproved Carlstadt for his pride; but he was too young and weak to successfully combat the evil. All eyes turned to Luther, and his name was constantly upon the lips of the inhabitants of Wittemberg; but he was a captive far away! Yet he had been apprised of the state of affairs; and pains more keen than he had ever suffered before racked and tortured him, and new temptations assailed his firm faith in God. "Can such, then, be the end of the great work of the Reformation?" he cried in his agitation. "Impossible! God has begun . . . God will perfect the work. I creep in deep humility to the grace of the Lord," he exclaimed, "and beseech Him that His name may remain attached to this work, and that if anything impure be mixed up with it, He will remember that I am a sinful man."

Fully realising the perilous position of affairs at Wittemberg, and also well aware of the imminent dangers that threatened his life, Luther resolved at all hazards to return to that city and try to quench the spreading conflagration. "More serious intelligence reaches me every day," he wrote; "I shall set out; circumstances positively require me to do so."

He left the Wartburg on March 3rd, 1522, and arrived at Wittemberg on the seventh of that month. On the following Sunday he preached, when the church was filled with an attentive but excited crowd. Speaking in language simple and gentle, yet noble and full of strength, he prepared the minds of his hearers for the more searching sentences with which he pressed home their guilt:

"The abolition of the mass, say you, is in con-

formity with Scripture. Agreed! But what order, what decency have you observed? It behoved you to offer up fervent prayers to the Lord, and apply to the public authority; then might every man have acknowledged that the thing was of God."

He reminded his hearers of Paul's behaviour at Athens, and how the idols fell without the touch of the Apostle's hands, and then continued:

"I will preach, discuss, and write; but I will constrain none, for faith is a voluntary act. See what I have done! I stood up against the pope, indulgences, and Papists, but without violence or tumult. I put forward God's Word; I preached and wrote—this was all I did. And yet while I was asleep, or seated familiarly with Amsdorff and Melancthon, the Word that I had preached overthrew popery, so that neither prince nor emperor has done it so much harm. And yet I did nothing, the Word alone did all. If I had wished to appeal to force, the whole of Germany would perhaps have been deluged with blood. But what would have been the result? Ruin and desolation both to body and soul."

Luther preached again on the following Tuesday, and afterwards met the new prophets in conference, the result being that they abandoned the field and left the city.

Tranquillity was restored. The people became quiet and submissive, and the Reformation was saved.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### LITERARY LABOURS.

TRANQUILLITY was no sooner established than Luther turned to Melancthon, and asked his assistance in the final revision of the New Testament, which he had brought with him from the Wartburg. This was a work after Melancthon's own heart, and readily he complied with his friend's request.

In 1519 this young professor had laid down the important principle that the Fathers must be explained according to Scripture, and not Scripture by the Fathers; and the more he meditated upon the books of the New Testament, the more was he charmed by their simplicity and impressed by their depth. "There alone can we find true food for the soul," he boldly asserted, in face of his familiarity with all the philosophy of the ancients. Many long hours were passed together by the two friends in studying and translating the Word of God.

The printing of the New Testament was carried on with unexampled zeal. Three presses were employed in this labour, and ten thousand sheets, says Luther, were printed daily. On September 21st, 1522, the first edition, of three thousand copies, was issued. The book was in two folio volumes, and bore the simple title: THE NEW TESTAMENT—GERMAN—WITTEMBERG. Every German might henceforward procure the Word of God at a moderate price.

While the first edition of the New Testament was

passing through the press, Luther undertook a translation of the Old. This labour, begun in 1522, was continued unremittingly, and the translation published in parts as completed, the more speedily to gratify public impatience and to enable the poor to procure the book.

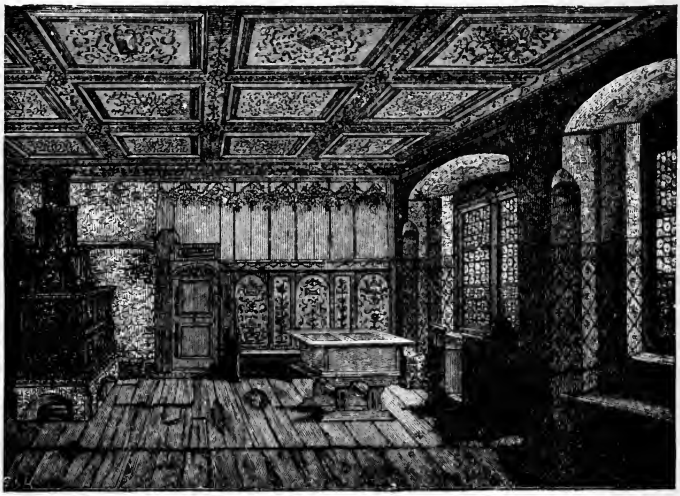
The effect produced was immense. The New Testament was read by all classes. The simplest men, even women and mechanics, providing they knew how to read, studied it. They carried it about with them ; soon they knew it by heart ; and the pages of this book loudly proclaimed the perfect unison of Luther's Reformation with the divine revelation. The Reformation could say, as it gave this book, "Here is my system !" But it was called to arrange what it had found in Scripture ! This Melancthon did in its name.

With regular but confident steps he had walked in the development of his theology, and from time to time had published the results of his inquiries. In 1520 he had declared that in several of the seven sacraments he could see nothing but an imitation of the Jewish ceremonies, and in the infallibility of the pope naught but a haughty presumption alike opposed to the Holy Scriptures and to good sense. He had now reached much the same point as Luther, but by a calmer and more scientific process.

In 1521, during Luther's captivity, Melancthon first issued his celebrated work, *On the Common-places of Theology.* None of his works, and scarcely any among those of his contemporaries, excited greater attention or circulated to a wider extent. It presented to Christian Europe a body of doctrine of solid foundations and admirable proportions. The translation of the New Testament justified the Reformation to the people ; Melancthon's *Common-places* justified it in the opinion of the learned. Forsaking the ordinary developments of scholastic theology, he gave the world a theological system, derived solely from Scripture.

In it there reigned a breath of life, a vitality of understanding, a strength of conviction, and a simplicity of statement in striking contrast with the subtle and pedantic systems of the schools. Men of the most philosophic minds, as well as the strictest theologians, were equally filled with admiration.

Erasmus entitled this work a wondrous army drawn up in battle array against the tyrannous battalions of



LUTHER'S STUDY AT WITTEMBERG.

the false doctors; and Calvin said: "So true it is that the greatest simplicity is the greatest virtue in treating of the Christian doctrine." But no one joyed so much over the work as Luther. Throughout his life it was the object of his admiration. Hence he never ceased to recommend the study of it to the youths who came to Wittemberg in search of knowledge. Referring to the subject in his *Table Talk* at a somewhat later date he says:

"The student of theology has now far greater

advantages than students ever before had; first, he has the Bible, which I have translated into German so clearly and distinctly, that any one may comprehend it; next he has Melancthon's *Common-place Book* (*Loci-Communes*), which he should read over and over again until he has it by heart. Once master of these two volumes, he may be regarded as a theologian, whom neither devil nor heretic can overcome; for he has all divinity at his fingers' ends, and may read understandingly whatsoever else he pleases. . . . We possess no work wherein the whole body of theology, wherein religion, is more completely summed up than in Melancthon's *Common-place Book*; all the Fathers, all the compilers of sentences, put together, are not to be compared with this book. 'Tis, after the Scriptures, the most perfect of works. Melancthon is a better logician than myself; he argues better. My superiority lies rather in the rhetorical way."

A deep conviction of the wretched state to which man is reduced by sin is, according to Melancthon, the foundation on which Christian theology should be built. "Original sin," said he, "is an inclination born within us, a certain impulse which is agreeable to us, a certain force leading us to sin, and which has been communicated by Adam to all his posterity. As in fire there is a native energy impelling it to mount upward, as there is in the loadstone a natural quality by which iron is attracted, so also there is in man a primitive force that inclines him to evil."

Melancthon then proceeds in his *Common-place Book* to show how man is saved from this wretched condition. "The apostle invites thee to contemplate the Son of God, sitting at the right hand of the Father, mediating and interceding for us; and calls upon thee to feel assured that thy sins are forgiven thee, that thou art reputed righteous, and accepted by the Father for the sake of that Son who suffered for us on the cross."

The first edition of this important book was especi-

ally remarkable for the manner in which it speaks of free will. Melancthon saw that this doctrine could not be separated from that upon which the Reformation had been founded. That man's justification before God proceeds from faith alone was the cardinal doctrine expounded by Luther; that faith enters man's heart by grace alone was seen by Melancthon to be a necessary sequence to that doctrine. Hence to allow that man had any natural ability to believe would be to weaken the foundation upon which the whole fabric of the Reformation was raised. Therefore we find him stating in the *Common-place Book*:

"The Gospel teaches that such is the dreadful depravity of nature that it is totally repugnant to the Law of God, so that we cannot obey; and the human will cannot, by any exertion of its own, eradicate this depravity. Such is the blindness of human nature that we do not even discern this moral infirmity and corruption, for if we did, the reason of our incapacity to satisfy the divine law would be at once apparent. The law requires perfect obedience, but our corrupt nature cannot render it; and it is of this corruption we speak, not in reference to external acts but internal affections and conformity to God, when discoursing on the freedom of the human will.

"To this let it be added, that without the Holy Spirit we cannot exercise spiritual affections, as love to God, faith in His mercy, obedience and endurance in afflictions, delight in Him, and others of a similar nature. Many passages of Scripture confirm this statement, 'As many as are led by the Spirit of God they are the sons of God.' 'If any man have not the Spirit of Christ he is none of His'. . . The question then being proposed respecting spiritual actions, this seems to be the truth which it becomes us to maintain, that without the aid of the Holy Spirit the human will can perform none of those spiritual actions which God requires."

But Melancthon's special object was to present

theology as a system of *piety*. All vitality had been lost under the treatment of the schoolmen, and the task of the Reformation was to revivify it, so that it might become the great power in moulding the lives of men. In later editions of his *Common-place Book* Melancthon expounded the doctrines relating to personal piety as opposed to a mere system of dialectics with greater clearness : "To know Christ," said he, "is to know His blessings. Paul in his epistle to the Romans, desiring to give a summary of the Christian doctrines, does not philosophise on the mystery of the Trinity or the mode of incarnation, on active or passive creation ; of what then does he speak?—of the law, of sin, of grace ! On these our knowledge of Christ depends."

The publication of such a system of theology was of essential service to the cause of truth. Calumnies hurled against the new religion were refuted, prejudices swept away. Luther's roughness and occasional violence of language had repelled many, but in Melancthon was found a man who explained those mighty truths which had shaken the world with great elegance of style, exquisite taste, admirable clearness, and perfect order. His work was sought after, and eagerly read and studied. Between 1521 and 1595 the *Common-place Book* passed through sixty-seven editions, without including translations.

The Reformation continued to gain ground, notwithstanding the edict against Luther and the burning of his books. Two great ideas were at this time agitating Germany—a desire for a revival of faith and a longing to possess a national government in which the German states might be represented, thus to serve as a counterpoise to the power of the emperors. Luther represented the reform in faith, the Elector Frederick that of the State. At the election of Charles V. he had insisted on this reform, and the young emperor had submitted. A national government was formed, which consisted of the

imperial governor and representatives of the electors and circles.

But while the Reformation was gaining increased power over the hearts of the people, policy, ambition, and interest caused pope and emperor to combine to attempt its destruction; and it seemed in great danger of falling beneath the blows of two such powerful adversaries. War with Francis I., King of France, however, diverted the attention of the emperor, and the death of Leo X. in December, 1521, arrested for a brief period the plans of the Papacy.

Leo X. was succeeded by Adrian VI., a man of a very different spirit, who sought a reformation of the Church by the Church.

As already observed, Melancthon left his manuscripts lying exposed on his table, and in 1522 Luther, knowing his friend's reluctance to print his own productions, secretly took Melancthon's *Commentary on the Romans* and had it printed without his knowledge. It was afterwards reprinted in 1540, with a dedication to Philip, Landgrave of Hesse. Luther's apology for this proceeding, which is curious and characteristic, is prefixed to the Commentary of his friend. We give brief extracts:—

"Martin Luther to Philip Melancthon, grace and peace in Christ.

"'Be angry and sin not: commune with your own heart upon your bed and be still.' I am the person who dares to publish your Annotations, and I send you your own work. If you are not pleased with it it may be all very well, it is sufficient that you please us. If I have done wrong, you are to blame; why did you not publish it yourself? Why did you suffer me so often to ask, to insist, to importune you to publish it, and all in vain? . . . As to those whom you suspect of being disposed to sneer, I have this to say to them—'Do better!' What the impious Thomists *falsely* arrogate to their leader, namely,

that no one has written better upon St. Paul, I *truly* affirm of you. . . . But what, you will say, is the purpose of aiming to provoke these great men against me? Well, you may be humble if you please, but let me boast for you. Who has ever prohibited persons of great capacity from publishing something better if they can, and thus demonstrating the rashness of my judgment? For my part, I wish we could find out those who could and would publish something better. I threaten you further to steal and publish your remarks upon Genesis and the Gospels of Matthew and John, unless you supersede me by bringing them forward. You say Scripture ought to be read alone and without a commentary; this is right enough if you speak in reference to Jerome, Origen, Thomas Aquinas, and others of the same class, for their commentaries are the mere vehicles of their own notions, rather than the sentiments of Paul and the doctrines of Christianity; but no one can properly call yours a commentary; it is rather an introduction to the study of Scripture in general, and a guide to the knowledge of Christ; in which it surpasses all the commentaries hitherto published.

"As to what you plead, that your Annotations are not in all respects satisfactory to yourself, it is difficult enough to believe you. But, behold, I do believe you are not fully satisfied with yourself, nor is this asked or desired of you; we would have Paul maintain his pre-eminence, lest any one should insinuate that Philip is superior or equal to Paul. . . . We know very well that you are nothing; and we know also that Christ is all and in all, who, if He pleases, can speak as He did to Balaam by an ass; why then should He not speak by a man? Art thou not a man? Art thou not a servant of Christ? Has not He endowed thee with capacity? If thou shouldest choose to improve and enlarge this volume by elegant and learned additions, it will be a grateful service; but in the meantime we are determined to be gratified

in spite of you by possessing ourselves of the sentiments of Paul by your means.

"If I have offended you by this proceeding, I do not ask pardon; but lay aside your displeasure, by which you will rather give offence to us, and you will have to ask forgiveness. God preserve and prosper you for evermore. *Wittemberg, July 29th,* 1522."

Space prevents us from giving more than one or two brief extracts; these, however, may give the reader some idea of the style of this important work:—

"CHAP. I., VER. 1. '*Paul . . . separated unto the gospel of God.*' Here the apostle states the business he was commanded to execute, namely, to preach the gospel. The reader should remember that there is a material difference between the law and the gospel, to which we have already adverted, and of which more will be said in remarking upon the third chapter. The description which he gives of the gospel is, that it is a divine promise, communicated in the sacred writings, concerning Jesus Christ the Son of God, of the seed of David according to the flesh, declared to be the Son of God with power, through sanctification of the Spirit, and resurrection from the dead; that He is the Messiah or King, by whom deliverance from sin and eternal life are dispensed.

"This distinction will be more obvious by noticing the contradistinction between law and gospel. The Law represents what we are, and what we are required to do. It demands perfect obedience, without providing for the forgiveness of sin or liberating us from the power of sin and death. But the Gospel freely promises the remission of sin and deliverance from death, by Jesus Christ the Son of God, who was descended from David according to the prophetic declarations. Paul states this at the outset of his discourse, that we might know his meaning and distinguish properly between the law and the gospel,

as though he had said, 'Paul divinely called to teach the gospel of Christ; not to teach the law or to teach philosophy.'

