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VOL. IV.

A SKETCH OF THE REFORMATION.



BOSTON:
JAMES MUNROE AND COMPANY.
1836.

A

# SKETCH

OF

# THE REFORMATION.

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By THOMAS B. FOX.

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BOSTON:
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## ADVERTISEMENT.

The following work is but little more than an abridgment of the labors of others. It is not intended as a substitute for those writers who have given elaborate histories of the Reformation; it is merely sent forth as an invitation to the richer feast which they have provided. For this reason, it has been thought unnecessary to disfigure the volume with notes and references.

To this general acknowledgment it may be well to add, that the account of Zwingle is condensed from the life of that excellent man, translated by Miss Lucy

Aiken from the French of J. G. Hess, and that we are indebted to that lady for the translation of Luther's letters in the Eighth Chapter.

Newburyport, April 8, 1836.

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## CHAPTER XXI.

# SKETCH

OF

# THE REFORMATION.

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## INTRODUCTION.

After the ascension of our Saviour, the Apostles and their successors preached the Gospel in various parts of the Roman Empire. Their labors were attended with great success. Converts were made and assemblies of Christians collected in many places. It soon, therefore, became necessary to appoint regular teachers to conduct the worship, to instruct, and to superintend the affairs of the churches. In process of time several of their churches were placed together under the general care of some one person, called a bishop. These officers were, at first, simple and frugal in their habits, mild and limited in the exercise of their authority. But when Christianity was adopted by Constantine as the religion of the Empire, and the number and wealth of the

churches increased, the character of the clergy was greatly changed: they became ambitious, and fond of luxury and dominion.

The bishops of Rome and Constantinople, from their residence in the two largest cities in Europe, acquired great wealth and power, and were consequently regarded as superior to the other ecclesiastics. The former of these dignitaries claimed the supreme power in religious matters. This claim was resisted by the bishop of Constantinople; and thus arose the great quarrel which ended in the division of Christendom into the Roman and Greek churches.

After this schism, the bishops of Rome were reverenced by Western Europe as the heads of the church, and were known by the name of Popes. These popes maintained their right to dominion, on the ground that they were the successors of St. Peter, who suffered martyrdom at Rome, and who, (according to their interpretation of Matthew, xvi. 13–19,) was appointed by Christ to be chief among the Apostles.

Some of the occupants of the papal throne were men of learning and piety; but many of them were crafty and wicked, and took advantage of the ignorance and superstition of the people to increase their power and wealth. They claimed infallibility as the interpreters of Scripture, — the authority to forgive sins, — and the

right to excuse, whenever they chose, the subjects of any monarch from the fulfilment of their oaths of allegiance. In short, such was the blindness and degradation of men, during the middle ages, that the popes succeeded in obtaining almost unlimited control over the temporal and spiritual affairs of Europe. Kings and emperors knelt at their feet, and bestowed upon them their treasures. All matters of faith were decided by their voice. They were looked upon as the representatives of Christ and the vicegerents of God upon earth. They were supposed to hold the keys of heaven, and to be able by their decrees to consign all who resisted their commands to eternal misery. Their sway was despotic and almost unlimited.

It must not be supposed, however, that this authority was obtained at once, or that it was never called in question. The popes advanced to their lofty station by successive efforts; and when they at last reached it, such corruptions of Christianity and such wickedness in manners prevailed in the church, that the indignation of good men was at times aroused, and endeavours were made to procure a reform. But these noble exertions failed almost entirely, and nothing effectual was done to break the oppressive rod of the Roman Pontiffs, until the commencement of the sixteenth century, when a revolution occurred which put an end to their tyranny over a large part of Christendom.

Previous to this event the foundations of popery seemed to be fixed and firm. Its dominion was acknowledged on the Continent of Europe and in England, Ireland, and Scotland. The people were sitting in the gross darkness of ignorance. Many of the clergy were unable to read or write; some had never seen a Bible, and the larger portion were only partially acquainted with the New Testament. Instead of being faithful preachers of the simple truths of the Gospel, they entertained their hearers with fanciful lives of the Saints and fictitious stories of their wonderful miracles. Instead of being diligent and exemplary pastors, they were abandoned to all kinds of vice, and engaged in selling relics, and in extorting money on various pretences from their wretched flocks. All Europe groaned under this burthen of sin and error. Pure and simple Christianity was unknown; and a corrupt church spread desolation over the land.

In the fifteenth century, events took place which served in some measure to change the degraded condition of Christendom, and to prepare the way for better things. The long night of ignorance began to break away before the gradual revival of learning. Constantinople was conquered by the Turks in 1453; and the learned men who had made that city their residence were forced to seek new homes in Ger-

many, France, and Italy. This emigration helped to increase the attention then beginning to be paid to the ancient languages, and to awaken a taste for knowledge. A number of new universities were founded, and many of the princes of Europe became the patrons of learning.

This beneficial change was also in part caused and greatly promoted by the recent discovery of the art of printing. Before the invention of types, the labors of scholars were shut up in manuscripts, and acce sible only to the few. The effects, of public debates, then the usual mode of carrying on discussions, were almost wholly confined to those who were so fortunate as to hear them. But the press opened a new channel of communication between mind and mind, and gave the inquirer the ability to spread abroad among the multitude the results of his investigations.

To the revival of learning and the discovery of the art of printing, we may perhaps add the discovery of America, as another event which contributed to bring about a beneficial change in the condition of Europe. The birth, as it were, of a new world, awakened the curiosity, aroused the enterprise, and excited the ambition of men. Their minds were expanded, and an impulse was given, which extended the boundaries of science and encouraged a spirit of inquiry.

The young reader will find no difficulty in comprehending the manner in which the events just referred to exerted a beneficial influence on the religious state of the world, and gave strength and weapons to those who were anxious to throw off the papal yoke. The vast power of the Romish Church was owing to the ignorance of her subjects, and especially to their ignorance of the Holy Scriptures. She was able to impose upon them her absurdities and corruptions, as the religion of Jesus, because they had no means by which to ascertain the true character of that religion. Her priesthood were upheld by superstition. The glory of her fabrics depended upon the obscure medium, through which they were seen by her half-blind admirers; when light was thrown upon them, and the eyes of beholders began to open, their deformity and rottenness were at once discovered. Men saw how much they had been deceived, and felt how much they were oppressed. A fit occasion was only needed for the commencement of a struggle between liberty and despotism, truth and error. That occasion was soon furnished, and a conflict began — a conflict not yet finished, and to which we may attribute much of the civil and religious freedom now enjoyed by the world.

The commencement of this struggle in the sixteenth century, by which the pretensions of

popery were resisted, and a large portion of Christendom separated from the Romish Church, is called THE REFORMATION. The history of this event is justly regarded as among the most important and instructive in the annals of mankind; and should the humble sketch, which follows, induce the young reader to give to it a more thorough and attentive study, and increase his devotion to the great principles of Protestantism, the design of its preparation will be accomplished.

## CHAPTER I.

THE BIRTH, EARLY LIFE, AND PERSONAL APPEARANCE OF LUTHER — INDULGENCES — TETZEL — 1483 - 1517.

THE simplest and most entertaining way in which to give a sketch of the Reformation, will be to follow, for the most part, the career of the principal actors in that great event. We begin, therefore, in Germany, and with Martin Luther.

This celebrated man, the son of John Luther and Margaret Luideman, was born November 10th, 1483, at Eisleben, a town of the county of Mansfeldt in Upper Saxony, where his father resided, and pursued the humble occupation of a miner. He learned the rudiments of grammar and received his first religious instruction at home. At the age of ten, he attended school at Magdeburg; but receiving there no pecuniary assistance, he removed to Eisnach, in the hope of being aided by the relations of his mother, who was descended from a respectable family in that city. This expectation was for a time disappointed, and he was compelled, like other poor students, to gain the means of living by singing before the doors of houses; this he called his "bread music." He once, however, attracted

the attention of a kind kinswoman, who generously provided for his maintenance. His progress in his studies was rapid, and in 1501 he entered the University of Erfurt, where he attended the regular lectures on logic and philosophy. The mode in which these branches were taught, did not satisfy the clear and curious mind of the young student, and he devoted much of his time to the classics. At the early age of twenty he took his degree, and after devoting himself to the business of teaching for a little while, began the study of civil law.

But an incident occurred about this time which entirely changed his purposes. One of his intimate friends, a young man by the name of Alexis, suddenly died. Historians have not ascertained with certainty the manner of his death. Some say that he was killed by a stroke of lightning, whilst others suppose that he was assassinated. Something there was mysterious or remarkable about the event, for it made a deep impression upon the mind of Luther, and determined him in the choice of a monastic life. His father said a great deal to dissuade him from this purpose; but in vain. Martin declared that he had received a terrible call from heaven, and that he felt bound to give himself to the service of the Church. "Take care," answered his father, "that you are not ensnared by the delusion of

the devil." Luther adhered to his resolution: "One evening he called together his friends and fellow students, entertained them with music and a supper, and urged them to be cheerful, for it was the last time they would see him in his present situation."