"VER. 17. '*The just shall live by faith.*' You will observe that two important benefits are attributed to faith—that we are *justified*, and that we *live* by it. God sent His own Son into the world to be our propitiation, lest we should perish; as He says with an oath, 'As I live, saith the Lord, I have no pleasure in the death of a sinner, but rather that he should be converted and live.' To the terrified conscience He proclaims the forgiveness of sin by faith, that its fears may be removed, and genuine consolation imparted, which is the very commencement of eternal life; for this, said Christ, 'is eternal life, to know Thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom Thou hast sent.' We know, therefore, that the gift of the Holy Spirit is joined with the remission of sins and reconciliation with God; we know that the dominion of Christ in the Church is not indolent, but His presence is constantly with us to destroy the works of the devil, to fight our battles, and to assist our progress. These ideas are included when the prophet promises *life*—that is, joy, victory, and everlasting salvation to all believers.

"CHAP. V., VER. 3. '*And not only so, but we glory in tribulation also,*' etc. He, as it were, corrects the former statement. We have not only a glory in expectation, but in present possession; and what is it? *Affliction.* He is opposing the opinions and reasonings of the world.

"In the view of the world we are afflicted: we seem abandoned and rejected by God; and this reproach upon the gospel deters the generality of mankind from embracing it. This mode of reasoning indeed seems legitimate enough—afflictions are curses, that is, evils; and therefore signs of God's displeasure. But Paul on the contrary assures us that they are not curses, but are proper occasions of glorying; for

they are not signs of the divine displeasure, but intimations of the love of God.

"We have, then, a double glory—the one which is the greatest is in expectation, consisting in the renovation of our nature and the enjoyment of eternal life; but this glory we possess in hope: the other glory is in present possession, and it consists in affliction—for although the world judges that affliction is an evidence of divine anger, yet we know it to be an indication of His love; and obedience to His afflictive dispensations to be a new and acceptable kind of worship.

"Four things, therefore, ought to be well impressed upon our minds respecting afflictions:

"1. They are appointed. We do not suffer affliction by chance, but by the determinate counsel and permission of God.

"2. By means of affliction God punishes His people, not that He may destroy them, but to recall them to repentance and the exercise of faith; for afflictions are not indications of displeasure, but of kindness—'He willeth not the death of a sinner.'

"3. God requires our submission to His afflictive dispensations, and that we should expend our indignation and impatience upon our own sins; and as God determines to afflict His Church in the present state, submission tends to glorify His name.

"4. Resignation, however, is not all; He requires faith and prayer, that we may both seek and expect divine assistance. Thus He admonishes us, 'Call upon Me in the day of trouble: I will answer thee, and thou shalt glorify Me.'

"These four precepts are applicable to all our afflictions, and are calculated, if properly regarded, to produce that truly Christian patience which essentially differs from mere philosophical endurance."

## CHAPTER IX.

### PROGRESS, STORMS, AND LOSSES.

THE years 1522 and 1523 were years of progress for the Reformed cause, notwithstanding the efforts of its opponents; among whom George Duke of Saxony, Henry Duke of Brunswick, and Ferdinand Archduke of Austria, may be considered the principal in Germany. The first-named used every means to influence the Elector Frederick and his brother John to adopt hostile measures against the new religion, but their prudence frustrated his efforts in Saxony. Frederick nevertheless felt himself to be in a most critical position.

The Diet of Nuremberg assembled in March, 1522, but was almost immediately prorogued, owing to an irruption of the Turks and their successes in Hungary. It met again in December, and the Reformation was the subject specially demanding its attention. Adrian had commissioned his legate, Chieregati, to repair to the diet, there, jointly with the Cardinal-archbishop of Salzburg, to call for Luther's death. Several of the princes also spoke strongly against him, and pressed for the execution of the edict of Worms.

Very considerable sensation was caused in the diet, when the legate, despairing of gaining over the assembly by measures of authority, made known to it the mandates which had been entrusted to him by the pope. In these Adrian said, "We are well aware that for many years certain abuses and abominations have crept into the holy city. The contagion has

spread from the head to the members; it has descended from the popes to the other ecclesiastics. It is our desire to reform the Roman court, whence proceed so many evils; the whole world is craving after it, and to effect this we submitted to ascend the papal chair."

Thus the corruption with which the Reformer had charged the Papacy was now admitted by the pope himself.

The diet seized this apparently favourable moment to bring forward the grievances which for ages Germany had endured from Rome, and it was resolved that these be collected into one body and forwarded to the pope. The diet also required that a free and Christian council should be assembled as soon as possible at Strasburg, Mentz, Cologne, or Metz, in which laymen should be present, and where every man should have liberty to speak freely for the glory of God, the salvation of souls, and the good of the Christian commonwealth. It then proceeded to draw up a list of the grievances, which amounted to eighty, and decided that, pending the convocation of a free council in the empire, the pure Gospel alone should be preached, and nothing should be printed without the approbation of a certain number of pious and learned men.

The indignation at the Vatican was great when the resolutions of the diet were made known, and the list of grievances received. Adrian was filled with wrath, and discharged his anger upon the head of the Elector Frederick. "We have waited long, and perhaps too long," said the pope to the prince; "we were anxious to see whether God would visit thy soul, and if thou wouldst not at last escape from the snares of Satan. But where we looked to gather grapes we found nothing but sour grapes. The blower hath blown in vain; thy wickedness is not melted. Open, then, thine eyes to see the greatness of thy fall."

Then Adrian added, "What punishment, what torments dost thou think we judge thee to deserve? Have pity on thyself; have pity on thy wretched Saxons; for if you do not all return to the fold, God will pour out His vengeance upon you. In the name of the Almighty God and of our Lord Jesus Christ, whose representative I am upon earth, I declare that thou shalt be punished in this world, and plunged into everlasting fire in that which is to come. Repent and be converted! Both swords are suspended over thy head—the sword of the empire and the sword of the Church."

The aged and pious elector shuddered as he read this threatening brief. He had written to the emperor shortly before to the effect that old age and sickness rendered him incapable of taking part in these ecclesiastical affairs, and been answered by so insolent a letter that his eye turned to his sword, and he feared that though already on the brink of the grave, he would be compelled to take up arms in defence of the conscience of his subjects. He wrote to Wittemberg to hear the opinions of the fathers of the Reformation on the question: "Is it lawful for your prince, if his subjects should be attacked on account of religion by the emperor or any other ruler, to protect them by force of arms?"

At Wittemberg troubles and persecutions were apprehended. "What shall I say?" exclaimed Melancthon; "whither shall I turn? Hatred overwhelms us, and the world is transported with fury against us."

Luther, Melancthon, Link, Bugenhagen, and Amsdorff consulted together on the reply that should be made to the elector, and the answer they returned was remarkable for its moderation. "No prince," said they, "can undertake a war without the consent of the people from whose hands he has received his authority. Now the people have no desire to fight for the Gospel, for they do not believe. Let not

princes, therefore, take up arms ; for they are rulers of the nations, that is to say, of unbelievers."

The wrath of the pontiff too quickly bore fruit. Persecution broke out. Duke George of Saxony imprisoned the monks and priests that followed Luther, and recalled the students belonging to his states from Wittemberg. He also ordered that all copies of the New Testament in the vulgar tongue should be given up to the magistrates. Similar measures were enforced in Austria, Wurtemberg, and the Duchy of Brunswick. But in the Low Countries, under the immediate authority of Charles V., the persecution raged with the greatest fury. There, on July 1st, 1523, the first martyrs of the Reformation laid down their lives, two young monks named Esch and Voes, who had embraced the Gospel, being burnt by the Inquisition at Brussels ; and another monk, Lambert Thorn, whose courage at first failed but who afterwards boldly confessed the faith, shared their fate a little later.

Good men shuddered when the news of these executions reached them, and keen sympathy was felt for the youthful martyrs, especially at Wittemberg. "At last," cried Luther, "Christ is gathering some fruits of our preaching, and is creating new martyrs." Luther then commemorated the death of these young monks in a beautiful hymn, which was soon sung throughout Germany and the Netherlands.

Adrian VI. died on September 14th, 1523, and was succeeded on November 19th by Clement VII. ; an Italian, crafty and faithless, whose great object throughout his pontificate was to advance the interests of the popedom. One of his first acts was to send to Nuremberg a legate of his own character, Cardinal Campeggio, who, on the re-assembling of the diet in January, 1524, reminded its members of the edict of Worms, and called upon them to put down the Reformation by force.

"What has become of the list of grievances

presented to the pope by the German nation?" replied the princes.

Campeggio returned an evasive reply, which being deemed unsatisfactory, the assembly decided that the people must conform to the edict as far as possible. They also demanded the convocation of a general council of Christendom to be held in Germany, and agreed that a diet should meet at Spires in November, to regulate all religious questions, and that the states should immediately instruct their theologians to draw up a list of the controverted points, to be laid before that august assembly.

This decision was unfavourably received by the Roman hierarchy. The pope was exasperated. "What! a secular council to decide on religious questions in direct opposition to his authority! It must not be!" So efforts were made to prevent the meeting of the diet at Spires. The pope wrote to the emperor: "If I am the first to make head against the storm, it is not because I am the only one the tempest threatens; but because I am at the helm. The rights of the empire are yet more invaded than the dignity of the court of Rome."

Rome also sought to form a league against the Reformation, and with it the unity of Germany. The legate concerted the plan with the Archduke Ferdinand. "There is everything to be feared," said he, "in an assembly where the voice of the people is heard. The Diet of Spires may destroy Rome and save Wittemberg. Let us close our ranks; let us come to an understanding for the day of battle."

A meeting of princes, most of whom were bishops, was consequently held at Ratisbon in July, 1524, at which Campeggio opened the proceedings. It was held in the town hall and lasted fifteen days. The assembly bound themselves to enforce the edicts of Worms and Nuremberg, to permit no change in public worship, to tolerate no married priests in their states, to recall all their subjects who might be

studying at Wittemberg, and to employ every means in their power for the extirpation of heresy.

The emperor issued an edict against the assembling of the Diet of Spires, declaring that "the pope alone had the right of convoking a council, and the emperor of demanding one, that the meeting appointed to take place at Spires could not, and ought not to be tolerated, and that no time should be lost in enforcing the decree of Worms against the new Mahomet."

But the assembly at Spires was still kept in view, and it was hoped that it might repair the mischief Campeggio had effected at Ratisbon.

The cause of the Reformation was not only exposed to many and great dangers from without, but about this time it was torn from within by a pernicious controversy that arose respecting the manner in which the body and blood of Jesus Christ are present in the Lord's Supper. Luther and his adherents, while they rejected the Romish dogma that the bread and wine are transmuted into the body and blood of Christ, yet held that persons coming to the sacred supper participated truly, though in an inexplicable manner, of the body and blood of Christ, together with the bread and wine. Carlstadt, on the other hand, maintained that the bread and wine were simply emblems of Christ's body, in which opinion he had been anticipated by Cornelius Hoen, a learned Dutch jurist, in 1521, and was followed by Zwingle and the Swiss Reformers as well as by many in Upper Germany.

The controversy, which commenced between Carlstadt and Luther, became later a contest waged more especially between Luther and Melancthon on the one side, and Zwingle and Œcolampadius on the other, the two Swiss Reformers maintaining that the word *is* in the sentence *This is My body*, spoken by Jesus Christ, means *represents*, and that the bread and wine are emblems or representations of the body of the Redeemer.

Several fruitless attempts were made to bring about a compromise, but the result was a lamentable schism among those who seceded from the papal jurisdiction.

The early part of the year 1524 was devoted by Melancthon, with the view of recruiting his health and spirits, to a journey on horseback to different places in Germany. He was accompanied by Nesenus and Camerarius, two intimate friends, the former distinguished for prudence, knowledge, and amiableness of disposition, the latter, who was afterwards Melancthon's biographer, for very eminent literary attainments. Two youths, Burcardus and Silbernornerus, attended them.

The first city of note at which they arrived was Leipsic, which they reached on the same day that the Greek professor, Peter Mosellanus, died. Melancthon and Camerarius had just time to visit him before he passed away. The former wept for the loss of a friend, and the latter of a tutor. From Leipsic the party proceeded across Upper Saxony to Fulda, where they heard of the death of Ulric Hutten at Zurich. Thence they proceeded onward to Frankfort, after visiting which town they went to Bretten, where they remained some time with Melancthon's mother, who had married again. After taking leave of his relatives, he and his friends went to Heidelberg, where the university received their former student with every mark of distinction. He returned to Wittemberg in June.

The Catholic League at Ratisbon, and the persecutions by which it was followed, created a powerful reaction among the German people. The Word of God, which had at last been restored to them, they were determined to keep, notwithstanding the orders of Charles V., the bulls of the pope, and the menaces and burning piles of Ferdinand and the other Roman Catholic princes.

No sooner was the meeting of the League over, and its members had quitted Ratisbon, than the deputies

of those towns whose bishops had joined this alliance, in surprise and indignation met at Spires, and declared that in despite of the prohibition of the bishops their ministers should preach the Gospel and nothing but the Gospel, conformably to the doctrine of the prophets and apostles. They then proceeded to draw up a memorial to be laid before the national assembly.

LEIPSIC.

Furthermore these deputies, with many nobles, met at Ulm, about the close of the year 1524, and swore to assist one another in case of attack.

Thus was Germany divided into two camps: one formed by Austria, Bavaria, and the bishops of the Ratisbon League; the other by the free cities, whose standard was that of the Gospel and the national liberties.

And while the cities were thus placing themselves in the van of the Reformation, many princes were won over to the cause. Early in June, 1524, as Melancthon was returning from his visit to his mother accompanied by Camerarius and his other friends, and when he had left Heidelberg, he met a brilliant train near Frankfort. It consisted of Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, and his attendants, who were on their way to a tournament at Heidelberg, at which town all the princes of Germany were to be present. One of the landgrave's attendants seeing the small party advancing towards them, and knowing that the celebrated professor of Wittemberg had been paying a visit to his native place, said to the prince, "It is Philip Melancthon, I think."

The young landgrave spurred his horse forward, and approaching the professor said, "Is your name Philip?" "It is," replied the Wittemberg doctor, a little intimidated, and respectfully preparing to alight. "Keep your seat," said the prince, "turn round, and come and pass the night with me; there are some matters on which I desire to have a little talk with you: fear nothing." "What can I fear from such a prince as you?" replied the doctor. "Ah! ah!" said the landgrave, with a laugh, "if I were to carry you off and give you up to Campeggio, he would not be offended, I think."

The two Philips then rode on together, the prince asking questions, and the doctor replying. The landgrave was delighted with the clear and impressive views set before him by Melancthon, and when at length the latter begged permission to continue his journey, Philip of Hesse parted from him with reluctance, saying, "On one condition, that on your return home you will carefully examine the questions we have been discussing, and send me the result in writing." Melancthon gave his promise. "Go then," said the landgrave, "and pass through my states."

Melancthon, on his return to Wittemberg, drew up an *Abridgment of the Revised Doctrine of Christianity* which he transmitted to the prince. This was a forcible and concise treatise, and made a deep impression on the landgrave's mind. Shortly after his return from the tournament at Heidelberg he, without joining the free cities, published an edict by which, in opposition to the League of Ratisbon, he ordered the Gospel to be preached in all its purity throughout his domains. The Landgrave of Hesse was commonly styled "Melancthon's disciple."

Other princes followed in the same direction; among them were the Elector Palatine, the Duke of Luneburg, the King of Denmark, and Albert Margrave of Brandenburg and Grand Master of the Teutonic Order.

While the nations with their rulers were thus moving towards the light, the Reformers were striving to regenerate all things by permeating them with the principles of Christianity. Public worship had to be purified, youth educated, schools improved, and the knowledge necessary for a profound study of the Scriptures propagated throughout Christendom. Luther wrote to the councillors of all the cities of Germany, calling upon them to found Christian schools. In this letter he said:

"Dear Sirs,—We annually expend so much money on arquebuses, roads, and dikes, why should we not spend a little to give one or two schoolmasters to our poor children? God stands at the door and knocks; blessed are we if we open to Him! Now the Word of God abounds. O my dear Germans, buy, buy, while the market is open before your houses. The Word of God and His grace are like a shower that falls and passes away."

He specially insisted on the necessity of studying literature and languages. "What use is there, it may be asked, in learning Latin, Greek, and Hebrew?

We can read the Bible very well in German!" But he replies, "Without languages we could not have received the Gospel. . . . Languages are the scabbard that contains the sword of the Spirit."

He called for the establishment of libraries, to contain not only editions and commentaries of the schoolmen and Fathers of the Church, but the works of the poets, orators, and those devoted to the fine arts, law, medicine, and history. "These productions," said he, "serve to make known the works and the wonders of God."

And Melancthon added, "Those who despise profane literature hold theology in no greater estimation. Their contempt is a mere pretext, with which they seek to conceal their idleness."

Luther also attached much importance to music. "Next to theology, I give the first place and the highest honour to music."

Soon after his return to Wittemberg Melancthon was deeply afflicted by the accidental death of his friend Nesenus. He was lying at his ease in a fishing-boat which he had hired for purpose of recreation on the river Elbe, and which he had fastened to the trunk of a tree. The boat gave a sudden lurch, and he was thrown into the water and drowned. Another event of this year that caused Melancthon much grief was the tragic death of Henry von Zutphen, to whom he and the whole university were much attached. Zutphen had gone to preach the reformed doctrines at Ditmas in Denmark, when he was seized by the priests and put to death with great torture.

The Peasants' War of 1524 and 1525 caused great sorrow to the friends of the Reformation.

The insurrection began in the Black Forest in July, 1524, and rapidly spread as far as the Rhenish provinces Franconia, Thuringia, and Saxony, so that in January, 1525, all these countries were in a state of rebellion. Thus there arose a great multitude of seditious persons in various parts of Germany, who

declared war against the laws and the magistrates, and spread rapine, conflagration, and slaughter throughout the community. This rabble consisted for the greater part of peasants, who were discontented with the government of their lords ; hence this calamitous outbreak has been called the war of the peasants. But among them were a number of men of various descriptions, some of whom were fanatics, but others were idle and dissolute, who wished to live comfortably on other people's labours.

It must not be forgotten, however, that at this time the condition of the peasants was very bad, and that the oppression of many of the barons was intolerable. In several parts the peasants were treated as slaves or serfs, and bought and sold with the lands to which they were attached. And the landlords, the barons, bishops, abbots, and priests, were generally disposed to oppress and grind their tenants to the utmost. Thus, prior to the present outbreak, there had been several revolts of the peasants in one place or another.

While at first the movement was altogether of a civil nature, the peasants requiring to be relieved of some part of their burdens and to enjoy greater freedom, yet when Munzer, the fanatical Anabaptist, joined the multitude, the commotion, especially in Saxony and Thuringia, from civil became religious, though the sentiments of the insurgents differed greatly in this respect.

Luther when in the Wartburg had foreseen the storm, and had addressed a serious exhortation to the people with the object of restraining their agitation. "Rebellion," said he, "never produces the amelioration we desire, and God condemns it. What is it to rebel, if it be not to avenge oneself? The devil is striving to excite to revolt those who embrace the Gospel, in order to cover it with opprobrium ; but those who have rightly understood my doctrine do not revolt."

About the end of January the peasants published

a declaration in twelve articles, in which they claimed the liberty of choosing their own pastors, the abolition of small tithes, of slavery, and of fines on inheritance, the right to hunt, fish, and cut wood, etc. Each demand was supported by a passage from the Bible, and in conclusion they said, "If we are deceived, let Luther correct us by Scripture."

The opinions of the Wittemberg divines were consulted. Luther and Melancthon delivered theirs separately. The latter, who deemed every kind of disturbance a crime, departed from his usual gentleness, and was hardly able to find language sufficiently strong to express his indignation. The peasants were criminals, against whom he invoked both human and divine law. If friendly negotiation failed, the magistrates ought to hunt them down as if they were robbers and assassins. "And yet," he added, "let them take pity on the orphans when having recourse to the penalty of death!"

Luther's opinion of the revolt was the same as Melancthon's. But he felt for the miseries of the people. He reminded the princes of their oppressions of the poor, which had driven them to revolt, and counselled mildness in quelling the disturbances, pointing out that among the twelve articles there were certain demands which were just and equitable. At the same time he represented to the people that most of their demands were well founded, but that to revolt was to act like heathens; that the duty of a Christian is to be patient and not to fight; that if they persisted in revolting against the Gospel in the name of the Gospel he should look upon them as more dangerous enemies than the pope.

But the revolt instead of dying away became more formidable, and fearful cruelties, afterwards terribly avenged, were perpetrated by the infuriated peasantry. Fearful retribution overtook the misguided men. The power of the princes was arrayed against them, and after several defeats they were finally crushed at

Mulhausen on May 15th, 1525, when Munzer was taken prisoner and put to death.

These sad events caused great trouble and anxiety to the friends of the Reformation. The princes and their partisans frequently declared that Luther and his doctrine was the cause of the revolt, while, on the other hand, the violence with which he had declared against the rebels caused him to lose favour with the people. The friends of Rome exulted. But Luther's greatest affliction was to see the cause of Christ thus dragged in the mire and classed with the most fanatical projects.

A further source of trial to the Reformers in this year of 1525 was the death of the aged Elector Frederick, which took place on May 5th, while the insurrection was at its height. While he lived he had been a kind of mediator between the Roman pontiff and Luther, nor would he give up the hope that eventually a righteous and honourable peace might be established between the contending parties, without the formation of separate communities under different regulations. Without giving direct aid to the Reformer, the elector had sheltered him, so that his work might not be hindered ; now that the shelter had gone, and adversaries were advancing on every side, it seemed as though there was nothing left to defend the infant cause from the sword of those who were pressing it with such violence.

The funeral arrangements were entrusted to Luther and Melancthon. Luther delivered a short discourse in German, and Melancthon an oration in Latin.

Melancthon also composed an epitaph in Latin verse which was inscribed upon the elector's monument.

Frederick was succeeded in the electorate by his brother John, a ruler who more openly favoured the cause of the Reformation.

## CHAPTER X.

### A TRUCE—VISITATION OF THE CHURCHES.

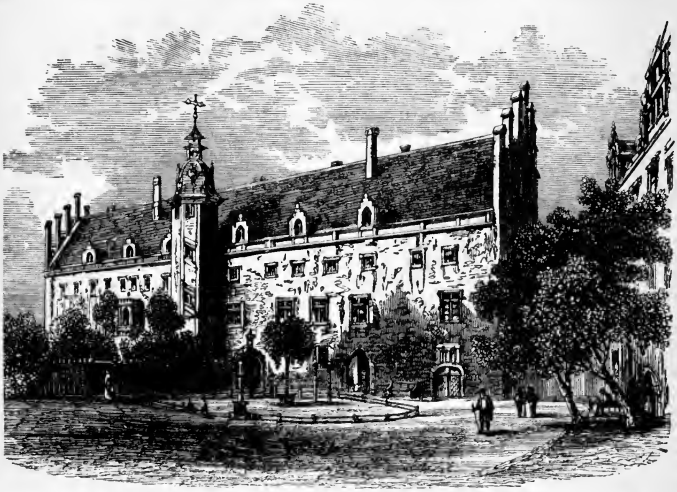
AT what seemed to many of his friends a most inauspicious moment, and when his life seemed more likely to speedily end upon the scaffold than to be passed in the enjoyment of domestic bliss, Luther married Catherine Bora. Catherine was a nun who, having embraced the Reformed faith, had two years previously with eight of her fellow-nuns left the convent at Nimptsch and sought refuge at Wittemberg. The marriage took place on June 11th, 1525; and by this action Luther still further broke away from the Papacy. The adversaries of the Reformation were indignant, and some of his friends, among whom was Melancthon, thought the time ill-chosen.

But though at first alarmed, Melancthon speedily came to the defence of his friend. "It is false and slanderous," said he, "to maintain that there is anything unbecoming in Luther's marriage. I think that in marrying he must have done violence to himself. A married life is one of humility, but it is also a holy state, if there be any such in the world, and the Scriptures everywhere represent it as honourable in the eyes of God."

We have already seen how four years before this event thirteen Augustine monks had left the monastery at Wittemberg to return to the ordinary avocations of daily life. These had been followed by others, until Luther, who had assumed the dress of a secular priest, was left alone in the old building. About the end

of December, 1524, he had sent the keys to the elector, who gave the convent to the university and invited Luther to continue his residence in it.

His marriage was a very happy one. "The best gift of God," said he, "is a pious and amiable wife, who fears God, loves her family, with whom a man may live in peace and in whom he may confide." He continued to reside in the old Augustine monastery,



AUGUSTINE MONASTERY, WITTEMBERG.

which became a joyous home, the rooms in which the monks used to assemble echoing the merry prattle of little tongues and the clatter of tiny feet. And frequently might he and his Kertha, as he called Catherine, have been seen sitting at the window that overlooked their beautiful garden, singing together sweet songs of praise.

And notwithstanding the adverse effects of the revolt of the peasants, and the threatened danger from the emperor and princes still favourable to the Papacy, the cause of the Reformation continued to grow. The

Elector John of Saxony adopted a somewhat bolder course than his deceased brother had taken, and more openly espoused the cause. Philip, the Landgrave of Hesse, and Albert Duke of Prussia, openly favoured it. The monastic orders were disappearing, convents were being changed into hospitals, and the Gospel was preached in the meanest villages.

Luther entreated the new elector to establish an evangelical ministry in place of the Romish priesthood, and to order a general visitation of the churches. At Wittemberg the Reformers were beginning to exercise episcopal functions and to ordain ministers. "Let not the pope, the bishops, the monks, and the priests exclaim," said Melancthon, "'we are the Church; whosoever separates from us separates from the Church!' There is no other Church than the assembly of those who have the Word of God, and who are purified by it."

About this time Erasmus sought to detach Melancthon from the Lutheran cause. He had been engaged in an acrimonius dispute with Luther, whose bold nature could not endure the learned Dutchman's trimming artifice and sycophancy. Erasmus wrote to Melancthon, saying that he had read his *Loci-Communes*, that he admired more than ever his candid and happy genius, that he had given the most moderate counsel to popes and princes, and that when Cardinal Campeggio had sent one of his agents to discuss with him the propriety of removing Melancthon from his present situation, he had replied, "My answer was that I sincerely wished such a genius as yours to be perfectly free from all these contentions, but that I despaired of your recantation." Erasmus then stated in his letter, "I open this secret to you in the entire confidence that you will be candid enough not to divulge it among the wicked ones."

Vexed at heart that the Lutheran cause should be strengthened by the literary authority, unquestionable moderation, and superior talents of Melancthon,

Erasmus employed every means to separate him from it. He fully believed that the Reformation could not ultimately prevail, and wished to secure the merit of winning over the learned Wittemberg professor to the other side. But all his efforts were unavailing.

CHRISTMAS DAY IN LUTHER'S HOME.

Melancthon replied to these advances in words of courageous conscientiousness:

"For my part I cannot with a safe conscience condemn the sentiments of Luther, however I may be charged with folly or superstition; that does not weigh with me. But I would oppose them strenuously if the Scriptures were on the other side; most certainly

I shall never change my sentiments from a regard to human authority, or from the dread of disgrace."

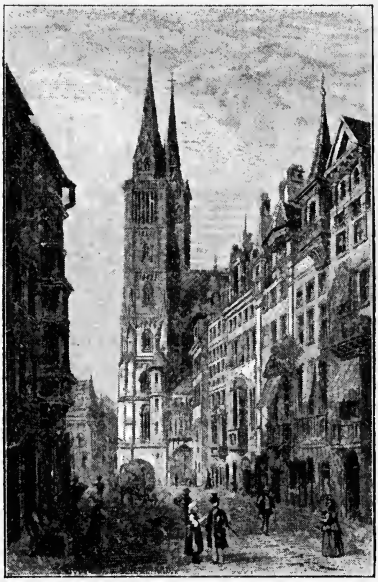
In the autumn of 1525 Melancthon repaired, at the express solicitation of the Senate of Nuremberg and with the elector's permission, to assist in preparing a plan for the establishment of a public seminary in that city. In this journey he was accompanied by Camerarius; but being simply of a preparatory nature, he again visited the place in the following year, for the purpose of establishing the academy and of giving his advice concerning the management of ecclesiastical affairs. He was also appointed to deliver an address at the public opening of the academy, in which, after showing the evil effects of ignorance as exhibited in nations totally unacquainted with letters, and complimenting the Senate for introducing learning into their city, he said:

"If you proceed to cultivate these studies you will not only be illustrious in your own country, but renowned abroad. You will be regarded as the author of your country's best defence, for 'no bulwarks can prove more durable memorials of cities than the learning, wisdom, and virtues of its citizens.' A Spartan said that their walls ought to be constructed of iron and not of stone; but I am of opinion that wisdom, moderation, and piety, form a better protection than arms or walls. . . .

"It is not only a sin against heaven, but betrays a brutal mind whenever any one refuses to exert himself for the proper instruction of his children. One great distinction between the human race and the brute creation is this, that nature teaches the animal to desist from all further care of its offspring as soon as it grows up, but enjoins it upon man not only to nourish his children during the first and infantine period of life, but as they rise into maturer age to cultivate their moral powers with increased assiduity and diligence.

"In the proper constitution of a state, therefore,

schools of learning are primarily requisite where the rising generation, which is the foundation of a future empire, should be instructed, for it is a most fallacious idea to suppose that solid excellence is likely to be acquired without due regard to instruction; nor can persons be suitably qualified to govern the state with-



NUREMBERG.

out the knowledge of those principles of right government which learning only can bestow.

"May the Lord Jesus Christ bestow His blessing upon these transactions, and abundantly prosper your counsels and the studies of your youth!"

In May of the preceding year Charles V., in a letter to his brother, the Archduke Ferdinand, had commanded that a diet should be held at Augsburg. This diet was opened on December 11th, 1525. The

evangelical princes were not present in person, but were represented by deputies, who spoke out boldly and declared that the insurrection of the peasants was owing to an impolitic severity. "It is neither by fire nor sword," said they, "that God's truth can be torn from the heart. If you determine to employ violent measures against the Reformation, more terrible calamities will befall you than those which you have so recently and so narrowly escaped."

It was generally felt in the assembly that whatever resolution was adopted, its results would be of the greatest importance, and as each desired to put off the decisive moment in order to increase his own strength, the diet was prorogued, to assemble again at Spires in the May following.

Meanwhile Philip of Hesse and the Elector John had formed an alliance, that if they were attacked on account of the Word of God they would unite their forces to resist their adversaries. This alliance was ratified at Torgau, and was afterwards strengthened by the admission of other princes favourable to the evangelical cause.

But Luther and Melancthon desired that the cause should be defended by God alone, not by force of arms. Luther thought that the less men interfered with it the more striking would be God's interposition. Melancthon feared that the alliance of the evangelical princes would precipitate the struggle they were desirous of avoiding.

The Diet of Spires opened on June 25th, 1526. In the instructions sent by the emperor, he ordered that the Church customs should be maintained entire, and called upon the diet to punish those who refused to carry out the edict of Worms. Ferdinand himself was at Spires, and his presence rendered these orders more formidable. Never had the hostility which the Romish partisans entertained against the evangelical princes appeared in so striking a manner.

But the boldness and firmness of the friends of the

Reformation weakened the power of their adversaries. Men saw that they were animated by the spirit of the Bible, and the timid and hesitating became brave. Ferdinand deemed it inadvisable at this stage to communicate to the diet the instructions he had received, and substituted for them a proposition calculated to satisfy both parties. The deputies from the free cities called for the abolition of every usage contrary to the faith of Jesus Christ, and the diet was divided into committees for the abolition of abuses.

Ferdinand, stirred up by the more bigoted partisans of Rome, published on August 3rd the instructions he had received from Charles V. in favour of enforcing the edict of Worms. The effect was immense. Persecution seemed on the eve of breaking out. The Elector John and the landgrave announced their intention of quitting the diet, and ordered their attendants to prepare for their departure. The deputies of the free cities drew towards these two princes, and it seemed as if the Reformation were about to enter into an immediate conflict with the emperor and the pope.