Luther retired to an Augustine monastery, and submitted to all the vigils and penances imposed by the Church. During his noviciate, that is, before he became a priest, he is said to have found in the library of the house a complete copy of the Bible in Latin. He eagerly devoted himself to its perusal, and was suprised and delighted when he discovered that it contained much more than the collection of extracts from that sacred book then in use among the clergy. At the expiration of a year he was ordained. The next year he was appointed a professor in the University of Wittemberg. He entered immediately upon the duties of his office, and soon became so popular as an instructer and preacher, that one of the most learned men of the day exclaimed, "this monk will confound all the Doctors, will exhibit new doctrine, and reform the whole Roman Church; for he is intent on reading the writings of the prophets, and he depends on the word of Jesus Christ; this neither the philosophers, nor the sophists, can subvert."

In 1510, Luther was sent to Rome as an agent for his monastery, and whilst there became more fully acquainted with the corrupt state of the Church. With sorrow and indignation he heard the religious services hurried over in a most indecent manner, and observed the indolent habits and gross conduct of the clergy. He did not regret this visit, as it gave him an opportunity to see with his own eyes the real character of the Papal Court; and he came home convinced that it was no place for a sincere and serious pastor. On his return he received with some reluctance the degree of Doctor of Divinity; the usual fees having been paid by the Elector of Saxony as a mark of esteem for his learning and piety.

Such is a brief outline of Luther's life, up to the time when he appeared in the character of a reformer; we will here add to it a few general remarks on his personal appearance and his acquirements.

"He was," we are told, "remarkably strong and healthy, with a sanguine, bilious temperament, and all the robustness and industry of a German. His eyes were piercing and full of fire. His voice was sweet and vehement when once fairly raised." "As he was neither a little nor a weak man," writes his friend Melancthon, "I have often been astonished to observe how little meat or drink he seemed to require. I have seen

him, when he was in perfect health, absolutely neither eat nor drink during four days together: at other times, I have seen him for many days be content with the slight allowance of a very little bread and a herring on each day." Horticulture was one of his amusements. Requesting a friend to procure him some seeds, he said, "While Satan rages I will laugh at him, and enjoy my Creator in the garden." At one time he applied himself to a turner's trade, giving as a reason for it, "that he might, if the world did not support him, be able to earn his bread by the labor of his hands."

Both friends and enemies held Luther to be a man of talents and learning. Erasmus, the most famous scholar of that age, frequently spoke of him with great commendation, until he was involved in a controversy with him, when he endeavoured to undervalue his merits. In one of his letters, he expressed the belief "that God had sent Luther to reform mankind." In another, he remarked that "the cause of Luther was invidious, because he at once attacked the stomachs of the monks and the diadem of the pope." Writing to one of the Cardinals, he admits "his great natural abilities, his genius for the explanation of difficult subjects," and adds, "that men of the soundest learning were much pleased with his works." "Pomeranus," says Melancthon, "is a

grammarian and explains the force of words; I profess logic, and teach both the management of the matter and the nature of arguments; Justus Jonas is an orator, and discourses with copiousness and elegance; but Luther is *Omnia in Omnibus*, complete in every thing; a very miracle among men; whatever he says, whatever he writes, penetrates their minds and leaves the most astonishing stings in their hearts." This, perhaps, is the exaggerated praise of friendship; but there can be no doubt, that by his knowledge of the Scriptures and of the history of the church, by his argumentative skill, depth of thought, and command of vigorous language, the Saxon monk was well qualified for his great task: in these respects too he was constantly improving by diligent study and extensive reading.

The intrepid spirit of Luther was first aroused by the gross abuse of the doctrine of indulgences. This tenet affirmed that Christ had atoned only for the eternal punishment of sin, and that all who obtained salvation must endure a temporal punishment for their transgressions, either by performing here certain penances, inflicted by the church, or by suffering the pains of purgatory in another world. From this latter retribution, however, it was taught, the Pope had power to excuse the sinner. This power was thus acquired: the good works of the Saints, over and

above what was necessary to their own salvation, together with the merits of the Saviour, were supposed to form an inexhaustible treasure, committed to the successors of St. Peter, who might for money transfer a portion of it to any person, and thus release him from all danger of punishment. It was common, in the times of which we are writing, when the administration of justice was imperfect, to refrain from enforcing upon criminals the penalties of the law, provided they would pay suitable fines. This practice had a tendency to reconcile men, in some measure, to the strange doctrine just described. Accordingly it was widely promulgated, and added much to the revenues of the Church. Whenever the papal coffers needed replenishing, it was quite customary to send out a new emission of *indulgences*, or pieces of parchment, in which the Pope promised the purchasers of them absolution from the punishment due to the sins therein mentioned. The right to traffic in these indulgences was granted to certain agents, and thus they became a sort of commercial commodity. Merchants bought them by the package to retail them in the various towns and provinces. The business grew to be so important and general, that a book was published stating the precise sum asked for the pardon of specified sins. According to this "price current," a deacon was

absolved from the guilt of murder for twenty crowns; a bishop might assassinate for three hundred livres; unchastity in a clergyman was taxed at a third of the last mentioned sum, and so on. Indulgences, corresponding to these rates, were hawked about by bold and impudent men, who recommended these wares as superseding the necessity of repentance or reformation.

In 1517, Leo X., who then filled the papal throne, in order to collect funds for the completion of St. Peter's Church at Rome, coined a new lot of indulgences. The right to dispose of these in Saxony, with a share of the profits, was given to Albert, Archbishop of Mentz, who employed as his agent a Dominican monk, named John Tetzel. This man, already notorious for his skill in such business, as well as for his abandoned character, began the work boldly. He pretended to have power to absolve his customers from any crimes, however enormous. He could release them, he said, from the fires of purgatory, and give them an entrance into paradise. He assured those who sought the salvation of their deceased relatives, "that the moment the money tinkled in his chest, the souls of their fathers mounted up out of purgatory." "Lo the heavens are open," such was his style of preaching, "if you enter not now, when will you enter? For twelve pence you may redeem the soul of your

father; and are you so ungrateful that you will not rescue your parent from torment? If you had but one coat, you ought to strip yourself instantly, in order to purchase such benefits."

Conduct so shameless excited great indignation, and gave rise to many complaints on the part of the princes, whose subjects were deluded and impoverished by the unprincipled monk. Their irritation was sometimes exhibited in a ludicrous manner. On one occasion, while Tetzel was carrying on his trade at Leipsic, a certain nobleman asked "if he could grant absolution for a sin which a man intended to commit." "Certainly," replied the monk, "if the money be paid down." This was done, and the applicant received a diploma, duly signed and sealed, absolving him from the unknown crime. A short time afterward, as Tetzel was departing from the city, he was waylaid, robbed, and well beaten by the nobleman, who left him with this remark: "This is the sin I intended to commit, and for which I have your absolution in my pocket."

Tetzel soon came in contact with Luther. Some of the citizens of Wittemberg, who came to the Reformer to make the confessions required by the Church, refused to perform the penances he imposed, alleging in justification of themselves, that they had already purchased forgiveness for their sins. This occurrence at once

alarmed Luther, and called forth his indignation. He intimated from the pulpit the danger of trusting to the diplomas of Tetzel for salvation. Afterward, ignorant probably of his participation in the affair, he wrote to the Archbishop of Mentz, urging him to put a stop to the nefarious traffic: and finally, he posted up on one of the churches a paper containing ninety-five propositions against indulgences, and, as was then the custom, challenged any one to prove their falsehood, either in writing or in a public disputation. In this paper he did not absolutely deny the power to grant indulgences, but contented himself with pointing out its gross abuse. It is worthy of observation also, that he closed with expressions of reverence for the Pope and of entire submission to his authority; so little suspicion did he then have of the consequences to which the step he had taken would lead, and of the important part he was about to act, in diminishing the power of the Roman Church.

But the hour for reform had arrived. The people were, in some measure, prepared for a change, and the public ear was open to the reception of truth. Men had begun to think and reflect; they felt the tyranny of the Pope; they saw the profligate character of the clergy; they thirsted for a purer faith; and they only waited for the appearance of a fit leader, to wage war

against their spiritual oppressors. That leader had now arisen; his sentiments were spread abroad, and his note of alarm was echoed from every side.

## CHAPTER II.

PROGRESS OF THE CONTROVERSY CONCERNING INDULGENCES — CONDUCT OF THE POPE — LUTHER'S INTERVIEWS WITH CAJETAN, AND MILTITZ — DISPUTE AT LEIPSIC — LUTHER EXCOMMUNICATED — BURNS THE PAPAL BULL — 1517-1520.

THE bold conduct of Luther greatly incensed Tetzel. He denounced the fearless monk as a heretic: answered his attack in a publication containing one hundred and six propositions: and publicly burnt his challenge at Frankfort. Some of the zealous students of the university resented this last action, and, by way of retaliation, committed to the flames the writings of Tetzel. But their conduct on this occasion was severely censured by Luther; "he knew better," he said, "the rules of ecclesiastical subordination, and had more regard to his own character, than to stigmatize in such a manner a person so high in office." He did not, however, retreat from the position he had taken, but continued to write, and preach, and to expose with great plainness the growing abuse. Wherever he went he bore strong and faithful testimony against a corruption, so injurious to the souls of men and the good of the Church. This courageous deportment

led to the belief, that he was even thus early secretly encouraged by the Elector of Saxony. This impression he took care to contradict; "he desired to stand alone the shock of the contest, and protested that property, reputation, and honors were of no estimation with him, compared with the defence of the truth."