But the blow intended for the Reformation was diverted, and fell upon the pontiff. He and the emperor quarrelled. Charles stood in need of the help of the German princes. So another letter was sent to Ferdinand: "Let us suspend the Edict of Worms; let us bring back Luther's partisans by mildness; and by a good council cause the triumph of evangelical truth." So wrote the emperor.

The effect of this change of front upon the diet was the declaration of religious liberty. By its *recess*, dated August 27th, it decreed that a universal, or at the least a national, free council should be convoked within a year; that the assembly should request the emperor to return speedily to Germany; and that until then each state should behave in its own territory in such a manner as to be able to render an account to God and to the emperor.

Rome was sacked. Clement VII. was besieged in the castle of St. Angelo, and finally capitulated, renouncing every alliance against Charles V. and binding himself to remain a prisoner until he had paid the army four hundred thousand ducats. Terrible was the carnage. The sack lasted ten days, a booty of ten million golden crowns was collected, and from five to eight thousand victims perished. The Spaniards were the most cruel. Nothing could withstand their fury. These faithful sons of the Church put the prelates to death amidst horrible cruelties, designed to extort their treasures from them, and spared neither rank, sex, nor age.

Thus fell the papal capital; and its splendour, which from the beginning of the sixteenth century had been world renowned, vanished in a few hours.

Luther and Melancthon trembled for the doomed city. "I would not have Rome burnt, it would be a monstrous deed," said the former; and the latter said, "I tremble for the libraries; we know how hateful books are to Mars."

The Reformation needed some years of repose that it might grow and gain strength, and this seemed only possible while its greatest enemies were at war with each other. The madness of Clement VII. formed, as it were, the *lightning-conductor* of the Reformation, and the ruin of Rome built up the Gospel in Germany. From 1526 to 1529 was a period of rest from outside trouble for the Reformed cause.

The papal yoke having been broken, the ecclesiastical order needed re-establishing. It was impossible to restore to the bishops their ancient jurisdiction, as they regarded themselves as being in an especial manner the servants of the pope. A new state of things was called for, otherwise the Church, in the Reformed states, would fall into anarchy. This need was at once provided for.

The Landgrave of Hesse, upon his return from the

Diet of Spires, devoted himself to the promotion of the Reformation in his own provinces. He wrote letters to Melancthon soliciting his advice, who urged the prince to proceed in a gradual and cautious manner, conniving for a time at certain non-essentials, the sudden abolition of which might be prejudicial to the cause he desired to promote. Melancthon lamented the contentions which existed among the Reformers themselves, often about trifles, which should by every means be avoided. The preachers of the Gospel ought to inculcate not only the doctrines of faith but the practice of piety, the fear of God, love to man, and obedience to magistrates. He besought his highness to abstain from every attempt to extend the Reformation by military force; for the late occurrences of the rustic war would show that they who delight in war should certainly be scattered.

"The Roman ecclesiastics instigate to war," he said; "why do not the rest exhort men to gain a knowledge of the subject and to preserve peace? Your highness, I am convinced, might do a great deal with the princes, if you would exhort them to take pains to understand the points in dispute, and endeavour to terminate these contentions."

The first Church constitution produced by the Reformation was prepared under the guidance of Francis Lambert for the Landgrave Philip, and was established for the churches of his principality. The other rulers in Germany, who had before the opening of the diet rejected the papal authority, now carefully employed the liberty afforded them to strengthen their cause and to regulate properly their religious affairs. During this period Luther and his associates, especially those who resided with him at Wittemberg, by their writings, preachings, admonitions, and refutations, added courage to the irresolute and imparted light and animation to all.

It was during this interval of rest from external menace that the Elector of Saxony ordered the

visitation of the churches to be made that had been recommended by Luther. A new ministry had to be formed and a Christian people created. "Alas!" said Luther, referring to some of the adherents of reform, "they have abandoned their Romish doctrines and rites, and they scoff at ours." In October, 1526, he had written to the Elector John as follows:—

"Your highness, in your quality of guardian of youth, and of all those who know not how to take care of themselves, should compel the inhabitants who desire neither pastors nor schools to receive these means of grace, as they are compelled to work on the roads, on bridges, and such-like services. The papal order being abolished, it is your duty to regulate these things; no other person cares about them, no other can, and no other ought to do so. Commission, therefore, four persons to visit all the country; let two of them inquire into the tithes and Church property, and let two take charge of the doctrine, schools, churches, and pastors."

The visitation having been resolved upon, Melancthon was commissioned to draw up the necessary instructions. This he did, with the conviction that he must give the Church, not the best form of worship imaginable, but the best possible under the circumstances of the time. In Switzerland the Reformation had become a democratic system, but in Germany it took a conservative form. Melancthon went farther than Luther in his concessions to the Roman system, and somewhat later, in writing to one of the inspectors said, "All the old ceremonies that you can preserve, pray do so. Do not innovate much, for every innovation is injurious to the people."

The Instructions were prepared under the title *Libellus Visitatorius*, and were published with the express sanction of the elector. The work was divided into eighteen sections, comprehending the doctrine of forgiveness and justification by faith in Christ, the law, prayer, the endurance of tribulation,

baptism, the Lord's Supper, repentance, confession, the atonement, public worship, marriage, freedom of the will, Christian liberty, the Turkish war, the mode of preaching, excommunication, the office of superintendents or bishops, and public schools of literature.

In Melancthon's directory for the use of the Churches as prepared above, the Latin liturgy was retained, a few German hymns being mingled with it; also the communion in one kind for those only who scrupled from habit to take it in both, confession made to the priest without being in any way obligatory, many saints' days, the sacred vestments, and other rites in which he saw no harm were allowed to remain. At the same time the doctrines of the Reformation were set forth with reserve.

Perhaps Melancthon effected all that was possible at that time, but it was necessary that one day the work should be resumed and re-established on its primitive plan. This was afterwards done by Calvin.

Many of the more ardent Reformers were dismayed when the Instructions appeared. "Our cause is betrayed," they cried, "the liberty is taken away that Jesus Christ had given us." The Papists triumphed and looked upon Melancthon's moderation as a retraction, taking advantage of it to insult the Reformation. The elector was astonished, and resolved to communicate Melancthon's paper to Luther, who merely made one or two unimportant additions and then returned it with the highest eulogiums. He knew that his friend's aim was to strengthen the Reformation in all the Churches of Saxony, that in everything there must be a transition, and being convinced that Melancthon was more than himself a man of transition, he frankly accepted his view.

The Papists professed to discover in Melancthon's Instructions a defection from many of the sentiments of Luther, and hailed the imaginary difference with great, but premature, exultation. Such a circum-

stance they eagerly desired, and from their standpoint it would have been worthy of their congratulations. But it was false. "Let our adversaries glory in their lies," said Luther, "as they always do, for they take no pleasure in truth." Again he writes: "Their glorying is a miserable one, and will be of no long continuance; but let them solace themselves with their vain hopes and joys, as they often do, and let them swell and bluster. I am very well pleased."

At this time Melancthon confided to Camerarius the tenor of a letter that had reached him. "I am applied to from Bohemia to desert the Reformed cause," he said, "and promised any remuneration from King Ferdinand. Indeed, my defection is publicly reported as a fact, because in the little book written for the Reformed Churches I have shown an increased degree of moderation; and yet you perceive I have really inserted nothing different from what Luther constantly maintains. But because I have employed no asperity of language, these very acute men judge that I necessarily differ from Luther."

The general visitation began in October and November, 1528, when Luther visited Saxony, Spalatin the districts of Altenburg and Zwickau, Melancthon, Thuringia, and Thuring Franconia. Ecclesiastical deputies and several lay helpers accompanied them. They purified the clergy by dismissing every priest of scandalous life, assigned a portion of the Church property to the maintenance of public worship, and placed the remainder beyond the reach of plunder. They continued the suppression of the convents, and everywhere established unity of instruction; they commissioned the pastors of the great towns, under the title of superintendents, to watch over the churches and the schools; they maintained the abolition of celibacy, and the ministers of the Word, becoming husbands and fathers, formed the germ of a third estate, whence in after years were diffused in all ranks of society learning, activity, and light.

The results of the visitation spread beyond the boundaries of Saxony, and exerted a powerful influence throughout other states of the empire, so that the new doctrines advanced with gigantic strides. The years of peace were most usefully employed, the Reformation not only framing for itself a constitution, but extending its doctrine.

Persecution reigned, however, in many of the states whose rulers belonged to the papal party, and numbers were added to the noble army of martyrs, sealing their testimony with their blood.

Much anxiety prevailed about this time lest the Reformed princes, at the instigation of Philip of Hesse, should prematurely declare war. A plot had been discovered, all preparations were made, money was subscribed, and the raising of an army began. The plot of the Romanist princes was to demand Luther from the Elector John, with all the apostate priests, monks, and nuns, and in default to invade his states and depose him and his descendants.

But as soon as Luther and Melancthon, who were most immediately endangered, saw the probability of an appeal to the sword, they uttered a cry of warning, and immediately sent the following advice to the elector: "Above all things let not the attack proceed from our side, and let no blood be shed through our fault. Let us wait for the enemy and seek after peace. Send an ambassador to the emperor to make him acquainted with this hateful plot."

The state of tension was extreme, and the agony of mind of the leading Reformers great. Melancthon cried in his anxiety, "I am worn away with sorrow, and this anguish puts me to the most horrible torture."

The war cloud soon passed away. The plot was discovered to be the fabrication of a crafty and dissipated man, the vice-chancellor to Duke George, who had imposed upon the landgrave by means of a forged document. Its falsity was proved, its author executed, and peace restored.

## CHAPTER XI.

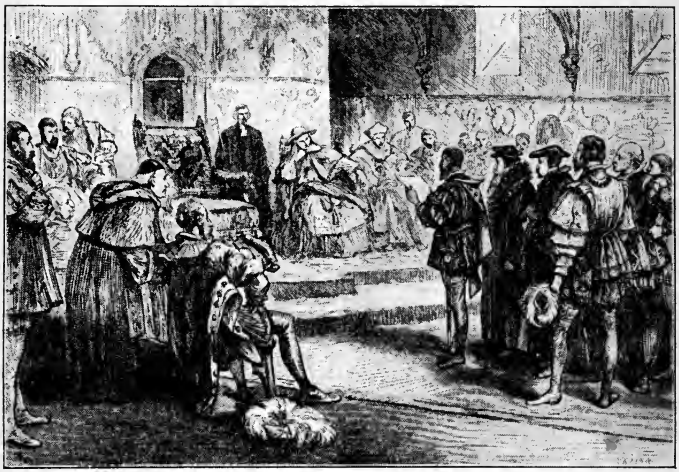
### THE PROTEST AND CONFESSION.

THE second Diet of Spires had been convoked to meet on February 21st, 1529. Ferdinand, the emperor's brother, was to preside. Charles V. and the pope had concluded a peace, based on the destruction of heresy. The emperor had resolved first to endeavour to destroy the Reform by a federal vote; if that proved unavailing he would employ his whole power against it. Thus was the Reformation to be crushed!

The Elector John reached Spires attended by the theologians Melancthon and Agricola only. The papal party were powerful, decided, and largely in the majority. The decree passed three years before, giving the power to each prince to regulate religious matters in his own territories as he saw fit until the meeting of a general council, was revoked; and all changes in the public religion were declared to be unlawful until the decision of the council should take place.

Such a resolution could not appear as otherwise than grievous to the Elector of Saxony, the Landgrave of Hesse, and the other patrons of the Reformation. It was well known that the pope would sooner concede anything than the assembly of a free and legitimate council to decide the matters in dispute, and consequently all reform in matters of faith was, according to this new decree, to be stopped. The

evangelical princes argued against it, but finding Ferdinand and the papal majority immovable, and that their arguments and reasonings made no impression on the adherents of the old religion, who were guided by the pontifical legate, they publicly remonstrated against the decree on April 19th. In the language of the jurists such a remonstrance was called a *Protest*, and from these *protesting* princes arose the name *Protestants*, borne henceforth by those



READING THE PROTEST AT SPIRES.

who forsook the Roman communion. In this protest the evangelical princes appealed from the diet to the emperor and to a future council.

This protest was first read in the hall of the diet before the assembled states ; then as Ferdinand had left the hall prior to the reading, it was presented to him, and afterwards put into legal form and published.

The position of the Protestants in Spires at this time was one of great danger. A curious circumstance indicating this is related by Melancthon. Simon

Grynæus, a very intimate friend of his, and at this time Greek professor in the University of Heidelberg, who added zealous piety to profound learning, came over unexpectedly to Spires to see Melancthon. Being also intimate with Faber, Bishop of Vienna, one of the most bitter opponents of reform at the diet, Grynæus went to him and begged him no longer to make war against the truth. Faber dissembled his anger, but on Grynæus' departure immediately repaired to the king, from whom he obtained an order against the Heidelberg professor.

No dissembler himself, Grynæus returned to his friends without any suspicion of the wily courtier's intentions; nor would any of them have known of the impending danger but for what Melancthon deemed a supernatural circumstance. They were all sitting down to supper, and Grynæus had related part of his conversation with Faber, when Melancthon was suddenly called out of the room to an old man, of whom he had neither before seen nor heard, nor could afterwards discover, who said that persons by the king's authority would soon arrive to seize Grynæus and put him in prison, the bishop having influenced the king to this persecuting measure. He enjoined that instant means should be taken to secure the departure of Grynæus to a place of safety, and then immediately withdrew.

Melancthon and his friends instantly bestirred themselves, and saw the endangered man safe across the Rhine. "At last," cried the Wittemberg professor, as he watched his friend reach the opposite side in safety—"At last he is torn from the cruel jaws of those who thirst for innocent blood." When he returned to his house Melancthon was informed that officers in search of Grynæus had ransacked it from top to bottom.

Nothing further requiring the presence of the Protestant princes at Spires, they departed for their homes. Melancthon reached Wittemberg on May

6th. He felt persuaded that the two parties would resort to war, and his friends were alarmed at seeing him agitated, exhausted, and almost like one dead. "It is a great event that has just taken place at Spires," he said; "an event pregnant with dangers not only to the empire but to religion itself. All the pains of hell oppress me."

While at Spires he had availed himself of a favourable opportunity to again visit his mother. In the course of conversation she mentioned to him the manner in which she was accustomed to perform her devotions, and the form she generally used, which was free from the prevailing superstitions. "But what," said she, "am I to believe amidst so many different opinions of the present day?"

"Go on," replied Melancthon; "believe and pray as you do and have done before, and do not disturb yourself about the disputes and controversies of the times."

The Protest of Spires still further increased the indignation of the Papists, and the messengers sent by the Protestant princes to deliver it to the emperor were placed under arrest.

The Sacramental controversy continued to rage with unabated violence, yet it was felt to be necessary for the success of the Reformation that all the disciples of the Word should be united. An attempt to bring this about was made by Philip of Hesse, who arranged a friendly conference between the opposing parties at Marburg in October, 1529. Luther was to dispute with Œcolampadius and Melancthon with Zwingle. But owing to the inflexible attitude of Luther, the controversy failed to bring about an agreement; though before separating a report was drawn up and signed by both the German and Swiss theologians present, which, after enumerating the articles agreed upon by both parties, concluded as follows:—

"And although at present we are not agreed on the question whether the real body and blood of

Christ are corporeally present in the bread and wine, yet both the interested parties shall cherish more and more a truly Christian charity for one another, so far as conscience permits; and we will all earnestly implore the Lord to condescend by His Spirit to confirm us in the sound doctrine."

In the same year, 1529, Luther wrote a preface to the second edition of Melancthon's *Commentary on the Epistle to the Colossians*, in which he speaks of it as being a book small in size, but great in point of matter and useful tendency, and states that he prefers the writings of Melancthon to his own, and was more desirous that they should be published and read.

The Protest of Spires had been handed to Charles V. while on his way from Genoa to Bologna; which city he entered on November 5th, 1529. There he was met by the pope, whose feet he kissed, and to whom he paid frequent visits. Finally it was arranged that Charles should constrain the heretics by force, while the pope was to summon all other princes to the emperor's aid.

In February, 1530, Charles was crowned by the pope at Bologna with great magnificence, and, kissing the white cross embroidered on the pope's red slipper, he exclaimed: "I swear to be, with all my powers and resources, the perpetual defender of the pontifical dignity and of the Church of Rome."

Then he turned his face toward Germany and quickly appeared on the Alps, the anointed of the Papacy coming by rigorous measures to maintain her cause.

But prior to this, he had on January 21st, 1530, summoned the states of the empire to meet at Augsburg.

The alarm in Germany was great as the Protestants heard of the emperor's advance, and many of the affrighted people looked upon Luther and Melancthon as already dead. "Alas!" said the latter, "the

rumour is but too true, for I die daily." Luther boldly exclaimed: "Our enemies triumph, but ere long to perish." And boldness characterised the councils of the elector. "Let us collect our troops, let us march on the Tyrol and close the passage of the Alps against the emperor." Such was the counsel given.

But before so doing the elector desired to consult Luther, who, dreading the intervention of the secular arm in Church affairs, gave his opinion against the proposal.

"What must be done, then?" was inquired. "Listen!" replied Luther. "If the emperor desires to march against us, let no prince undertake our defence. God is faithful: He will not abandon us."

The approaching diet was to be a lay council, or at least a national convention, and it was deemed advisable by the Protestants to settle what were the essential articles of Christian truth, in order to know how far it was possible to come to an understanding with their adversaries. This task was confided to the four principal theologians at Wittemberg—Luther, Melancthon, Jonas, and Pomeranus; the definitive arrangement of the Confession being committed to Melancthon. Then after ordering prayers to be offered, the elector, on April 3rd, began his journey to Augsburg, accompanied by an escort of one hundred and sixty horsemen.

All realised the danger of the elector thus placing himself in the emperor's power, and many in the escort marched with downcast eyes and sinking hearts. But Luther, full of faith, revived the courage of his friends by composing and singing the hymn, *Our God is a Strong Tower.*

"With our own strength we nought can do,
Destruction yawns on every side:
He fights for us, our champion true,
Elect of God, to be our Guide.

What is His Name? The anointed One,
The God of armies He;
Of earth and heaven the Lord alone—
With Him in field of battle won,
Abideth victory."

The elector took with him his most eminent divines and theologians, including Luther and Melancthon; but not thinking it either safe or politic for Luther to appear at Augsburg he commanded him to remain at Coburg, within easy reach, while the others went onward to Augsburg.

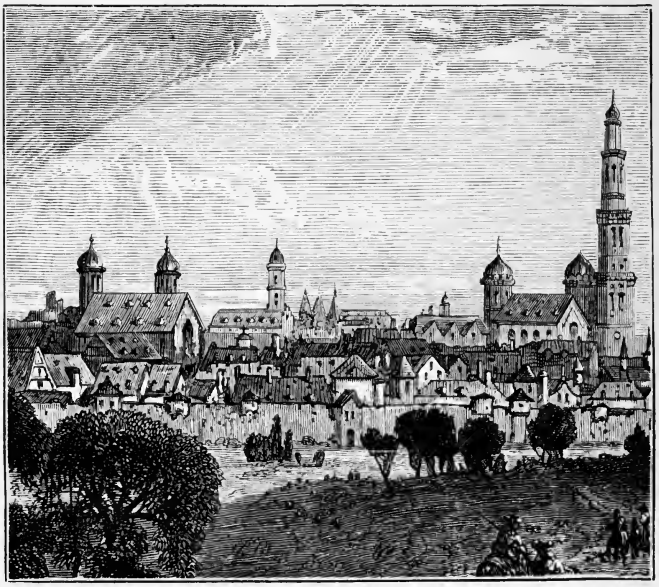
Meanwhile the emperor was approaching, accompanied by Ferdinand, the Queens of Hungary and Bohemia, the ambassadors of France, England, and Portugal, the papal legate Campeggio, other cardinals, and many princes and nobles of Germany, Spain, and Italy.

The elector entered Augsburg on May 2nd, and Philip of Hesse on the 12th. The preaching of the Gospel was carried on in the cathedral and other churches, which, arousing the ire of the priests, they besought the emperor to interfere. Charles sent two of his influential ministers to request that the evangelical preachings should be stopped. After referring the matter to Luther and Melancthon, the elector wrote to the emperor, stating that nothing but God's truth was declared in the preaching, that it was necessary for them, and that they could not do without it.

As it was foreseen that Charles, on receipt of this letter, would hasten his journey to Augsburg, it became urgent that the Confession of Faith should be immediately prepared, so that the evangelical princes might be prepared to receive him. To Philip Melancthon this important work had been assigned, and though frail of body, and in much trepidation at the task set before him, he had undertaken it, and worked at it diligently day and night. Indeed, so unremittingly did he labour, that his friends trembled lest he should die before the Confession was completed. Luther

enjoined him to take measures for the preservation of his little body, and not "to commit suicide for the love of God," adding: "God is as usefully served by repose; and, indeed, man never serves Him better than by keeping himself tranquil."

But Melancthon's application increased, and he prepared an exposition of the Christian faith, mild,



AUGSBURG.

moderate, and as little removed as possible from the doctrine of the Roman Church. Often did he weep over the page, and frequently did he complain of his incompetence for such a work.

On May 11th *The Apology*, as the Confession was named, was completed. Luther's advice had been continually sought during its preparation, and there is no doubt that the skill displayed and the sentiments

stated met with his approval. The elector sent the work to him, requesting him to mark whatever needed alteration, and Melancthon, who feared he might find the Confession too weak, added, "I have said what I thought most useful; for Eck is always circulating the most diabolical calumnies against us, and I have endeavoured to oppose an antidote to his poisons."

"I have read Master Philip's *Apology*," replied Luther to the elector. "I like it well enough, and have no corrections to make. Besides, that would hardly suit me, for I cannot walk so meekly and so silently. May Christ our Lord grant that the work may produce much and great fruit."

Possibly the mental strain of preparing this important document in so short a time, added to ill-health and natural timidity, brought on that state of extreme depression and excitability from which Melancthon suffered during the remainder of his stay at Augsburg. It is stated that he was in constant agitation, running to and fro, slipping in everywhere, visiting not only the houses and mansions of private persons, but also finding his way into the palaces of cardinals and princes and even into the court of the emperor. And wherever he went he spared no means in trying to persuade those he met that nothing was easier than to restore peace between the two parties.

But others were not so ready to accept this view, and the proceedings of the papal party were calculated to disturb the stoutest heart. Efforts were especially directed by them against the elector and the Protestant princes, with the object of causing these noble men to act false to their conscience or to incur the severe displeasure of the emperor. The elector's burden was particularly heavy, for not only had he to take the lead among the princes, but to defend himself against the enervating influence of Melancthon at this time. But the spirit that actuated these men was well expressed, when in the emperor's private chamber the elector and three other princes had to choose

between fidelity to conscience and Charles' indignation. "Rather than allow the Word of the Lord to be taken from me," said one of their number, the Margrave of Brandenburg, "rather than deny my God, I would kneel down before your majesty and have my head cut off."

The diet was opened on June 20th, 1530; and Charles, after much hesitation, on the 22nd ordered the elector and his allies to have their Confession ready for Friday the 24th. A fair copy had to be made, and the conclusions as well as the exordium to be definitely drawn up. Incessant labour was therefore bestowed, even during the night, to correct and transcribe this document.

On the following morning, the 23rd, all the Protestant princes, deputies, councillors, and theologians, met early at the elector's. The Confession was read in German, and all gave their adhesion to it, except the Landgrave of Hesse and the deputies from Strasburg, who desired a change in the article on the Sacrament.

The Elector of Saxony was preparing to sign the document, when Melancthon, who feared giving too political a colouring to this religious business, stopped him, saying: "It is for the theologians and ministers to propose these things; let us reserve for other matters the authority of the mighty ones of the earth."

"God forbid that you should exclude me," replied the elector; "I am resolved to do what is right without troubling myself about my crown. I desire to confess the Lord. My electoral hat and my ermine are not so precious to me as the cross of Jesus Christ. I shall leave on earth these marks of my greatness, but my Master's cross will accompany me to heaven."

Then the elector signed, followed by the landgrave and the other Protestant princes, and the deputies from Nuremberg and Reutlingen; all resolved to demand from the emperor that the Confession should be read publicly.

Melancthon had no thought of turning back, and was quite prepared to confess his faith; but, at this time, he was filled with sadness. Reproached by some of his own friends for his weakness, he was upbraided by the opposite party for what they termed his hypocrisy. Camerarius, who visited Augsburg during the sitting of the diet, often found him plunged in thought, uttering deep sighs, and shedding bitter tears; and Jonas, moved by his sorrow, sought to console him by exhorting him to take the Book of Psalms and cry to God with all his heart, making use of David's words rather than his own.

June 25th was the day finally appointed for the reading of the Confession, and on the eve of that day Melancthon in imagination had the scene vividly before him. He was in great distress. One word too many or too few might decide on the approbation or the hatred of the princes, on the safety or the ruin of the Reformation and of the empire. His anguish was too great to bear, and writing to Luther's secretary, he said, "All my time here is spent in tears and mourning." On the morrow he wrote to Luther himself at Coburg: "My dwelling is in perpetual tears. My consternation is indescribable. O my father! I do not wish to exaggerate my sorrows; but without your consolations it is impossible for me to enjoy the least peace."

Luther himself was anxiously awaiting news from Augsburg, but day after day passed and none came. At last letters arrived, and learning that Melancthon's anguish still continued, Luther wrote to him in the following words:—

"Grace and peace in Christ!—in Christ, I say, and not in the world, Amen. I hate with exceeding hatred those extreme cares which consume you. If the cause is unjust, abandon it; if the cause is just, why should we belie the promises of Him who bids us to sleep without fear? Can the devil do more than kill us? Christ will not be wanting to the work of justice and

MELANCTHON INTERPOSING TO PREVENT THE ELECTOR FROM SIGNING THE CONFESSION.

truth. He lives; He reigns. What fear, then, can we have? God is powerful to upraise His cause if it is overthrown, to make it proceed, if it is motionless; and if we are not worthy of it, He will do it by others.

"I have received your Apology, and I cannot understand what you mean when you ask what we must concede to the Papists. We have already conceded too much. Night and day I meditate on this affair, turning it over and over, diligently searching the Scriptures, and the conviction of the truth of our doctrine every day becomes stronger in my mind. With the help of God, I will not permit a single letter of all that we have said to be torn from us.

"The issue of this affair torments you because you cannot understand it. But if you could, I would not have the least share in it. God has put it in a 'common place,' that you will not find either in your rhetoric or in your philosophy: that place is called Faith. It is that in which subsist all things that we can neither understand nor see. Whosoever wishes to touch them, as you do, will have tears for his sole reward.

"If Christ is not with us, where is He in the whole universe? If we are not the Church, where, I pray, is the Church? Is it the Dukes of Bavaria, is it Ferdinand, is it the pope, is it the Turk, who is the Church? If we have not the Word of God, who is it that possesses it?

"Only we must have faith, lest the cause of faith should be found to be without faith. If we fall, Christ, that is to say, the Master of the world, falls with us. I would rather fall with Christ than remain standing with Cæsar."

On the afternoon of the 25th the emperor took his seat on the throne in the chapel of the Palatine Palace, surrounded by the electors or their representatives, and the other princes and states of the empire. The papal legate had refused to appear, lest

by his presence he should seem to authorise the reading of the Confession. Then stood up the Elector John of Saxony and his son John Frederick, Philip of Hesse, and the other signatories to the document. The emperor, seeing this, motioned the Protestants to sit down, after which the two chancellors of the elector, Brück and Bayer, advanced to the middle of the chapel and stood before the throne, holding in their hands, the former the Latin and the other the German copy of the Confession. The emperor required the Latin copy to be read. "We are Germans," said the Elector of Saxony, "and on German soil; I hope, therefore, your majesty will allow us to speak German." The emperor complied. If read in Latin the general effect would have been lost on most of the princes.

Bayer then began to read the Confession, or *Apology*, slowly, seriously, distinctly, with a clear, strong, and sonorous voice, which re-echoed under the arched roof of the chapel, and carried even to the outside this great testimony paid to the truth.

"Most serene, most mighty, and invincible emperor and most gracious lord," said he, "we who appear in your presence declare ourselves ready to confer amicably with you on the fittest means of restoring one sole, true, and same faith, since it is for one sole and same Christ that we fight. And in case that these religious dissensions cannot be settled amicably, we then offer to your majesty to explain our cause in a general, free, and Christian council."

Then Bayer confessed the Holy Trinity, conformably with the Nicene Council, original and hereditary sin, "which bringeth eternal death to all who are not born again," and the incarnation of the Son, "very God and very man."

"We teach, moreover," he continued, "that we cannot be justified before God by our own strength, our merits, or our works; but that we are justified freely for Christ's sake through faith, when we be-

lieve that our sins are forgiven in virtue of Christ, who by His death has made satisfaction for our sins : this faith is the righteousness that God imputeth to the sinner.

"But we teach, at the same time, that this faith ought to bear good fruits, and that we must do all the good works commanded by God, for the love of God, and not by their means to gain the grace of God."

Faith in the Christian Church was next declared, "which is the assembly of all true believers and all the saints," in the midst of whom are, in this life, many false Christians, hypocrites, and manifest sinners ; and, added the Confession, "that it is sufficient for the real unity of the Church that they agree on the doctrine of the Gospel and the administration of the Sacraments, without the rites and ceremonies instituted by man being everywhere the same." The necessity of baptism was proclaimed, and it was asserted "that the body and blood of Christ are really present and administered in the Lord's Supper to those who partake of it."

The chancellor then successively confessed the faith of the Protestants touching confession, penance, the nature of the Sacraments, the government of the Church, ecclesiastical ordinances, political government, and the last judgment. "As regards free will," he read, "we confess that man's will has a certain liberty of accomplishing civil justice, and of loving the things that reason comprehends ; that man can do the good that is within the sphere of nature—plough his fields, eat, drink, have a friend, put on a coat, build a house, take a wife, feed cattle, exercise a calling ; as also he can, of his own movement, do evil, kneel before an idol, commit murder. But we maintain that without the Holy Ghost he cannot do what is righteous in the sight of God."

Then recalling to mind that the doctors of the pope "have never ceased impelling the faithful to puerile and useless works, as the custom of chaplets, invoca-

tion of saints, monastic vows, processions, fasts, feast-days, brotherhoods," the Protestants added, that as for themselves, while urging the practice of truly Christian works, of which little had been said before their time, "they taught that man is justified by faith alone; not by that faith which is a simple knowledge of the history, and which wicked men and even devils possess, but by a faith which believes not only the history, but also the effect of the history; which believes that through Christ we obtain grace; which sees that in Christ we have a merciful Father; which knows this God; which calls upon Him; in a word, which is not without God, as the heathen are."

"Such," said Bayer, "is a summary of the doctrine professed in our Churches, by which it may be seen that this doctrine is by no means opposed to Scripture, to the Universal Church, nor even to the Romish Church, such as the doctors describe it to us; and since it is so, to reject us as heretics is an offence against unity and charity."

This ended the first part of the Confession, that which explained the evangelical doctrine; next followed the portion destined to expose errors and abuses.

Bayer, continuing his reading, explained and demonstrated the doctrine of the two kinds; he attacked the compulsory celibacy of priests, maintained that the Lord's Supper had been changed into a regular fair, in which it was merely a question of buying and selling, and that it had been re-established in its primitive purity by the Reformation, and was celebrated in the evangelical Churches with entirely new devotion and gravity. He declared that the Sacrament was administered to no one who had not first made confession of his faults, and he quoted this expression of Chrysostom, "Confess thyself to God the Lord, thy real Judge; tell thy sin, not with the tongue, but in thy conscience and in thy heart."