The Dominican monks felt that their whole order had been insulted in the person of their brother Tetzel, and they began to pour out their rage upon Luther, and to urge the Pope to crush him. At first, Leo resisted their importunities; "brother Martin," was the reply he made, "is a man of very fine genius, and these squabbles are the mere effusions of monastic envy." But his Holiness soon found it necessary to abandon his wit and tone of indifference. The matter was found to be serious. Not only the venders of indulgences cried out against the man who had interrupted their traffic, but even the Emperor, Maximilian I. represented the heresy as dangerous and popular. Decided measures were loudly called for; and the Pontiff, with a rashness equal to his previous apathy, summoned Luther to appear at Rome within sixty days, and answer to the charges brought against him. He also wrote to the Elector of Saxony to obtain his assistance in securing the person of the heretic. Frederic was a man of much caution, and not prepared as

yet to support the reformer openly; but he was also a man of too much wisdom and too strict a sense of justice, to allow him to be condemned without a fair trial, and accordingly, in compliance with the wishes of Luther's friends, he insisted that his cause should be heard in Germany. To this arrangement the Pope was obliged to consent, and he ordered Luther to appear before his legate, Cardinal Cajetan, then attending the Diet at Augsburg.*

* All the knowledge concerning the government of the German Empire, which the reader will need in order to understand the allusions to it in this sketch, will probably be found in the following extracts from Robertson's History of the Reign of Charles V. vol. I, pages 184, 187.

"It (the German Empire) was a complex body, formed by the association of several States, each of which possessed sovereign and independent jurisdiction within its own territories. Of all the members which composed this united body the Emperor was the head. In his name, all decrees and regulations with respect to points of common concern were issued; and to him the power of carrying them into execution was committed. But this appearance of monarchical power in the Emperor was more than counter-balanced by the influence of the Princes and states of the empire, in every act of administration. No law extending to the whole body could pass, no resolution that affected the general interest could be taken, without the approbation of *the Diet* of the empire. In this assembly, every sovereign prince and state of the Germanic body had a right to be present, to deliberate, and to vote. The decrees or *Recesses* of the Diet, were

Having obtained assurances of his safety from the Emperor, the Reformer arrived at the place appointed, October, 1518, and had several interviews with his judge. At first he was mildly admonished to confess his errors. In reply he requested to have those errors pointed out. They were declared to be the denial of certain doctrines concerning indulgences, set forth in the decrees of the popes. To this Luther answered, that these decrees were of inferior authority to the Scriptures, which no where countenanced such doctrines. The legate urged that the Pope alone could decide upon the meaning of the Scriptures. The Reformer asked time for reflection and retired.

When he again appeared before Cajetan, he expressed his attachment to the Pope, and offered

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the laws of the empire, which the emperor was bound to ratify and enforce."

"During a long period all the members of the Germanic body assembled, and made choice of the person whom they appointed to be their head. But amidst the violence and anarchy which prevailed for several centuries in the empire, seven princes, who possessed the most extensive territories, and who had obtained an hereditary title to the great offices of State, acquired the exclusive privilege of nominating the Emperor, and they were dignified with the appellation of *Electors*."

The Elector of Saxony was one of the seven princes above mentioned, and derived his title from that circumstance.

to submit to the lawful determination of the Church, and to retract his errors the moment they were shown to be inconsistent with the Bible. All this was of no avail. The legate insisted upon an unconditional recantation. "Every thing," as Luther afterward said, "would, I doubt not, have been settled in the most peaceable and affectionate manner, if I would have but written down six letters, *Revoco, I recant.*" This, notwithstanding the advice of some of his more timid friends, he nobly refused to do. He waited a few days for another message from the Cardinal; but he received none, and, being fearful of violence to his person, he, according to a legal usage, appealed from the Pope ill-informed, to the Pope better-informed; an act, by which he still admitted the jurisdiction of the Pontiff, although he denied that of his legate. Having taken this step in compliance with the recommendation of his lawyers, he left the city. A friendly senator ordered the gate to be opened, and he departed on horseback. He rode without boots, spurs, or sword, and was so fatigued with his journey, that when he alighted at night, he fell instantly down among the straw in the stable.

The reader will naturally suppose that in these interviews with Cajetan, Luther made every proper concession. He did not call in question the in-

fallibility of the Pope. He even offered to be silent on the subject of Indulgences, provided his opponents were ordered to be so likewise. The only point upon which he insisted was the *sufficiency of the Scriptures;* that is, he strenuously contended for the principle, now admitted by all Protestants,—that the Bible is the supreme authority in matters of faith, and that the truth or falsehood of all doctrines and creeds must be decided by an appeal to its declarations. But by contending for this principle his enemies knew that he was striking a fatal blow at the very foundations of the papal power. It was no part of their policy to have their acts or instructions tried by an appeal to the sacred volume; and they determined, if possible, to destroy the obstinate heretic.

Not long after this conference at Augsburg, Leo issued a new edict, in which he required all his subjects to believe that he had power to forgive sins. Luther looked upon this act as a reiteration, to its full extent, of the doctrine of indulgences. He was satisfied that he had no mercy to hope from Rome, and immediately appealed from the decisions of the Pope to a future council of the whole Church.

The contest between the Reformers and the Romanists may be considered as now fairly begun. For a while the papal court changed its

policy. The fearless character of Luther, and the number of his followers, convinced the Pope that threats and severity alone would not put out the heresy; negotiations were therefore renewed by a new agent, Charles Miltitz, a Saxon Knight, who was sent to conciliate the Elector Frederic, and to settle, if possible, the dispute concerning indulgences. Frederic received this ambassador with caution, and accepted with some indifference a golden consecrated rose; a present much esteemed in those days as a mark of papal favor.

The interview between Miltitz and Luther seemed, at first, to promise an amicable adjustment of the matters in dispute. An account of their meeting is thus given by the Reformer himself. "Charles Miltitz saw me at Altenburg, and complained, that I had united the whole world to myself, and drawn it aside from the Pope; that he had discovered this at the inns, as he travelled. 'Martin,' said he, 'I took you for some solitary old theologian; whereas I find you a person in all the vigor of life. Then you are so much favored with the popular opinion, that I could not expect, with the help of twenty-five thousand soldiers, to force you with me to Rome.' After this flattery, he intreated me to consult for pacific measures, and promised that he would endeavour that the Pope should do the

same. We supped together, and I was treated with the greatest courtesy. I conducted myself in such a manner as if I had not seen through these Italian arts. I could only promise that I would do all, which I could do consistently with truth and a good conscience; that I also loved peace, and was driven into these broils by mere necessity. This Charles Miltitz was esteemed a frivolous character, and his advice was frivolous; nevertheless it is my judgment, that if the friends of papacy and the Pope himself had treated me in this manner at first, matters would never have come to so great a rupture. Instead of that, the Pope condemned me unheard, and raged with his *Bulls:* and the crafty Archbishop of Mentz became the dupe of his own cunning."

The result of this interview between Luther and Miltitz was, that the latter censured the behaviour of Tetzel, and admitted that the traffic in indulgences had been abused; the former consented to write a civil, and to some extent a submissive, letter to the Pope, expressing his willingness to be at peace with the holy see. But the light which was breaking forth was not to be extinguished; the blind zeal of the papists soon brought on new conflicts.

The famous dispute at Leipzic, which occurred about this time, widened the breach which sep-

arated the contending parties. Before the invention of printing, as we have already hinted, controversies were carried on by public debates. Taking advantage of this custom, which was not yet discontinued, John Eccius, a divine of brilliant talents and eloquent delivery, being anxious to distinguish himself as an advocate of the Romish Church, challenged Carolstadt, one of Luther's associates, to hold a discussion upon some of the doctrines denied by the Reformers. The challenge was accepted, and the parties met at the above-mentioned city, which was under the government of Duke George, a zealous Catholic. The debate was ably sustained for several days, in the presence of a large and splendid auditory. Luther was present as a companion of his friend, but forbidden to take any part in the contest, on pain of losing the safe conduct which had been granted to him. Both combatants gained credit for their performances. The papist, it is said, had the advantage in fluency and animation, while his opponent showed the most learning; the victory was claimed by both parties.

Eccius, flushed with his success and encouraged by the praise of his friends, now sought a more powerful antagonist. "He visited Luther, and addressing him with an air of confidence, said; — 'I understand you will not dispute with

me.' 'How can I,' he replied, 'when the Duke refuses me my request of a safe conduct?' Eccius answered, 'If I am not to combat with you, I will spend no more time on Carolstadt. It was on *your* account I came here. Suppose I could obtain the protection you require, would you then meet me and try your strength?' Luther consented, and leave was soon granted him to take the place of his colleague."

The second debate lasted ten days. Among many other subjects, which we need not detail, the doctrines of Purgatory, or an intermediate state of existence and retribution before the last judgment in another world, — of Indulgences, and of the Supremacy of the Pope, were warmly discussed. We have room only to state the opinions of Luther on these points, in order to show how gradual was his separation from the Romish Church. With regard to Purgatory, he admitted his belief in it, although the fact did not appear to be clearly taught by revelation. His opponent having allowed that Indulgences were not to be entirely *relied on*, he immediately took advantage of this concession; speaking afterwards of this part of the debate, "he declared that he could nearly agree to the explanation of Eccius, and that had the proclaimers of indulgences held the same view of the matter at the time of vending them, the name of Luther would probably have

remained unknown; for if the people had been informed that the diplomas they purchased were not to be *relied on*, these imaginary pardons would have lost all their reputation, and the commissioners who conducted the sale of them would have died of hunger."

The remaining point, the supremacy of the Pope, was a subject of no little embarrassment to the Reformer. His own opinions about it were not settled. He was almost, if not quite, convinced, that the claims of the bishop of Rome were unsupported by the Scriptures; but he thought it necessary to reverence the "powers that be." He therefore took a middle course. When Eccius brought forward, as proofs of the supremacy of St. Peter and his successors the popes, the expressions in the sixteenth chapter of Matthew, ("Thou art Peter,* and upon this rock will I build my Church," "And I will give unto thee the keys;") Luther answered; "that such an interpretation was confuted by St. Peter and St. Paul themselves, who say that Jesus Christ is the only foundation and corner stone of his Church." "He urged further, that the words, construed strictly, must be confined to the apos-

* In the Greek the name of Peter (πετρος) signifies a *rock:* there is, therefore, in the original a "play upon words," which is not preserved in a translation.

tle to whom they were addressed, and therefore the authority conveyed by them ceased when he died; and that if their meaning was to be extended to the Church and to St. Peter's successors, no reason could be given why *all* the apostles and *all* their successors should not be understood to be the successors of St. Peter." "He even went so far as to affirm, that all the arguments, which could be adduced to prove the superiority of the Church of Rome over other Churches, were taken from the decrees of the popes themselves, and that these decrees were expressly contradicted by numerous passages in the Bible." "Notwithstanding all this, he was not quite ready to deny altogether the authority of the pontiffs. He would not allow their *divine right*, as vicars of Christ; but since they had held preëminence from age to age, and since the whole body of Christians admitted their authority, it seemed to be the will of God that they should reign, and he felt disposed to allow the supremacy of the Pope, as founded on human reasons."

The argument of Luther evidently made an impression upon his hearers; for we are told, that even the Catholic Duke alluded to it. As he sat at dinner, after the debate, between the two disputants, he laid his hands upon the shoulders of each, and said: "Sive jure divino

sive humano sit papa, est tamen papa," — that is, "whether he be Pope by divine or human right, nevertheless he is Pope."

The consequences of this contest were in some aspects favorable, and in others adverse, to the cause of reform. The judge refused to decide to whom the victory belonged. Some of Luther's friends were alarmed at his boldness, and the Romish party rejoiced that he had now, as they thought, by a public avowal of his heretical opinions, put himself in their power. But the learning and talent displayed by the fearless monk, which extorted a compliment even from his adversary, had great effect on many minds. The severe measures, too, immediately taken by his enemies, by which an end was put to all the attempts of Miltitz to make peace, clearly show, that they looked upon Luther as no mean foe to their authority. Eccius hastened to Rome, and there urged the condemnation of his opponent; and his counsel was seconded by the Dominican monks. Leo yielded to their advice, and on the 15th of June, 1520, issued a *bull*, denouncing Luther's opinions, and excommunicating him as an obstinate heretic, unless he recanted his errors, and returned penitent to his duties, within sixty days.

The Reformer was now persuaded that all hope of a reconciliation was vain, and deter-

mined to withdraw from the Romish Communion. To prepare the way for this bold step, he sent out several new publications. One book was aimed at "the bull," in which he stigmatized it as execrable, and called his holiness the "man of sin" predicted in the New Testament. He wrote another book, called "The Captivity of Babylon," in which he lamented the concessions he had made two years before; "his eyes," he said, "were now open; he saw clearly, that the doctrine of indulgences was a wicked imposition to get money; that the supremacy of the Pope was to be defended neither by divine right, nor on human reasons; but, on the contrary, that Rome was the capital of the kingdom of Anti-Christ." This publication was followed by a third, written in German, wherein he exposed the vices and ambition of the papal court, and endeavoured to convince his countrymen of its odious and tyrannical character.

These books, being well received and widely circulated, he was emboldened to signify, by an act no less daring than public, his entire separation from the Church of Rome. On the 10th of December, 1520, the professors and students of the University, and an immense concourse of spectators, were assembled outside the walls of the city of Wittemberg. A fire, kindled for the purpose, blazed up in the centre of the crowd.

Luther came upon the ground, and uttering these words — "Because thou hast troubled the holy one of God, let eternal fire trouble thee," — he cast into the flames the bull of excommunication. His example was followed in many parts of Germany. The thunders of Rome had lost much of their terror, and the new-born desire for freedom was every where gaining strength. The ranks of the Reformers were swelled by a great increase of numbers, and the final success of their efforts hardly admitted of a doubt.

## CHAPTER III.

CHARLES V. CHOSEN EMPEROR—DIET AT WORMS—LUTHER'S SECLUSION IN THE CASTLE OF WARTBURG—MELANCTHON—1519-1522.

ABOUT the time of Luther's public separation from the Church of Rome, a change took place in the government of the German Empire. The Emperor Maximilian died, January 12th, 1519. During the interregnum which followed, and until the coronation of his successor, the Reformers prospered greatly under the tolerant sway of the Elector of Saxony. Students flocked from all quarters to attend the lectures at Wittemberg. The tracts and sermons of Luther and his associates were read and heard by multitudes, and a great revolution was going on in the religious views of the people. This progress was, however, somewhat checked by the choice of a new Emperor.

Charles V. of Spain, and Francis I. of France, the two greatest monarchs in Europe, were rival aspirants for the vacant throne. For some time, the electors were averse to the pretensions of both these royal candidates. They felt unwilling to trust the sceptre to any foreign prince, and consequently by the first ballot they made

choice of Frederic the Wise, of Saxony. But this nobleman, sacrificing his personal ambition to the good of the country, magnanimously declined the appointment. He thought the state of affairs demanded the election of some powerful monarch, and gave his influence in favor of Charles, as the only sovereign, in his opinion, capable of maintaining the dignity of the empire. Such disinterested and patriotic conduct won the admiration of his colleagues; they listened to his advice, and on the 28th of July, unanimously agreed to bestow the imperial crown upon the king of Spain.

During the contest for the German throne, Charles had sedulously courted the assistance of Leo X. The friendship of the Pontiff was still of importance to him, since his rival Francis was frowning with indignation at his late disappointment, and only waited for a plausible pretext to commence hostilities. Of this fact, the Pope was well aware, and consequently he immediately determined to profit by it. He called upon the Emperor as the Defender of the Faith, to punish the heretical Luther without delay. But Charles was under too great and too recent obligations to Frederic of Saxony, by whom the Reformer and his followers were supposed to be countenanced, to venture rashly upon so decided a measure. It would have been not only un-

grateful, but unsafe, to condemn without a hearing the subject of a Prince, to whom he was indebted for his new kingdom. He resolved to give Luther a fair trial, and to refer the controversy between him and the Pope to a diet or convention of the German princes, which was soon to meet at Worms.

Luther was immediately ordered to appear before this tribunal; and having obtained assurances of his safety from the emperor, he prepared to set out on his journey. Many of his friends endeavoured to dissuade him from this undertaking. They feared that, notwithstanding the safe-conduct which had been granted, his adversaries, when they once had him in their power, might be tempted to put him to death. The Reformer refused to listen to their suspicion, and on one occasion, he declared that, "he would go to Worms, if there were as many devils there as tiles on the roofs of the houses." Animated by such boldness and zeal, he pursued his way, stopping at the large towns through which he passed, sometimes to preach, and sometimes to enjoy musical entertainments and other recreations. He arrived at the city on the 18th of April, and the next day was conducted to the diet by the marshal of the empire. Two questions were then put to him; 1. Whether he acknowledged certain books, which were laid

before him, to be his writings? 2. Whether he was ready to recant the opinions they contained? After hearing the titles of the volumes read over, he answered the first of these inquiries in the affirmative. With regard to the second, he requested time for deliberation, and then retired. On the morrow, he again appeared, and replied at length to the interrogatories. "His books," he said, "were of different kinds. Some treated of a Christian's faith and life; others were directed against papacy and its defenders. The former he could not renounce, because even his enemies admitted that they contained much good matter. The latter he could not renounce, unless convinced, by sound argument or the word of God, that they were contrary to the truth." This speech did not satisfy his opponents; and being repeatedly exhorted to acknowledge his errors, he closed the debate with these words: "*Here I stand: I can say no more: God help me. Amen.*"

Luther did not again appear before the Diet. The Emperor caused him to be informed, that unless he would be reconciled to the Church, he must do as the laws required. Accordingly, at the close of the session, a bill was passed, by virtue of which, "after the twenty-one days of safe-conduct expired, no man might harbour or conceal Luther, on pain of treason; but whosoever should

find him in any place, was to apprehend and deliver him up to the Emperor; and all his adherents were to be seized in the public streets, imprisoned, and stript of all their goods." This edict, severe as it was in appearance, had but little effect. If Charles was earnest to enforce it, — a supposition that appears very improbable, when it is remembered how much he was indebted to the Elector of Saxony, who favored the Reformer, — political affairs of great importance which demanded his immediate attention, and the increasing popularity of the new opinions, prevented him from proceeding to extremities. Some historians even suppose, that the Emperor connived at the plan which was adopted to protect the heretic; whether he did so or not, certain it is that the Edict of Worms was never executed.