The precepts on the distinction of meats and other

Roman usages were next noticed. "Celebrate such a festival, repeat such a prayer, or keep such a fast; be dressed in such a manner, and so many other ordinances of men—this is what is now styled a spiritual and Christian life; while the good works prescribed by God, as those of a father of a family who toils to support his wife, his sons, and his daughters—of a mother who takes care of her children—of a prince or of a magistrate who governs his subjects, are looked upon as secular things, and of an imperfect nature." As for monastic vows in particular, the Confession represented that, as the pope could give a dispensation from them, these vows ought to be abolished.

The last article of the Confession treated of the authority of the bishops, and notwithstanding the powerful princes, who wore the episcopal mitre, that were present, Bayer fearlessly continued: "Many have unskilfully confounded the episcopal and the temporal power; and from this confusion have resulted great wars, revolts, and seditions. It is for this reason, and to reassure men's consciences, that we find ourselves constrained to establish the difference which exists between the power of the Church and the power of the sword.

"We therefore teach that the power of the keys, or of the bishops is, conformably with the Word of the Lord, a commandment emanating from God to preach the Gospel, to remit or retain sins, and to administer the Sacraments. This power has reference only to eternal goods, is exercised only by the minister of the Word, and does not trouble itself with political administration. The political administration, on the other hand, is busied with everything else but the Gospel. The magistrate protects, not souls but bodies and temporal possessions. He defends them against all attacks from without, and by making use of the sword and of punishment, compels men to observe civil justice and peace.

"For this reason we must take particular care not to mingle the power of the Church with the power of the State. The power of the Church ought never to invade an office that is foreign to it; for Christ Himself said: '*My kingdom is not of this world.*' And again: '*Who made Me a judge over you?*' St. Paul said to the Philippians: '*Our citizenship is in heaven.*' And to the Corinthians: '*The weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God.*'

"It is thus that we distinguish the two governments and the two powers, and that we honour both as the most excellent gifts that God has given us here on earth. The duty of the bishops is therefore to preach the Gospel, to forgive sins, and to exclude from the Christian Church all who rebel against the Lord, but without human power, and solely by the Word of God. If the bishops act thus, the Churches ought to be obedient to them, according to this declaration of Christ: '*Whosoever heareth you, heareth Me.*'

"But if the bishops teach anything that is contrary to the Gospel, then the Churches have an order from God which forbids them to obey (Matt. vii. 15; Gal. i. 8; 2 Cor. xiii. 8, 10). And St. Augustine himself, in his letter against Pertilian, writes: 'We must not obey the Catholic bishops if they go astray and teach anything contrary to the canonical Scriptures of God.'"

Some remarks followed on the ordinances and traditions of the Church, and then the epilogue of the confession: "It is not from hatred that we have spoken, nor to insult any one; but we have explained the doctrines that we maintain to be essential, in order that it may be understood that we admit of neither dogma nor ceremony which is contrary to the Holy Scriptures, and to the usage of the Universal Church."

Bayer had read for two hours. The silence and serious attention of the assembly had not been once disturbed. When he finished, Chancellor Brück pre-

sented both the Latin and German copies to the emperor's secretary. Charles V. took the two Confessions, handed the German one, which was considered official, to the Elector of Mentz, and kept the Latin copy for himself. He then made reply to the Elector of Saxony and his allies that he had graciously heard their Confession, but as this affair was one of extreme importance, he required time to deliberate upon it.

The reading of the Confession had produced a deep impression. "We would not for a great deal have missed being present at this reading," was the remark made on every side, and the Bishop of Augsburg exclaimed, "All that the Lutherans have said is true; we cannot deny it."

A characteristic anecdote is related of the Duke of Bavaria and Dr. Eck. The duke, who was a violent opponent of the Reformation, said in a reproachful tone, "Well, doctor, you had given me a very different idea of this doctrine and of this affair." He then added, "But, after all, can you refute by sound reasons the Confession made by the elector and his allies?" "With the writings of the apostles and prophets—no!" replied Eck; "but with those of the Fathers and of the Councils—yes!" "I understand," quickly answered the duke, "I understand. The Lutherans, according to you, are in Scripture; and we are outside."

The impression produced outside Germany was perhaps even greater than among its own inhabitants. The Confession was translated into French, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese, and circulated through all Europe. Charles himself sent copies to all the courts. It destroyed the prejudices that had been entertained, gave Europe a sounder idea of the Reformation, and prepared the most distant countries to receive the seeds of the Gospel.

On June 26th, the emperor summoned the princes and other members of the diet who were adherents of the Papacy, and set before them the question, "What

reply should be made to the Confession?" It was decided, after an animated discussion, that a refutation should be composed, read to the Protestants in the diet, and ratified by the emperor. The preparation of this refutation was entrusted to Eck, Faber, and other champions of Rome, numbering twenty in all, who sat twice a day, and on July 13th transmitted to Charles V. a volume of two hundred and eighty pages, filled with abuse. So violent a contrast did this present to Melancthon's Confession that the emperor would not allow it to be read to the diet, but returned it to the commission, and required them to draw it up anew, shorter, and in more moderate language.

Meanwhile strenuous efforts were made to seduce the Protestant princes from their allegiance to the Reformed cause. Lavish promises were made of favours to be bestowed if they submitted to Rome; terrible threats of the emperor's anger if they remained obdurate. But while willing to agree on all non-essential points, so as to preserve unity, they remained firm when conscience and duty to God were imperilled; preferring to enjoy the grace of God rather than the favours of the mighty, or the joys that this world affords.

On August 3rd the diet assembled to hear the reading of the revised Refutation. The emperor occupied the throne in the same chapel in which Bayer had read the Confession. When the elector and the other Protestant princes were introduced, the court palatine, addressing them, said: "His majesty having handed your Confession to several doctors of different nations, illustrious by their knowledge, their morals, and their impartiality, has read their reply with the greatest care and submits it to you as his own."

The Refutation was then read. It upheld the seven sacraments, the mass, transubstantiation, the withdrawal of the cup, the celibacy of priests, the invocation

of saints, and denied that the Church was an assembly of the saints.

After the reading the court palatine, who acted as Charles' spokesman, declared that his majesty found the articles of the Refutation orthodox, catholic, and conformable to the Gospel; that he therefore required the Protestants to abandon their Confession, now refuted, and to adhere to all the articles which had just been set forth; that if they refused, the emperor would remember his office, and would know how to show himself the advocate and defender of the Roman Church.

The Protestants were to consider their Confession refuted because they were commanded so to do. But they remained unshaken, and asked for a copy of the Refutation. This was at first refused, and afterwards offered on terms that made its acceptance quite inadmissible. One of the auditors, Camerarius, had, however, noted down a considerable portion of its contents.

Violent counsels were given to Charles V. and war and persecution appeared imminent. The emperor, indeed, went so far as to place his own guards at the city gates, with instructions to allow no one to pass. The Protestant princes and deputies were prevented from leaving the city, and the climax of the struggle seemed at hand.

On August 6th they received a sudden summons to appear before commissioners appointed by the emperor; and on their arrival, Joachim, Elector of Brandenburg, who acted as spokesman for the commission, addressing the Protestants said: "You know with what mildness the emperor has endeavoured to re-establish unity. If some abuses have crept into the Christian Church he is ready to correct them, in conjunction with the pope. But how contrary to the Gospel are the sentiments you have adopted! Abandon your errors, do not any longer remain separate from the Church, and sign the Refutation

ESCAPE OF THE LANDGRAVE OF HESSE.

without delay. If you refuse, then, through your fault, how many souls will be lost, how much blood shed, what countries laid waste, what trouble in all the empire! And you," said he, turning to the Elector of Saxony, "your electorate, your life, all will be torn from you, and certain ruin will fall upon your subjects, and even upon their wives and children."

To submit voluntarily, or be reduced by force, was the dilemma placed before the Protestants. "We now understand," said they one to another, "why the imperial guards occupy the gates of the city." But they remained firm, and, begging a few minutes' delay to consider their reply, retired.

At this moment a startling rumour increased the agitation—the Landgrave of Hesse had escaped from the city! Irritated by Charles' treatment, and convinced that there was no more chance of peace, he had, in a foreign disguise, at night, passed the emperor's guards and was now fleeing with headlong speed from Augsburg. He would thus be able to act freely and serve as a support to the evangelical states.

Then occurred a sudden change of action in the diet. Fear arose on the part of some of the German princes who favoured Rome, but whose states were contiguous to the landgrave's, for the safety of their frontiers. They were not prepared for war, nor willing that the emperor should make use of their troops for attacking the heretics. The appeal to arms was therefore opposed, and henceforth their cry was Peace!

Conferences were now held to try and entangle the Reformers and re-subject them to the dominion of the Papacy. A mixed commission was framed consisting on each side of two princes, two lawyers, and three theologians. On the Roman side were Duke Henry of Brunswick, the Bishop of Augsburg, the Chancellors of Baden and Cologne, and Eck, Cochleus, and Wimpina; on that of the Protestants, the Margrave George of Brandenburg, the Prince Electoral of Saxony, the

Chancellors Brück and Haller, and Melancthon, Brentz, and Schnepf.

The Evangelical Confession was taken as a basis, and read article by article. By appearing to agree to the less important articles the Romanists sought to gain concessions from the Protestants on those that were fundamental, or to get them stated in such manner that an ultimate appeal would be made to Rome. Melancthon, as the principal doctor on the Protestant side, was more especially approached by the Papists. He was willing to make great concessions to preserve unity, and to some he and the other Protestant theologians seemed to approach dangerously near the abyss of ruin in the points yielded. The bishops were to have their jurisdiction restored, and even the pope was to be acknowledged (but by human right only) as supreme bishop of Christendom.

Then evangelical Christians became alarmed. "Better die with Jesus Christ than gain the whole world without Him," said the people of Augsburg. And Luther, from Coburg, cried, "I learn that you have begun a marvellous work, namely, to reconcile Luther and the pope; but the pope will not be reconciled, and Luther begs to be excused."

But the arrogance of the Papacy caused the failure of the negotiations. The pope had in the previous July assembled a consistory of cardinals, who rejected the concessions called for in the Augsburg Confession, and the legate Campeggio, as he saw the disposition of the Protestant divines to reduce their minimum, urged more earnestly Charles V. and the Catholic princes to concede nothing. "Celibacy, confession, the withdrawal of the cup, private masses!" exclaimed he, "all are obligatory; we must have them all."

The Protestants' eyes were opened. Courage revived. The humiliating capitulation was rejected, and the commission immediately dissolved.

A second and smaller commission was appointed, consisting on the papal side of Eck and the Chancellors of Cologne and Baden, and on the other side of Melancthon with the Chancellors Brück and Haller. But compromise without the sacrifice of principle was found to be impossible ; and not only did the conference come to nought, but it was seen that all others would be superfluous.

Melancthon had failed in his efforts to bring about unity. Earnestly desirous of peace, he had undertaken an impossible task. His friends now saw that though willing to yield much, he was loyal to Christ, and his defeat justified him in the eyes of the Protestants. Referring to this period of his history, the ecclesiastical historian Mosheim states :

"In these discussions the character of Philip Melancthon, whom as the principal doctor among the Protestants the adherents of the pontiff took special pains to conciliate, very clearly appeared. He seemed easy of access and ready to make concessions when his opposers dealt in compliments and promises ; but when they would terrify him by threats and denunciation he seemed quite another man, bold, courageous, and regardless of life and fortune. For in this great man a mild and tender spirit was united with the strictest fidelity and an invincible attachment to what he regarded as the truth."

The emperor's *recess* of the diet was drawn up and read to the Protestants assembled in his palace, by the court palatine, on September 22nd. In this decree the emperor granted to the Elector of Saxony, the five Protestant princes, and the six cities, a delay of six months, during which to come to an arrangement with the Church, the pope, the emperor, and all the princes and monarchs of Christendom. This delay was granted on the express condition that the Protestants should immediately join the emperor in reducing the Anabaptists and all those who opposed the Holy Sacrament (the Zwinglians). Finally they

were forbidden to make any innovations, to print or sell anything on the objects of faith, or to draw any one whatever to their sect, "since the Confession had been soundly refuted by the Holy Scriptures."

Brück replied on behalf of the Protestants. "We maintain," said he, "that our Confession is so based on the holy Word of God that it is impossible to refute it. We consider it as the very truth of God, and we hope by it to stand one day before the judgment seat of the Lord." He then announced that they had refuted the Refutation, and, stepping forward, offered Charles *The Apology for the Confession of Augsburg*, which had been prepared by Melancthon from the notes taken by Camerarius. This the emperor declined.

All hopes of accommodation had now vanished, and the worst was anticipated. "We expect," said Melancthon, "violent measures, for no moderation can satisfy the popish faction. They, in fact, seek our destruction. Pray that God may preserve us."

On the 23rd the Elector of Saxony, accompanied by other of the Protestant princes, quitted Augsburg; and on November 19th a still more hostile decree against them was read to the diet and passed by command of the emperor. Two days later Charles quitted Augsburg. Nothing remained but war!

## CHAPTER XII.

### ROYAL INVITATIONS.

THE political and ecclesiastical history of Germany during the remaining years of Melancthon's life is so interwoven that space prevents more than a brief allusion to a few of the more important events in which the subject of this biography took part.

In December, 1530, and again in March, 1531, the Elector of Saxony and his associates assembled at Smalcald, and afterwards at Frankfort, and formed a league for their mutual protection against the evils which the edict of Augsburg portended, excluding all offensive operation against any one. They also took measures to induce the kings of France, England, and Denmark, as well as other princes and states, to join the confederacy. The common danger had also drawn together the Swiss and Saxon Reformers. "We are one in the fundamental articles of faith," the Zwinglians had said; "receive us." And the Saxon deputies had replied, "Let us unite for the consolation of our brethren and the terror of our enemies."

Soon after these transactions Melancthon and Luther, with other divines, met together to deliberate upon the proper measures to be adopted in the present emergency. After prayer had been offered, Melancthon, who was much depressed, was called out of the room, and saw some of the elders of the Reformed Churches with their parishioners and families. Little children were in their mothers' arms, while others, somewhat

older, were engaged in prayer. This reminded him of the Psalmist's language, "Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings hast Thou ordained strength because of Thine enemies," and so animated him that he returned to his friends with a cheerful countenance. Luther, astonished at the sudden change, inquired the reason, when Melancthon replied: "O sirs, let us not be discouraged, for I have seen our noble protectors, and such as I will venture to say will prove invincible against every foe." Asked as to who those powerful heroes were, Melancthon added: "Oh! they are the wives of our parishioners and their little children whose prayers I have just witnessed, prayers which I am satisfied our God will hear; for as our heavenly Father and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ has never despised or rejected our supplications, we have reason to trust that He will not in the present alarming crisis."

Again outside events made it expedient for Charles V. to conciliate the Protestant princes, and a peace was concluded at Nuremberg in 1532; the Protestants agreeing to contribute money for the Turkish war then impending, and to acknowledge Ferdinand as king of the Romans (whose title they had challenged). Charles, on his part, consented to annul the edicts of Worms and Augsburg, and to allow the followers of Luther full liberty to regulate their religious matters, until either a council or a diet of the empire should determine what religious principles were to be adopted and obeyed.

In August, 1532, the Elector John died suddenly of apoplexy. Luther and Melancthon, who had been sent for, arrived only in time to see him expire. The latter delivered a funeral oration in Latin, in which the virtues of the deceased prince were extolled.

He was succeeded by his son John Frederick, who was devotedly attached to the Protestant cause.

After the Turks had been compelled to retreat Charles urged the pope to hasten the meeting of

a general council. But Clement, anxious to delay matters, appointed his nuncio to accompany the emperor's ambassador, and to confer with the new elector on the subject; proposing that the council should be convened at Mantua, Bologna, or Placentia, instead of being a free council held in Germany as required by the Protestants.