To preserve his outlawed subject from harm, until the storm should blow over, Frederic the Wise contrived the following expedient. Soon after Luther left the city on his return home, the Elector caused him to be way-laid by a band of disguised horsemen, and carried to the Castle of Wartburg, a strong-hold in the mountains, built about the year 1069, which is still standing; the room occupied by the Reformer, is now pointed out to visitors. Whilst Luther resided in this place, he wore the dress of a country gentleman, suffered his hair and beard to

grow, and assumed the name of Yonkee George. Occasionally he accompanied the hunters in their excursions after game; but, from the following extract of a letter to a friend, it appears that such an amusement was little to his taste. "Give yourself no concern in regard to my suffering in this exile. It is of no consequence to me, provided I am not burthensome to the people of this house. I suppose the prince supports me, otherwise I would not stay an hour here. Lately I spent two days in witnessing the painful pleasure of those famous people called hunters and fowlers. We caught two hares and some miserable young partridges. Laudable employment indeed for men of leisure! For my part, theological subjects occupied my thoughts even while I was among the dogs and nets. And any pleasure that I might receive from this species of relaxation was fully balanced, by the sentiments of grief and pity excited in my mind by an interpretation which I could not but give to the symbolical scenes at that time under my contemplation. This, thought I, is an exact representation of Satan, who by his snares and his dogs, namely the corrupt theologians and ecclesiastical rulers, pursues and entangles simple, faithful souls, in the same way that harmless hares and partridges are taken. The similitude was so striking as to affect me exceedingly."

Luther called the castle his Patmos, after the island to which the Apostle John is supposed to have been banished. He felt his confinement severely and declared, "that for the glory of the word of God, and for the mutual confirmation of himself and others, he would rather burn on coals, than live there alone." Notwithstanding this appearance of despondency, he was far from being idle. He wrote many letters and several little treatises. He also commenced his celebrated translation of the Bible into German: a work whose value we can in some degree estimate, when we are told that the divines of the university at Paris had maintained before Parliament, that "religion was undone if the study of Greek and Hebrew was permitted," — and that a monkish writer uttered such a sentiment as this, — "a new language has been invented, which is called Greek; guard carefully against it; it is the mother of every species of heresy. I observe in the hands of a great many people, a book written in this language, which they call the New-Testament. It is a book full of thorns and serpents. With respect to Hebrew, it is certain, my dear brethren, that whoever learns it, immediately becomes a Jew."

While Luther remained in seclusion, his place at Wittemberg was filled by a learned and amiable man, who was of great service to the Refor-

mation. This individual was Philip Melancthon, who was born at Bretten, a town in the province of the Rhine. His father was keeper of the armory, and his mother a near relative of Reuchlin, a famous scholar, by whose advice, and in accordance to a custom among students at that time, his German name of Schwartzerdt (Black castle) was changed into the Greek appellation Melancthon, of the same signification. In 1510, Philip entered the university, and such was his ability and progress, that the very next year he was qualified to receive his first degree, and was made instructer to some young noblemen. When twenty-two years of age, he was appointed professor of Greek at Wittemberg. Here he became intimate with Luther, and accompanied him to the dispute at Leipsic. From that time he stood in the first rank among the Reformers, whose cause he greatly promoted by his learning, as well as by his pure and amiable life. He was married in 1520 and had three children, a son and two daughters. He died at Wittemberg, April, 1560, in the sixty-third year of his age.

The personal appearance of Melancthon was such, that no one at first sight would have recognised the great reformer; for his body was diminutive and meagre. But his forehead was high, arched, and open; — his eyes bright, and

his whole countenance radiant with expression. He was pleasant and wise in conversation, fond of society, and so liberal to the poor as sometimes to involve himself in embarrassments by his generosity. Gentle in manners, candid and benevolent, and an ardent lover of peace, he was sometimes charged with timidity by the rougher spirits with whom he acted: but no one was more firm than he, when called upon to abandon any important truth or principle. Always anxious for pacific measures, when he thought them possible, he was frequently called upon to act the part of a mediator; in such cases, his learning, moderation, and good nature won the esteem of both friends and enemies, and his influence did much to soften the animosity of the contending parties. In short, neither the history of his own, nor any subsequent age, offers to our contemplation a character more beautiful and elevated than that of Philip Melancthon.

## CHAPTER IV.

### REFORMATION IN SWITZERLAND — ULRICH ZWINGLE — ABBEY OF EINSIEDELN. 1484–1516.

We have, thus far, confined our sketch to Germany. But this was not the only country in which an early opposition showed itself to the corruptions of the Romish church; nor was Luther the only man, who ventured to commence the work of reform. The same causes which contributed to the success of the Saxon divine, were in operation elsewhere, and throughout many parts of Europe the people were ready and anxious for a revolution. In Switzerland the symptoms of the approaching revolt were apparent, even before Luther began his attacks upon the papal system. The course of our narrative, therefore, leads us to notice and briefly trace the rise and progress of the Reformation in that romantic land, by following the short but brilliant career of Zwingle. This method of proceeding gives us an opportunity to do justice to the labors and merits of one, who is not, perhaps, so well known and so highly esteemed as he deserves. His exertions were confined within a small district, some of his opinions were not popular with a majority of the reformers, and he

died young; these facts will account for, although they may not excuse, the comparatively small space assigned to him by some historians.

Ulrich Zwingle, the son of a respectable peasant, was born on the first of January, 1484, at Wildhausen, a village situated among the wood-covered mountains and fertile valleys of the county of Toggenburg, in Switzerland. His father was determined by his early exhibition of promising talents to consecrate him to the service of the Church. He was sent to school first to Basil and afterward to Berne. At the latter place, he attracted the attention of some Dominican monks, who endeavoured to secure the young scholar to their order; they succeeded in prevailing upon him to reside in their monastery; but his father disapproved of this step, and ordered him to join the University of Vienna. At the end of three years he returned to Basil in the capacity of a teacher. In this office he labored to improve his pupils in the study of the ancient languages, while he enriched his own mind by a diligent perusal of the classic authors. He did not however neglect theology; although his acute and powerful intellect could not be satisfied with the narrow views and puerile conceits of the writers at that time popular in the Church, — "who," as we are told, "neglecting every thing useful to man, occupied themselves with the

dreams of their own imaginations, and wasted their time in descriptions of the formation of the universe, as minute as if they had been present at the creation; or in the discussion of such questions as these, — whether after the resurrection we should be allowed to eat and drink; — whether God could have caused his Son to appear in the form of a stone, and if so, how a stone could have preached and worked miracles." Such subjects received little attention from Zwingle. He marked out a more liberal course of study, which he pursued with indefatigable industry, — relieving his severer labors at times by the cultivation of his taste for music, an art, in his opinion well calculated to soften asperities of temper, and to enliven the mind worn down by more fatiguing exertions.

From Basil, Zwingle removed to Glaris, having received and accepted an invitation to become the Pastor of that town. As he was now entering upon the active duties of his profession, and felt anxious to be well furnished for his ministry, he resumed his theological inquiries. He gave to the New Testament an attentive examination, and copied with his own hand the Greek text of St. Paul's Epistles, for the purpose of making himself familiar with their contents. In his critical study of the Bible, he was far from relying on the received interpretations of the Church,

— but endeavoured to ascertain its meaning by comparing scripture with scripture, and using the plainer passages as expositions of the more difficult and obscure. When he had recourse to the works of other men, he did not confine himself to those writers who were accounted orthodox, but consulted also those who had been denounced as heretics, saying, "that in the midst of a field covered with noxious weeds salutary herbs may sometimes be found."

This independent mode of conducting his inquiries led Zwingle to see and reject many of the errors of the Romish faith. But feeling the importance of a thorough preparation before he undertook the task of a reformer, he was in no hurry to make known his new opinions. During a residence of ten years at Glaris, he abstained from any very direct attacks upon the Church, and confined his instructions to those doctrines which seemed to be clearly taught in the Bible. He urged his hearers to determine all questions concerning faith or practice, by an appeal to the Scriptures. But prudent and judicious as this conduct was, it did not protect him from calumny. The purity of his morals and the extent of his learning were sufficient to excite the opposition of the ignorant and scandalous among the clergy. They could not indeed sustain the charge of open heresy, but they complained of his silence. They

blamed him for speaking more frequently of the virtues than of the miracles of the saints; and for undervaluing the utility of fasts and pilgrimages, images and relics. The independent temper of his mountain flock, and the excellence of his own character, prevented these censures from doing Zwingle any harm. The people were slow to believe the accusation of teaching dangerous errors, when brought by profligate monks, against one whose daily life, and whose devotion to their welfare, afforded the most satisfactory proofs of his piety and integrity.

According to the custom of his country, Zwingle several times left his retirement at Glaris, to accompany the troops of the Canton as their Chaplain. On his return from one of these excursions, he was appointed preacher to the Abbey of Einsiedeln, by Theobold, baron of Geroldseck, the head of that institution, who was anxious to make it the abode of learned men.

The account which tradition gives of the establishment of this Abbey so well illustrates the superstition and credulity of the dark ages, that its introduction here will not be out of place. In the ninth century, a monk named Meinrad, finding himself too near the world in his monastery, situated in a small town at the eastern extremity of Lake Zurich, built a hermitage and chapel in the midst of an almost inaccessible wood, called the Gloomy

Forest. He had lived there twenty-six years, practising the greatest austerities, when some robbers, hoping to find treasures in his possession, murdered him. The perpetrators of the crime were discovered in a most remarkable manner. The hermit had tamed and brought up two crows, the only companions of his solitude. It is said that these birds pursued the murderers to the town of Zurich, where their sinister cries attracted notice and led to the apprehension of the strangers, who, being greatly frightened, confessed the crime.

Other devotees occupied the cell of Meinrad, until the close of the tenth century, when a canon of Strasburgh built a monastery in the place of the hermitage. He inclosed the old chapel in a new church, and when the edifice was completed, invited a bishop and other prelates to attend the inauguration of the new convent. On the evening of that solemnity, the bishop thought he heard sacred songs proceeding from the interior of the chapel. The next day he was unwilling to consecrate it; but after some entreaty he commenced the ceremony, when he heard these words pronounced three times,— *Cease, Cease, God has already made it holy.* In memory of this event, a festival, called the Consecration of the Angels, was observed every seven years; and the reputation of this monastery

was so great, that the popes gave to its occupants the right to grant full indulgence for all sins on the day of the festival.

The confidence which Theobald reposed in Zwingle enabled him to commence the work of reform at Einsiedeln. By his advice, much was done to destroy whatever had a tendency to encourage superstition. An inscription over the entrance to the Abbey promising remission of all sins was erased; the nuns of a neighbouring Convent were directed to read the New Testament, and required to lead irreproachable lives, and such as did not wish to remain in seclusion, were permitted to return to the world. In addition to these changes, Zwingle strove to diffuse his opinions abroad among the people. His twofold office of preacher and confessor afforded many facilities for the execution of this purpose. Paying no regard to external observances, he required sincere repentance as the condition of pardon. He taught that genuflections, prayers, and mortifications are of no avail in reconciling men to God, without true contrition and a good life; and in various other ways he labored to fix correct principles in the minds of all who visited the Abbey. Having pursued this course until he thought due preparation had been made for it, the Reformer determined to strike a decisive blow. He selected the festival of Consecration,

when great numbers usually assembled, as a fit season for carrying this resolution into effect. On that day he ascended the pulpit to deliver the customary discourse. "By an exordium full of warmth and feeling he disposed the audience to collectedness and attention; then proceeding to the occasion which had brought them together in that church, he deplored their blindness in the choice of the means which they employed to please the Deity." "Cease to believe," cried he, "that God resides in this temple more than in every other place. Whatever region of the earth you may inhabit, he is near you, he surrounds you, he grants your prayers, if they deserve to be granted; but it is not by useless vows, by long pilgrimages, offerings destined to adorn senseless images, that you can obtain the divine favor; resist temptations, repress guilty desires, shun all injustice, relieve the unfortunate, console the afflicted; these are the works pleasing to the Lord. Alas! I know it; it is ourselves, ministers of the altar, we who ought to be the salt of the earth, who have led into a maze of error the ignorant and credulous multitude. In order to accumulate treasures sufficient to satisfy our avarice, we raised vain and useless practices to the rank of good works; and the Christians of these times, too docile to our instructions, neglect to fulfil the laws of God, and only think of

making atonement for their crimes, instead of renouncing them. 'Let us live according to our desires,' say they, 'let us enrich ourselves with the goods of our neighbour; let us not fear to stain our hands with blood and murder; we shall find easy expiations in the favor of the Church.' Senseless men! Do they think to obtain remission for their lies, their impurities, their adulteries, their homicides, their treacheries, by prayers recited in honor of the Queen of Heaven, as if she were the protectress of all evil doers? Undeceive yourselves, erring people! The God of justice suffers not himself to be moved by words which the tongue utters and the heart disowns. He forgives no one but him who himself forgives the enemy who has trespassed against him. Did these chosen of God, at whose feet you come hither to prostrate yourselves, enter into heaven by relying on the merit of another? No, it was by walking in the path of the law, by fulfilling the will of the Most High, by facing death that they might remain faithful to their Redeemer. Imitate the holiness of their lives, walk in their footsteps, suffering yourselves to be turned aside neither by dangers nor seductions; this is the honor that you ought to pay them. But in the day of trouble put your trust in none but God, who created the heavens and the earth with a word; at the approach of death

invoke only Christ Jesus, who has bought you with his blood, and is the sole mediator between God and man."

This bold and eloquent discourse made a deep impression. A portion of the hearers were much offended; but many received the new doctrine with joy. Several pilgrims were so much moved, as to carry back with them the gifts, which they had brought to the Abbey. This circumstance alarmed the avarice of the monks, and increased their indignation against a preacher, who not only exposed their vices, but who was also diminishing their gains. But it does not appear that the sermon gave much offence to the superior clergy. Zwingle had not yet called in question the authority of the Pope, and while he confined himself to local abuses, Leo and his court honored his brilliant displays of talent. The preacher even ventured to assure one of the Cardinals, at that time in Switzerland, that the credulity of the people was growing less and less every day; that they were opening their eyes to many superstitions, and began loudly to censure the idleness, ignorance, and profligacy of their pastors. A reformation, he told him, ought to be at once undertaken, and to begin with the highest ecclesiastics; the bishops must cease to handle the sword instead of the crozier, prelates must give up wars and fightings, and the swarms of pious

idlers must be got rid of, before the laity could be amended or kept much longer in restraint. He, therefore, begged the Cardinal to give serious attention to the state of the Church, and obtained from him a promise, that on his return to Rome he would endeavour to persuade the pontiff to take measures to remedy the evils which had been pointed out. This promise was forgotten, or if kept did no good. Leo was too much engrossed with his ambitious projects, and too much devoted to literature and the fine arts, to have leisure or inclination to take care of the spiritual concerns of his Church.

## CHAPTER V.

ZWINGLE'S REMOVAL TO ZURICH—PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION—PUBLIC CONFERENCE. 1518-1523.

ZWINGLE'S reputation was now greatly increased, and the fame of his learning and courage spread in all directions. In the year 1518, he was elected preacher in the Cathedral at Zurich, and as this new appointment opened a still wider field for usefulness, he accepted it without delay. Zurich was an independent city, and the capital of the Canton of the same name. It was likewise infested by the vices, then but too common in Switzerland, and which marked the degeneracy of the age. Religion was treated almost with contempt. The severity of ancient manners and morals had departed, and insubordination among the poor, and luxury and avarice among the higher classes, had banished the virtues of former times. "Letters wanted a restorer, both the governors and the governed an intrepid censor, and fainting religion an orator capable of restoring its influence over the people." This task seemed to be assigned by Providence to Zwingle: and he executed it, with firmness and fidelity. On the first of January, 1519, he com-

menced his public services. He took occasion, to censure the superstition, hypocrisy, idleness, and intemperance of the people, while he exhorted the magistrates to be impartial in the administration of justice, to protect widows and orphans, and to preserve the liberty of the country by avoiding foreign bribes and alliances. The latter part of this exhortation alluded to a miserable policy then adopted by the Swiss. Instead of preserving a strict neutrality among the contending nations by which they were surrounded, a measure equally recommended by a due regard for peace and for the morals of the citizens, they were in the habit of forming leagues with foreign States, which were frequently the cause of great suffering. These leagues, generally entered into from mercenary motives, served only to involve them in the calamities of wars, with which they as a people had no concern.

The stern rebuke of the new preacher was not without its good effect. Many were aroused and reformed by it: while others, whose interest and vices were attacked, manifested great indignation. The clamors of the discontented did not intimidate Zwingle, nor were they able to destroy his growing influence. His popularity and power became great, and gave him new strength in his warfare against the corruptions of popery.

In 1518 Leo sent one Samson, a Franciscan monk, into Switzerland, to carry on the traffic in indulgences. This emissary imitated the shameless effrontery of Tetzel; but the Swiss appear not to have been so bigoted in their attachment nor so complete in their subjection to the holy see as the Germans. A stop was soon put to the undertaking of Samson. The bishop of Constance, resenting it as an interference with his authority, ordered his parish priests to shut their doors against the papal agent, and exhorted Zwingle to defend the rights of the episcopacy. The Reformer had already raised his voice in condemnation of the abuse, not indeed because it was an indignity to his superior, but because it was ruinous to the morals of the people. He succeeded in converting to his opinion the deputies of the thirteen cantons, then assembled in a diet at Zurich, and they ordered the Franciscan to quit the country; an injunction which he immediately obeyed by a hasty retreat into Italy.