The elector referred the proposition to his principal divines, when Melancthon stated it as his decided conviction: "That the Roman pontiff was practising a piece of dissimulation to cajole them into conditions to which they must not submit; that he made extraordinary concessions to induce them to agree to the decisions of a general convention of his arrangement, to which he (Melancthon) could not agree, because it ought to be a free assembly in which opinions on both sides might be discussed fairly and without restraint; that a deceptive purpose was obvious, and it would be preposterous to consent to a council before they knew what forms of proceedings were to be adopted, or who were to be implicated in its decrees; that the emperor could not, and the pope would not actually convene it."

In this opinion all present concurred, and intimated to the nuncio that as the controversy had arisen and was principally conducted in Germany, there the council ought to be assembled.

An attempt was made in 1534 to bring to an end the Sacramental controversy between the Swiss and Saxon Reformers, and Melancthon was commissioned to confer with Bucer at Cassel, but the effort was unsuccessful; as was also an endeavour made the same year by Ferdinand, Duke George, and the Elector of Saxony, to arrange the religious differences between the Protestants and Papists in Germany.

Clement VII. died in 1534 and was succeeded by Paul III.

In the following year Melancthon received a pressing invitation from Francis I., the King of France, to

visit that country, with the object of healing the differences in religion then existing in that kingdom. The letter, which was sent by the king, was supported by another from Cardinal Bellay, urging upon the recipient the importance of this visit. But though Melancthon was willing to comply with the request, and Luther urged the elector to allow the journey to be made, John Frederick was dubious of any real good resulting to the cause of evangelical truth, and being also apprehensive of offending the emperor, he withheld his consent.

Melancthon also received an invitation from Henry VIII. to visit England; but the elector was averse to the visit being paid, and though much disappointed at the interdiction, Melancthon acquiesced, and wrote a letter, complimenting the king in very elegant style upon his literary inclination, sending him also a copy of the *Commentary on the Romans.*

Several circumstances occurred about this time to excite the state of extreme depression which greatly embittered some of the years of Melancthon's life. He narrowly escaped being struck by lightning, he suffered severely in his back through a fall; and the removal of the academy from Wittemberg to Jena, on account of pestilence then raging in the former city, caused much inconvenience and discomfort. Another source of anxiety was occasioned by renewed disturbances on the part of the Anabaptists.

A journey was taken among his friends, and a visit paid to the place of his former professorship—Tubingen. In the beginning of 1536 the professors and students returned to Wittemberg from Jena; and shortly afterwards Melancthon was again engaged in conference at Basle, with Bucer and Capito, over the Sacramental controversy. A meeting was afterwards convened at Eisenach, but as Luther could not personally attend, Bucer and Capito visited him at Wittemberg. After several meetings between Luther and his associates and the Swiss delegates, Melancthon was appointed

to draw up a formula on the Sacrament, which all signed. Thus unity was to a large extent obtained, and this cheering result was received with mutual congratulations.

The events of the next decade may be briefly summarised. Paul III. having appointed Mantua as the place for the assembly of the general council, and the date May 27th, 1537, the confederate Protestant princes reassembled in the February of that year at Smalcald. But foreseeing that in such a council, held in an Italian city, everything would go according to the opinion and pleasure of the pontiff, they declared their entire dissatisfaction with it. They procured, however, a new summary of their religious faith, which might be presented to the assembled bishops, if required.

The Senate of the city of Augsburg were in this year establishing a public library, and wished Melancthon to pay them a visit. They applied also to the elector asking him to grant his leave, but he declined on the ground of the great resort of students to Wittemberg, and the need of Melancthon's presence there. Indeed, at this time Melancthon was unable to command a moment's leisure, as, in addition to his labours in the university and in the public cause, he was assailed continually by the reproaches of those who either misunderstood his actions and motives, or maliciously misrepresented them. It was reported that in consequence of serious differences of opinion he was alienated from his own party; and efforts were made by several princes to induce him to relinquish his existing engagements and become a professor in their universities. Every advantage was also taken to sow dissension between him and Luther, and though at some periods considerable strain was put upon their friendship, it was a bond fully equal to that strain; and the malevolent exultation of interested enemies over supposed differences was proved to be baseless.

A letter received by Melancthon in this year from the learned Cardinal Sadolet, in which the cardinal expressed warm friendship and affection for the talented Wittemberg professor, and solicited his friendship in return, became an object of suspicion because it came from Italy. In fact, as Camerarius remarks, no integrity or innocence of character can escape suspicion or slander. Melancthon always placed public duty before private emolument, and all the efforts to detach him from Wittemberg failed.

Henry VIII. frequently expressed his desire to see Melancthon, but events so interposed that a visit was never paid. Melancthon, however, took the opportunity of sending by Frederic Myconius, who formed part of a legation sent by the Reformers to England, a letter to the king in which he said:

"Private men very much need the aid of distinguished princes and states, and your Majesty has excited the greatest hopes in every country that you would promote the wishes of the pious for the reformation of the Churches. What else does the papal faction aim at than the total extinction of divine truth and the infliction of the most barbarous cruelties upon kings, princes, and nations, and the support of the Catholic abuses by a system of boundless tyranny in the Church? Such being the dangerous situation of her affairs, I will not cease to exhort and implore your Majesty to pay attention to the circumstances of the Christian Church now a suppliant at your feet, to promote some firm and durable union, and to dissuade other princes from connecting themselves with popish counsels. This is an affair of the greatest importance, and therefore worthy the attention of a king so superior to others in learning and wisdom."

Other letters were subsequently written by Melancthon to Henry VIII. commending the cause of the Christian religion to that monarch, and imploring him to use his influence for the reformation of the abuses that distracted the Church. In one he writes:

"All good men entreat and implore you not to listen to the impious, the cruel sentiments and sophistical cavils in circulation against us, but to regard our just and well-founded petition. In doing this, you will secure no doubt a great and a divine reward, as well as the highest degree of celebrity amongst all Christians. . . . If our Churches be indeed the Churches of Christ and we seek His glory, the cause will never want patrons and protectors, who will bestow due praises on the deserving and merited contempt on the persecutor. Hungry, thirsty, naked, bound, Christ Himself complains of the fury of the Roman hierarchy and the iniquitous severities practised by many kings and princes; He entreats for the wounded members of His body that His true Church may be defended and the Gospel honoured. To acknowledge, to entertain, to minister to Him, is the duty of a pious king and a most grateful service to God."

Melancthon also addressed letters to Cromwell Earl of Essex and Archbishop Cranmer.

In 1539 a Protestant conference was held at Frankfort, whither Melancthon accompanied the elector. Here the Protestant princes consulted about the proper measures for preserving their religious freedom, and Melancthon was deputed to write a piece on the subject of lawful defence, which he executed with great care and success.

George Duke of Saxony was dead; and having been succeeded by his brother Henry, who was favourably disposed to the Reformation, that prince employed Luther and Melancthon to investigate the state of the Churches in his province, and to regulate the affairs of the university at Leipsic.

In 1540 the Protestant princes, at the request of Charles V., assembled at Smalcald to deliberate on the concessions they were prepared to make to their adversaries, and replied by the pen of Melancthon that they adhered to the Confession of Augsburg and its Apology.

A little later he was journeying to the diet which was to have been held at Spires, but was on account of the plague removed to Hagenau. On the road he fell dangerously ill through over-anxiety and depression and had to halt at Weimar, where he was kindly cared for by the Elector of Saxony and his friends. He felt that death was near, and when Luther

LUTHER PRAYING FOR MELANCTHON.

hastened to his presence he found him apparently dying. His eyes were dim, his understanding almost gone, his speech and hearing imperfect, incapable of distinguishing any one and indisposed to all nourishment.

Luther was much alarmed, and, after fervent prayer, seized hold of his friend's hand and said, "Be of

good courage, Philip, you shall not die. Although God has always a sufficient reason for removing us hence, He willeth not the death of a sinner but rather that he should be converted and live—it is His delight to impart life, not to inflict death. . . . Do not, therefore, give way to this miserable dejection and destroy thyself, but trust in the Lord who can remove it and impart new life."

While Luther thus spoke, Melancthon's spirit revived, and shortly after he was restored to his accustomed health.

Conferences and diets occupied much of Melancthon's time after his recovery, varied by a visit to Cologne in 1543, to assist the Archbishop and Elector Herman in introducing the Reformed religion into his diocese. On his return to Wittemberg he was received with marked respect, the students and most of the professors going out to meet him on the road and to hail his arrival.

But domestic perplexity and sorrow, caused by the conduct of a son-in-law and the removal of his favourite daughter into Prussia, added at this time a bitter ingredient to his cup. Of his marriage and happy home mention has already been made. Melancthon and his beloved Catherine were long spared to each other; for thirty-seven years they walked harmoniously together, and four children—two sons and two daughters—added, by merry and innocent prattle, to their joy. Of the sons but little is known, one named George, who was his father's delight, dying when two years old. Both the daughters grew up to womanhood, the younger, Magdalena, marrying a worthy physician and professor of medicine in the University of Wittemberg named Casper Peucer; and the elder, Anna, whom Luther calls in one of his letters "the elegant daughter of Philip," being united to a promising student, by name George Sabinus.

But the marriage of his elder and favourite daughter became a source of considerable affliction to

Melancthon. Sabinus was ambitious, worshipping fame and wealth; Melancthon valued literature and piety above all, and could not be induced to seek worldly advancement either for himself or children. The two differed, and at last found it advisable to separate; but eventually parted with good-will and kindness. Sabinus took his wife into Prussia, where four years later, in 1547, she died, to the inexpressible grief of her father. Her three daughters henceforth became a part of the Wittemberg household. The events in connection with this removal caused Melancthon much anxiety; and his constitutional tendency to depression was also added to by the loss of several of his friends through death and the increased bitterness with which the Sacramental controversy was at this period renewed.

The pope, setting aside the objections of the Protestants, summoned a general council to be held at Trent, a town in the Tyrol; and at the Diet of Worms in 1545 the emperor used strenuous efforts to induce the Reformers to acquiesce in that appointment, but in vain. Again Melancthon was employed to draw up a paper, in which he set forth the chief reasons that induced them to dissent from the papal decree.

Exasperated at the failure of his efforts, and seeing no prospect that the Protestants would ever submit themselves to the council, the emperor listened to the advice of Paul III., and in conjunction with that pontiff prepared for war. The Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse on their part took measures not to be overwhelmed in a defenceless state, and raised forces for their defence.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### CLOSING SCENES AND DEATH.

AT this critical moment, when to the eye of man his presence and counsel seemed more than ever needful, the guiding spirit of the Reformation was called away. For some years past Luther's constitution had been enfeebled, but he continued at his post till the last, undertaking a journey from Wittemberg to Eisleben in January, 1546, in the hope of settling a dispute between the Dukes of Mansfeld and their subjects. At the latter place, early on the morning of February 18th, his spirit, released from the trammels of the flesh, passed into the presence of Jesus Christ his Saviour; whose cause he had so valiantly championed on earth, whose faith he had taught, and whose love had been his constant joy and comfort.

Sad was the heart of Melancthon when the melancholy news was made known to him; and in his first outburst of grief he exclaimed: "My Father! my Father! the chariot of Israel and the horsemen thereof." For nearly twenty-eight years had their friendship existed, and so strong had their attachment grown that they had become almost necessary to each other. Founded on principle and mutual admiration, the roots of their love had deepened with the passing years. The two friends were not perfectly agreed, but they were perfectly united. Mutual forbearance admitted the free exercise of individuality. They

thoroughly knew each other, and did not allow the gusts of temporary passion to destroy the fabric that so many years of mutual affection and esteem had raised.

Luther was buried in the church of All Saints at Wittemberg. Pomeranus preached the funeral sermon, and Melancthon delivered an eloquent and pathetic address over the grave of his departed friend. From this the following brief passage may be quoted:—

"The removal of such a character from among us, of one who was endowed with the greatest intellectual capacity, well instructed and long experienced in the knowledge of Christian truth, adorned with numerous excellencies and with virtues of the most heroic cast, chosen by divine Providence to reform the Church of God, and cherishing for all of us a truly paternal affection—the removal, I say, of such a man demands and justifies our tears. We resemble orphans bereft of an excellent and faithful father; but while it is necessary to submit to the will of Heaven, let us not permit the memory of his virtues and his good offices to perish. He was an important instrument in the hands of God of public utility; let us diligently study the truth he taught, imitating in our humble situations his fear of God, his faith, the intensity of his devotions, the integrity of his ministerial character, his purity, his careful avoidance of seditious counsel, his ardent thirst of knowledge."

It was not only the burden of a wounded and bereaved heart that Melancthon carried away from the sepulchre of his departed friend, but the sense of public loss, and overwhelming anxiety for the future. War seemed imminent; in fact, the emperor and the pope had agreed upon the destruction of those who should oppose the Council of Trent.

Melancthon was also now the head and leader of the theologians of the Lutheran Church; and the remainder of his life was greatly embittered by the fierce controversies that arose within it, which controversies

he was unable to quell. To these anxieties were added those connected with political affairs, for war broke out in 1546, soon after the Council of Trent had passed its first decrees; and in the November of that year the University of Wittemberg was dissolved, the students were dismissed, and Melancthon with his wife and family retired to Zerbst. He afterwards for a few months filled the posts of theological and philosophical professor at Jena.

The Saxon and Hessian princes led their forces into Bavaria there to oppose the emperor; and while thus engaged Maurice Duke of Saxony, and uncle to John Frederick, perfidiously invaded the Saxon territories. This action necessitated the breaking up of the Protestant army and the return home of the elector. Charles V. pursued him by forced marches, and falling upon him unawares on April 24th, 1547, he was defeated and taken prisoner. Philip of Hesse was also induced to surrender to the emperor, who kept him in close confinement.

Maurice, as the reward of his perfidy, was given the electorship, along with most of his nephew's lands; the cause of the Protestants appeared to be hopelessly ruined, and the pope triumphant. At a diet held soon afterwards at Augsburg, Maurice and the greater part of the Protestants consented to submit the decision of the religious differences to the Council of Trent. But a little later pestilence was reported as having broken out at Trent, when most of the Fathers retired to Bologna, and the council was dissolved. Paul III. could not be induced to re-convene it, and as the prospect of its again meeting seemed remote, the emperor deemed it necessary in the interim to adopt some method to preserve the peace in regard to religion, until the council should assemble. He therefore caused a paper to be drawn up, which should serve as a rule of faith and worship to the professors of both the old and new religions, until the meeting of the council. This paper, because

it had not the force of a permanent law, was called the Interim.

Like many other compromises this attempt to legislate for the consciences of men was displeasing to both parties. It contained all the essential doctrines of the Church of Rome, though veiled so as to make them acceptable to the Protestants. It was forced upon the Diet of Augsburg, and its opponents were for the most part compelled to submit.

Maurice, the Elector of Saxony, who, though a Protestant, occupied a middle position between those who approved and those who rejected the Interim, held several consultations at Leipsic and other places in 1548, with his theologians and principal men, of whom Melancthon was the most distinguished, to determine what course to pursue. Melancthon, who was followed by the other theologians, decided that the whole instrument called the Interim could not be admitted, but that there was no impediment to receiving and approving it so far as it concerned things not essential to religion, or things indifferent. This decision gave rise to a most violent controversy, called from the Greek word adiaphoræ, meaning indifferent, the Adiaphoristic Controversy. Melancthon was fiercely and persistently assailed, and charged with having abandoned the truth through excessive timidity or servile compliance to the wishes of the emperor and elector. This Adiaphoristic Controversy led to others equally lamentable, so that the Reformed Church was torn with internal strife, and in imminent danger of destruction.

Among the matters classed by Melancthon as indifferent were some which had appeared of the highest importance to Luther, such as the doctrine of justification by faith alone, the question respecting the necessity of good works to eternal salvation, the number of the sacraments, and to some extent the jurisdiction claimed by the pope, bishops, etc. The more zealous Lutherans looked upon these as

essentials ; and exclaimed against those who took the opposite view as being false brethren and apostates from the true religion. At their head was Flacius Illyricus, who for some time had been a disciple at Wittemberg of both Luther and Melancthon, and had been treated by the latter with great kindness and liberality.