The deference of the Swiss to the counsels of Zwingle did not however long continue. His efforts for a reform in morals were too searching and zealous to suit the majority. He preserved the respect and affection of the inhabitants of Zurich, and was held in high esteem by them until the time of his death. But his stern integrity, his pacific policy, and his disapprobation of

the vices, ambitious projects, and foreign alliance of the rulers, made him many enemies in the other cities and cantons. To this cause, rather than to any severe measures adopted by the court of Rome, we must refer most of the difficulties with which the Reformation had to contend in Switzerland; and therefore it will be necessary to glance at the political affairs of that country.

The thirteen Cantons and free cities of Switzerland were united into one body, somewhat after the manner of the United States. This combination was called the *Helvetic Confederacy*, from the ancient name of a portion of the country over which it extended. The general government was composed of deputies or representatives from the several towns and cantons, who formed what was termed *the Diet*. The Swiss were also connected in some degree with the German Empire. During the contest for the imperial crown, of which an account has already been given, both of the rival candidates endeavoured to secure the aid of the Confederacy. Zwingle, always anxious to prevent his country from entangling herself with the affairs of other nations, strove to persuade his fellow-citizens not to listen to the promises of either, and to maintain a strict neutrality with reference to the contest. His judicious advice was neglected, and the Diet recommended the choice of the king of Spain. A war broke out

between the Emperor and Francis almost as soon as the former ascended his new throne, and both princes again applied for the assistance of the Helvetic League. The French monarch prevailed with all the members except Zurich, who rejected the proposed alliance, as inconsistent with the support which had just been rendered to Charles. This refusal increased the strong animosity already felt by the other cantons towards the Reformer and his coadjutors; and the sufferings they experienced in consequence of their ill-advised union with the French had no tendency to allay their anger.

While matters were in this state, the Pope, in virtue of an alliance made some years before with the Swiss, demanded of them a supply of troops, to aid in the defence of his kingdom. This was the pretended, but not the real object of his holiness. In conjunction with Charles, he had laid a plan to wrest Milan and other cities from France. The connexion which twelve of the cantons had already formed with Francis, put it out of their power to comply with the requisition of Leo. Zurich alone was at liberty, and felt in honor bound to furnish a body of three thousand men. When this force joined the united armies of the Pope and the Emperor, promises and bribes were employed to induce them to assist in executing the design of the campaign.

But they had received positive orders to engage in no offensive war, and to these orders they remained obedient. To the seductive offers of the allies, they replied, "Were your tents and all they contain of pure gold, we would refuse, if in order to gain them it were necessary to disobey our magistrates and violate our oaths." The united armies were therefore led on to the attack without them, and obtained repeated victories over the French generals. The soldiers of the twelve cantons experienced great hardships in this contest, and returned home more disposed than ever to quarrel with the Zurichers, to whom, rather than to their own folly, they chose to attribute all their misfortunes.

It is not consistent with the plan of this volume, to pursue into details the history of the evils brought upon Switzerland by her alliances with foreign nations. Sufficient has already been related to give the reader an idea of the position occupied by Zwingle, and the character of the obstacles with which he was obliged to contend. His efforts to abolish the errors and correct the abuses of the church, were not only resisted by a bigoted attachment to the ancient faith, but also by the most determined political hostility. But he was not easily intimidated or disheartened. He continued to preach with great boldness, and to advocate whatever changes he thought important

and necessary. Under his instructions, the respect hitherto paid by his hearers to the ceremonies of the church began to diminish; and some of them ventured, in the year 1522, to neglect the observance of the fast of Lent. These offenders were at once denounced and imprisoned. Zwingle appeared in their defence, and composed a tract on the subject, in which he declared that all days were equally holy to the Christian, and the kind of meat to be used by them a matter of indifference, and that fasts were an invention of the papal court, that its resources might be increased by selling absolution to those who failed to observe them; he concluded by requesting the learned to expose his errors, if he had advanced any thing contrary to the Gospel. This production created much excitement. The bishop of Constance warned his clergy to beware of the heresy, and begged the council of Zurich not to permit such an attack on the ordinances of the Church to be made with impunity. The Council paid little attention to this remonstrance, and he had recourse to the Chapter, or body of divines who had charge of the Cathedral, and who had chosen Zwingle to be their preacher. They told the accused heretic to speak for himself. This he did in a masterly manner, by insisting on the principle "that the Scriptures are the only authority from which there is no appeal," — by pointing out the causes

of the degeneracy of the church, and urging their immediate removal. One passage of this vindication is so true and noble, and breathes so much of the spirit of pure Christianity, that we cannot forbear quoting a part of it.

"Observe," says he, "whither you are tending! You defend all your ceremonies as if they were essential to religion: yet it exercised a much more extensive empire over the heart, when the reading of pious books, prayer, and mutual exhortation formed the only worship of the faithful. You accuse me of overturning the State, because I openly censure the vices of the clergy. No one respects more than I do the ministers of religion, when they teach it in its purity, and practise it with simplicity; but I cannot contain my indignation when I observe shepherds, who by their conduct appear to say to their flocks, 'we are the elect, you the profane; we are the enlightened, you the ignorant; it is permitted to us to live in idleness, you ought to eat your bread in the sweat of your brow; you must abstain from all sin, while we may give ourselves up with impunity to every kind of excess; you must defend the state at the risk of your lives, but religion forbids us to expose ours.' I will now tell you what is the Christianity I profess, and which you endeavour to render suspected. It commands men to obey the laws and respect the magistrate; to pay

tribute and impositions where they are due; to rival one another only in beneficence; to support and relieve the indigent; to share the griefs of their neighbours, and to regard all mankind as brethren. It further requires the Christian to expect salvation from God alone, and Jesus Christ his only Son, our Master and Saviour, who giveth eternal life to them who believe on him. Such are the principles from which, in the exercise of my ministry, I have never departed."

While the tract, of which the foregoing remarks formed a part, was in preparation, the bishop of Constance applied with success to a Diet, then convened at Baden, for aid to keep his clergy in subjection. Not long afterward, the pastor of a small village, accused of preaching the new doctrine, was arrested. This transaction alarmed Zwingle. He saw that it was necessary for him to secure the favor of the civil magistrates, and he addressed to them a statement of his opinions, and intreated them to leave the preaching of the Gospel free. He wrote likewise to the bishop himself, urging him to undertake the business of reform, and "to permit to be demolished with precaution, what had been built up with temerity." This conduct is proof of no little courage,—for the reformers were then few in number, and their cause not very prosperous. Luther had

been outlawed by the Edict of Worms; the German Emperor seemed opposed to any change in religion, and the papal party, for the moment, had the advantage. These facts were all brought against Zwingle. He was stigmatized as a Lutheran, notwithstanding his repeated declaration that he had formed his opinions from the study of the Bible, and begun to preach them before he had even heard of the Saxon divine. This assertion had no effect upon his enemies. Their attacks grew daily more violent; and the churches of Zurich were much divided and disturbed. To obtain quiet, and to sustain the cause of truth, Zwingle resolved upon a bold measure.

Early in the year 1523, he requested the civil council to appoint a public conference between the adherents of the bishop of Constance and himself. If any errors were fairly proved against him, he promised to retract them; but if he should overcome his adversaries, he hoped that the protection of government would be granted to him and his friends. The Council consented to this reasonable proposition, and invited the ecclesiastics of the Canton to meet in the city, and settle the disputes about religion. As a preparation for this assembly, a paper containing the points he wished to have debated was drawn up by Zwingle: in it he denied

many of the doctrines, and censured many of the practices, of the Romish Church. He represented the power of the popes and the bishops, the celibacy of the clergy, the doctrines of purgatory, the absolution of sins for money, and other tenets, as wholly unsupported and indeed absolutely condemned by the Scriptures.

When the day appointed for the conference arrived, the Council, the representative of the bishop, the clergy, and a large collection of the people, assembled in the town hall. The burgomaster opened the meeting with a statement of the purpose for which it had been called, and requested any one who felt so disposed, to speak and convict Zwingle of heresy. The papal party showed no readiness to accept this invitation, and the Convention would have been broken up without the discussion of any question of moment, had not some parish priests complained of the arrest of one of their number for his opinion concerning the invocation of the Saints and the Virgin Mary. This complaint drew out the representative of the bishop in defence of his master, and in the course of his remarks he said that he himself had persuaded the heretic to see and confess his errors. Zwingle instantly arose and asked for a statement of the argument by which the conversion had been accomplished. A long harangue upon the necessity of union

in the church, and the reverence due to the popes and councils, was the only answer to his inquiry. To this Zwingle replied. "The popes," he said, "could not be infallible, inasmuch as the characters of many of them were deplorably bad; and it was evidently absurd to suppose those men to be the only true representatives of Christ, who had lived in open violation of his plainest commandments. Neither were councils to be implicitly depended upon. They were composed of erring mortals, and, moreover, had frequently contradicted each other in their decisions. The Gospel was to be the only rule of faith, and that nowhere taught the invocation of Saints or of the Virgin." These remarks gave rise to a sharp contest. Both sides obstinately adhered to their own views; until at length the defenders of popery remained silent and refused to continue the debate.

The meeting was then dissolved. The Council remained in session and gave the victory to the Reformers. They ordered, "That Zwingle, having been neither convicted of heresy nor refuted, should continue to preach as he had done before: that the pastors of the Canton should rest their discourses on the words of Scripture alone; and that both parties should abstain from all personal reflections." This result was highly satisfactory to Zwingle: he

no longer stood alone, but was supported by the government. His followers were multiplied and encouraged. Still, he was not in haste to introduce many great changes. The services of the church continued to be performed much in the usual manner, and he and his colleagues contented themselves for the present with endeavours, peaceably and gradually to enlighten the minds of their hearers.