Seldom, perhaps, has the injunction of the apostle *not rendering railing for railing* been better exemplified than in the manner and spirit in which Melancthon treated the attacks of his calumniators. Grieved he certainly was ; but, when for the sake of truth he felt bound to reply, his language was dignified, worthy of a Christian gentleman, and calculated rather to win over an adversary than inflame his ire. Never did he appear more noble than when, assailed both by Papists and extreme Protestants, he calmly stood in the place of duty and danger, inflexible to maintain what seemed to him to be essential, but willing to concede such things as appeared indifferent, and the sacrifice of which might tend to promote the harmony and unity of the Universal Church.

Paul III. died on November 10th, 1549, and was succeeded by Julius III. in 1550. He consented to the reassembling of the Council of Trent ; and at the Diet of Augsburg held at that time the emperor conferred with the princes on the prosecution of the council. The major portion agreed that it ought to go on, but Maurice only consented on certain conditions. At the close of the diet, therefore, in 1551, the emperor directed all to prepare themselves for the council, and promised to use his endeavours to have everything done there in a religious and Christian manner. Hence confessions of faith to be exhibited to the council were drawn up, one in Saxony by Melancthon, and another at Wurtemberg by Brentius. The leading Protestant divines of Wurtemberg repaired to Trent ; and the Saxon theologians, at whose head was Melancthon, received orders to set out for that

place, but to wait at Nuremberg till they received further instructions.

The Elector Maurice was at this time maturing a secret plot for the weakening of the emperor's power in Germany, the liberation of the Landgrave of Hesse and John Frederick of Saxony, and the furtherance of the cause of Protestantism and liberty. Retaining the confidence of the emperor till his plans were completed, he suddenly took up arms, issued a manifesto, in which he represented that the defence of the Protestant religion, the liberties of Germany, and the release of the Landgrave of Hesse, were his principal motives, and then, in 1552, led forth a well-appointed army against Charles V. So sudden and vigorous was his action that the emperor was unprepared to meet it; and soon after, in August, he concluded a treaty of peace at Passau, in which he not only gave present tranquillity to the Protestants, but promised to assemble a diet within six months to terminate the long-protracted religious contests.

The diet thus promised was through various commotions prevented from assembling until 1555. But in that year, at Augsburg, and in presence of Ferdinand, the emperor's brother, the convention was held which gave to the Protestants the firm and stable peace they still enjoy; for on September 25th, after various discussions, all those who had embraced the Augsburg Confession were pronounced free from all jurisdiction of the pontiff and the bishops, and were bidden to live securely under their own laws and regulations. Liberty was given to all Germans to follow which of the two religions they pleased; and all those were declared to be public enemies of Germany who should presume to make war upon others, or to molest them, on account of their religion.

Melancthon returned from Nuremberg to Wittemberg, and there resumed his duties both public and private. He had to endure some fierce attacks from a pastor named Osiander, in connection with the

Interim ; and was likewise engaged in refuting the errors of Stancarus, the Hebrew professor at Königsberg. Added to these cares was the oversight of the Churches and academical establishments in Misnia. In fact, as the most competent director in all matters of this description, his advice was constantly sought and his plans most generally adopted.

During the year 1553 he had to mourn the loss of several friends, among them his old and trusted servant John. "Domestic afflictions," he said, "are superadded to others. My servant John, remarkable for his fidelity and virtue, is called from the present life to the heavenly Church ; and now my wife is so extremely ill that nature seems overpowered by disease. But I pray the Son of God to grant us His presence and preserve us with His whole Church."

John grew old in his master's service and expired in his master's house after a residence there of thirty-four years, amid the affectionate regret of the whole family. Melancthon invited the academicians to his funeral, delivered an oration over his grave, and composed an epitaph for his tombstone, of which the following may be given as a translation :—

"Here at a distance from his native land
Came faithful John, at Philip's first command ;
Companion of his exile, doubly dear,
Who in a servant found a friend sincere—
And more than friend, a man of faith and prayer,
Assiduous soother of his master's care ;—
Here to the worms his lifeless body's given,
But his immortal soul sees God in heaven."

In the two succeeding years Melancthon suffered further bereavement by the death of John Frederick, and of Justus Jonas, the rector of the university at Wittemberg, with whom both he and Luther had been intimately acquainted for many years. But his greatest sorrow came in 1557, while upon a journey to Heidelberg, whither he had been summoned by the Elector Palatine, who wished him to oversee the

arrangements for converting the Augustine monastery there into an academy. Here he rejoiced in meeting his brother George, his daughter Magdalena, and her husband Casper Peucer. And as if to add to the happiness of the harmonious circle, his friend Camerarius arrived one evening unexpectedly from Tubingen. But this friend had come on a sad mission, for the morning after his arrival, while they were walking together in the prince's garden, he informed Melancthon that his beloved Catherine was dead. For a moment the bereaved husband failed to grasp the import of the sad tidings, and then, as though speaking prophetically, he said that "he expected very soon to follow her."

But for over two years longer he was spared. Though enfeebled in body, his mind remained clear, and his time was fully occupied in unremitting attention to academical duties, in seeing his books through the press, in controversy, in important correspondence, and in visits to more or less distant places. In fact, he was simply overwhelmed with work, and in April, 1558, wrote to a friend, "I am so overwhelmed with work that I am every day expecting to break down and die."

A pleasing diversion occurred shortly afterwards in the marriage of two of his grand-daughters, one in the summer and the other in October, 1558.

Melancthon's last journey was taken at the end of March, 1560, to Leipsic, to attend the annual theological examinations. While there he was suddenly taken ill, but recovered so that he was able to return home. He then complained of the cold dampness, saying he had not felt it so much during the whole winter. During the return journey, in his delicate state, he had taken cold, and fever quickly supervened. During the night of April 7th he was restless and his cough was extremely troublesome; and when about six o'clock in the morning his son-in-law, Dr. Peucer, came to see him, the doctor

intimated his alarm, and information of the danger was at once sent to his life-long friend Camerarius.

After this Melancthon wrote several letters and made use of the medical remedies provided by his son-in-law. After an interval of silence he exclaimed, "If such be the will of God, I can willingly die, and I beseech Him to grant me a joyful dismission."

Nine o'clock was the hour for his attendance at the university. He prepared to meet his class and deliver a half-hour lecture on logic, taking a warm bath afterwards. His weakness was very great, and when in the presence of his students he found that he could only speak for a quarter of an hour. After the bath he had dinner, and then slept soundly; employing the evening before supper in writing. On succeeding days up to the twelfth he attended the university, on one occasion rising early and delivering a six o'clock lecture on John xvii. His final lecture was delivered on the twelfth, its subject being the words of Isaiah, "Who hath believed our report, and to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed?"

Camerarius arrived the same evening, and the two friends spent several days together for the last time. Melancthon was cheerful, speaking of death with composure, saying that he dreaded nothing so much as becoming a useless cumberer of the ground, and praying that if life were spared he might be serviceable to the youth under his care and to the Church of Jesus Christ. When on the evening of the sixteenth Camerarius thought of leaving, his dying friend said:

"My dear Dr. Joachim, we have been joined in the bond of friendship forty years, a friendship mutually sincere and affectionate. We have been helpers of each other with disinterested kindness in our respective stations and employments as teachers of youth, and I trust our labours have been useful; and though it be the will of God that I die, our friendship shall be perpetuated and cultivated in another world."

Camerarius remained until the morning of the next day, when he took his final leave. Melancthon, who had just finished some letters, gave him his farewell benediction, saying: "Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who sitteth at the right hand of the Father, and giveth gifts to men, preserve you and yours and all of us!"

On the eighteenth his bed was removed by his own desire into his library, and he was placed upon it. While several of his friends were standing around, he said, "By the blessing of God I have now no particular domestic anxieties, for with respect to my grandchildren, whom I tenderly love, and who are now before my eyes, I am comforted to think they are in the hands of pious and beloved parents, who will be solicitous for their welfare, as much as I could ever be; but I feel for the state of public affairs, especially for the Church of Christ in this cavilling and wicked age. Through the goodness of God, however, our doctrine is made public." A little later, addressing some present, he remarked, "God bestows talents on our youth; do you see that they use them aright." And seeing one of his grandchildren near him, he said, "Dear child, I have loved you most affectionately; see that you reverence your parents, and always endeavour to please them, and fear God, who will never forsake you. I pray you may share His constant regard and benediction."

The same day, having searched in vain for a will he had formerly written, he attempted, with the aid of his son-in-law, to compose another, but increasing weakness prevented him from completing it. He also conferred with this relative upon matters relating to the interests of the university, and expressed a wish that Dr. Peucer might be his successor in that institution.

April 19th was his last day upon earth. His thoughts were still upon the disturbed state of the Church, and he offered fervent prayers for its welfare. Shortly after eight o'clock in the morning he re-

peated a form of prayer which he had written for his own daily use, and later on, after an interval of tranquil repose, said to Dr. Peucer, "I have been in the power of death, but the Lord has graciously delivered me." Several passages of Scripture were read to him, and his mind dwelt much on the statements of John: "The world knew Him not . . . but as many as received Him to them gave He power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on His name"; and, "God so loved the world that He sent His only begotten Son into the world, that whosoever believeth on Him might not perish, but have everlasting life."

The end was now near. Upon being asked by Dr. Peucer if he required anything else, he replied: "Nothing else but heaven!" His last audible words were a hearty assent to the prayer of the Psalmist which one of the bystanders had recited: "Into Thine hands I commend my spirit. Thou hast redeemed me, O Lord, Thou God of Truth!"

At a quarter to seven on the evening of the nineteenth he ceased to breath. Quietly, calmly he passed from the field of earthly strife to the repose of heaven, no more to be tormented by acrid controversy or imbittered censure. During his illness he had found comfort in the following thoughts on the blessings procured by death, which he had written on paper, in Latin, in parallel columns:—

"Thou shalt be free from sin.

Free from cares, and from the fury of theologians.

Thou shalt come into the light.

Thou shalt see God, and behold the Son of God.

Thou shalt learn those wonderful mysteries which pass our comprehension in this life, as the cause of our creation and present condition, and the mystery of the union of the divine and human nature in Christ."

Melancthon had passed into the presence of the Eternal, where the placid and gentle spirit, which had been so sorely vexed with the strife of tongues, would find peace, and the powerful intellect an answer to those questions that had eluded its subtle grasp.

Information of Melancthon's death was at once transmitted to the elector, and preparations made for a suitable funeral. For a day and a half the public were admitted to view the remains of the illustrious scholar, and hundreds availed themselves of the permission granted. His body was then placed in a leaden coffin and conveyed by professors of the university to the parish church. Crowds of students, citizens, strangers, and persons of all ranks filled the sacred building, among them being several professors from the University of Leipsic, many of the nobility, and pastors from the churches of the surrounding districts.

The funeral service was conducted by Dr. Paul Eberus, pastor of the church, after which an oration in Latin was delivered in honour of the deceased. Then the coffin was lowered into its position beside that of Martin Luther. There, in the Schlosskirche at Wittemberg, beneath two tablets of bronze inserted in the pavement of the church, lie the ashes of these two eminent servants of the divine Lord, side by side, awaiting the final trumpet call for the resurrection of the dead.

Calumny followed Melancthon for many years after his death, and during the polemical strife of the seventeenth century his name remained under a cloud. But as men's minds cleared and were enlightened by the revival of the evangelic theology, especially in the nineteenth century, the cloud passed away; and to-day there is scarcely a Protestant divine of any note in Europe or America who does not venerate the name of Philip Melancthon.

The tri-centennial celebration of his death was held

at Wittemberg on April, 19th, 1860, when the foundation stone was laid of a noble monument to his memory, erected by the side of that commemorating his friend and leader Luther. The festival oration was delivered by Dr. Nitzsch, of Berlin, the only surviving professor of the once famous University of Wittemberg, this

LUTHER AND MELANCTHON'S MONUMENT AT LEIPSIC.

university having been merged, in 1815, into that of Halle.

At a later date a beautiful monument in bronze was erected at Leipsic in honour of the two friends Luther and Melancthon. There, outside a church, it now stands, one of the adornments of that ancient city.

Of the amazing fertility of Melancthon's pen we

have had traces in the previous pages of this book. His works fill twenty-eight quarto volumes of the *Corpus Reformatorum*, issued 1836-1860, edited by Bretschneider and Bindseil, and published at Halle in Saxony. They are theological, philosophical, and

MELANCTHON'S MONUMENT AT WITTEMBERG.

moral, while some relate to what are usually termed the Belles Lettres, others to the science of education ; and the works of various classical authors formed yet further subjects for his illustration.

His greatest work is the Augsburg Confession, which

is the generally received creed of the Lutheran Church. His *Loci-Communes* passed through five revisions and more than thirty editions before the author's death, and for a long period was used as a text book in the Lutheran universities. His Biblical Commentaries, although surpassed by those of Luther, Calvin, and Beza, were yet extremely popular in their day, and useful in showing the natural sense and evangelical ideas of the Scriptures in support of the Reformation.

Of the character of this truly great and yet childlike man we have already given glimpses. "Nature," says one of his early biographers, "had given Melancthon a peaceable temper, but ill-fitted to the time in which he lived. His moderation became a cross. He was like a lamb amidst wolves. Nobody appreciated his mildness; it looked as if he were lukewarm." Yet in his public capacity he was the model of a Christian scholar. He combined the highest scientific and literary culture which was attainable in that age with an humble and childlike Christian faith. Love to God and man and supreme regard to truth animated and controlled his studies and his whole life. He was emphatically the theologian of the German Reformation, and from posterity received the honourable title Præceptor Germaniæ. He was a man of thought, not of action, and in this differed from Luther, who was great in both.

Speaking of Melancthon's talents and virtues Mosheim states: "Few men of any age can be compared with him, either for learning and knowledge of both human and divine things, or for richness, suavity, and facility of genius, or for industry as a scholar. He performed for philosophy and the other liberal arts what Luther performed for theology—that is, he freed them from the corruptions which they had contracted, restored them, and gave them currency in Germany. He possessed an extraordinary ability to comprehend and to express in clear and simple lan-

guage the most abstruse and difficult subjects, and such as were exceedingly complicated. This power he so happily exerted on subjects pertaining to religion that it may be truly said no literary man by his genius and erudition has done more for their benefit. From his native love of peace he was induced most ardently to wish that religion might be reformed without any public schism, and that the visible brotherhood among Christians might remain entire. And hence it was that he frequently seemed too yielding. . . . In the natural temperament of his mind there was a native softness, tenderness, and timidity. Hence when he had occasion to write or to do anything, he pondered most carefully every circumstance, and often indulged fears where there were no real grounds for them. But on the contrary, when the greatest dangers seemed to impend and the cause of religion was in jeopardy, this timorous man feared nothing and opposed an undaunted mind to his adversaries."

Possessed of a delicate constitution and weak health, he was enabled by the most rigid temperance to pursue his studies with an intenseness of application that is almost incredible. His custom was to retire to rest immediately after an early supper and rise soon after midnight to his labours. He endeavoured as far as possible during the time devoted to rest to dismiss from his mind everything that would tend to disturb his repose, and to this end postponed the reading of any letters brought to him in the evening till the next day. He was civil and obliging to all, at times somewhat irritable, but entirely free from envy, detraction, jealousy, and dissimulation. His principal relaxation from severe study was the conversation of his friends during his meals.

He loved his home, and his child-like nature asserted itself in his love of children. Sad at heart he often was, and tears frequently welled to his eyes; but never was he more effectually comforted than when on one occasion, as he sat weary and sad, his

little daughter Anna climbed upon his knee, and seeing the tears in her father's eyes wiped them away with her pinafore.

That he was not, however, perfectly free from the persecuting spirit of the age in which he lived is evidenced by his approval of the burning of Michael Servetus, who was executed by the Swiss Reformers at Geneva, in 1553.

Monuments have been erected in honour of Philip Melancthon, orations have been delivered in his praise, but the best and most fragrant of all his memorials is the record of his pure and unselfish Christian life, spent in the service of God and in efforts for the elevation of his fellow-men.

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