## CHAPTER VI.

SECOND CONFERENCE AT ZURICH — PERSECUTION — EXECUTION OF HOTTINGER, OF WIRTH AND HIS SONS — PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION IN SWITZERLAND. 1523-1527.

THE prudent conduct of Zwingle did not satisfy some of his more zealous followers. They were not pleased with the temporary retention of images in the places of worship; and some of the lower class, led on by one Hottinger, a mechanic, tore down the crucifix erected near the gate of the city. This act was a breach of the peace, and the perpetrators of it were immediately arrested. When the magistrates came together for their trial, they were divided in opinion; some looked upon the deed only as an exhibition of rash zeal, while others were disposed to regard it as a criminal offence. Zwingle's advice being asked, he thought that the prisoners were not guilty of sacrilege, because the law of Moses forbade the erection of images as objects of worship, yet they deserved, he said, some punishment for acting without authority. This opinion increased the embarrassment of the Council. They did not wish to add to the resentment, already strong, of the

other Cantons, and they were equally unwilling to retreat from the position they had taken in favor of the Zwinglians. To extricate themselves from this difficulty they appointed a time for another conference, "for the purpose of discussing the question, whether the worship of images was authorized by the Gospel, and whether mass ought to be preserved or abolished."

Many persons took advantage of the delay occasioned by this determination, and petitioned for the release of the prisoners, on the ground that they had been already sufficiently punished by their confinement. They obtained the release of all except the leader: he was banished for two years from the Canton. This sentence was light; but it led to the death of Hottinger, and placed him first on the list of Protestant martyrs in Switzerland. He retired to Baden and lived there, neither concealing nor making a display of his religious views. But he was soon denounced and taken into custody. When questioned, he avowed his conviction that the worship of images was contrary to the word of God. He was removed to Lucern, and there condemned to death by a convention of deputies from only seven of the thirteen Cantons. He behaved with great firmness; he conjured the deputies to remain friends with the Zurichers,

and not to oppose that reform for which he was about to die with joy; he implored the mercy of Heaven upon his judges, asked the forgiveness of any whom he might have injured, and then calmly submitted to the fatal blow. This arbitrary act was deeply felt by the Reformers, who considered it an unlawful condemnation of their opinions.

The second conference took place in October, 1523. Nine hundred persons were present; and Zwingle triumphed in this, as in the former discussion. Active measures were not at once adopted to put down the worship of images; but at the end of a year, as the arguments of Zwingle had not been refuted, the Council proceeded to remove the pictures and statues from the churches. Their example was followed in the neighbouring villages: and thus another decided stand was taken against popery in this part of Switzerland.

This innovation met with much opposition from the other Cantons, and civil war threatened the country, and the Reformers were obliged to be constantly on their guard. An event which occurred about this time may be related, to give an idea of the distracted state of the Confederacy. The village of Stammheim was dependent upon Zurich in all respects, except its criminal jurisdiction, which belonged to the

bailiff of Thurgau. In this place there was a chapel dedicated to St. Anne, in much repute among pilgrims, who bestowed upon it many rich gifts. Notwithstanding the pecuniary benefits which the sacred edifice had brought them, the inhabitants were persuaded by Wirth their magistrate and his two sons, who were priests, to destroy the pictures it contained. Those who were averse to this measure complained to Amberg the bailiff of Thurgau. This officer was already the enemy of Wirth, and eagerly embraced the opportunity to do him harm. Wirth, aware of his danger, engaged several of the neighbouring towns to promise mutual aid, in case any thing occurred to threaten their safety. Amberg commenced his work of revenge by seizing at midnight the pastor of Stein. As soon as this fact was known, the allied villages assembled their men, and set out in pursuit of the soldiers who had arrested the clergyman. Their march was obstructed by a small river, and while seeking a ford, they learned that the enemy were preparing to resist their passage. To avoid bloodshed, they commenced a parley and demanded the release of the pastor, engaging for his appearance when summoned before a proper tribunal. While the negotiation was going on, the people of Stein and Stammheim retired to a monastery near by. The monks received them

with hospitality, and they remained there peaceably until the next night, when, learning that the prisoner would not be set at liberty, they began to be turbulent. Wirth endeavoured in vain to quell the disturbance. At this moment the inhabitants of Stammheim received and obeyed orders to return home; but the villagers who remained plundered and set fire to the monastery.

A report of this outrage was made to his government by Amberg, who took care to lay the whole blame upon Wirth and his sons. A Diet was called to see what should be done. They seemed at first disposed to confound the innocent with the guilty, and to chastise without discrimination the citizens of the offending towns; but the deputies from Zurich persuaded them to take a more equitable course. They sent a party of soldiers to seize the principal persons accused of taking a part in the violence. Many of these escaped; but Wirth and his sons refused to fly. "You need no force," said the former; "had a child brought us an order from our sovereign, we should have obeyed it without resistance."

The prisoners were brought to Zurich. On examination they confessed that they had joined the crowd and followed them to the monastery; but they averred that they made every effort to

prevent the destruction of the building. Their defence was of no avail; the Cantons required them to be given up to the Diet. The Council answered that the case belonged to their jurisdiction. The Cantons replied, that if their demand was not complied with, they would carry off the offenders by force of arms. To this threat of civil war, the Council, in opposition to the earnest remonstrance of Zwingle, were unjust and pusillanimous enough to yield. The prisoners were removed to Baden. Torture was applied to force from them some confession which might serve to give at least an appearance of justice to their condemnation. They bore their sufferings with admirable fortitude; but neither the noble bearing of the bailiff and his sons, nor the tears of the wife and mother, could soften the hearts of the judges. The father and the elder son were sentenced to death; the former for treason, and the latter for "having preached up the Lutheran and Zwinglian sect." The victims met their fate with Christian firmness. The younger son was pardoned and escaped to Zurich. In such cases, the sentence usually involved the confiscation of the property of the condemned; but in this instance, that part of the punishment was remitted, through the intercession of three Cantons who had thus far refused to act in the matter, on the cruel condition that the widow should

pay ten crowns to the executioner of her husband and child.

This tragical affair shows the degree of the enmity which existed to Zwingle and the reformers. They were not, however, to be intimidated or silenced. The civil authorities continued to introduce many changes, and in 1525 the celebration of mass was formally abolished, and the Lord's Supper commemorated in the simple manner now practised by Protestants. The Chapter of the cathedral placed their revenues at the disposal of the government; and their example was followed by a convent of nuns in the vicinity. Plans for public instruction were formed, and an academy to prepare young men for the ministry was established. Zwingle was the agent who superintended the execution of these changes, and he performed the work with fidelity and prudence.

In the mean time, the papal party contrived a plot, by which they hoped to get Zwingle into their power, and to crush the growing heresy. A conference was appointed, to which the Swiss Reformer was invited to discuss the points at issue between the Romanists and the Reformers, with Eccius, the antagonist of Luther. But so evident was the inimical purpose of those engaged in bringing about this meeting, that the Council of Zurich refused to permit their preacher to

leave the city. His cause was defended in the debate, which took place at Baden, by several learned divines; but his absence defeated the object of the papists, and they contented themselves, for the present, with the passage of a sentence of excommunication against him and his followers, and the prohibition of the sale of heretical books, or the introduction of any change in forms of worship.

About this time, the Reformation was greatly assisted by a revolution which took place in Berne, one of the most important members of the Helvetic confederacy. At the close of the year 1527, several of the towns belonging to that Canton petitioned the government for leave to introduce the worship practised at Zurich. This request found both friends and foes in the Senate; and on that account a convention of the clergy was summoned to deliberate upon it. Great numbers from all parts of Switzerland, together with some foreign divines, attended this meeting. Zwingle, in compliance with the earnest entreaty of his friend Haller, a pastor of Berne, and his own desire to embrace an occasion so favorable for the promulgation of his opinions, was present, and took a prominent part in the debate. The result of the convention was a new victory for the Reformers. Berne threw off the control of her bishop, and directed her preachers to teach

only what the majority of the assembly had approved. Priests were permited to marry; nuns to leave their convents and return to the world; and the funds of the monasteries were intrusted to the civil magistrates. In the short space of four months the capital and all its dependencies adopted the new religion.

One incident may be mentioned here, to show how much the eloquence and learning of Zwingle contributed to effect this revolution. During the sittings of the Convention, the clergymen present preached in turn in the cathedral of the city. On one occasion Zwingle ascended the pulpit, just as a priest was preparing to say mass, at one of the altars of the church. His desire to hear the celebrated heretic caused him to suspend his employment. Zwingle, in his sermon, stated and defended his own views of the Lord's Supper with such clearness and power that the priest was converted on the spot, and in the sight of the whole congregation laid aside his robes and joined the Reformers.

## CHAPTER VII.

PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION IN SWITZERLAND —CIVIL COMMOTIONS—DEATH OF ZWINGLE. 1527–1531.

THE introduction of the new doctrine into Berne was the occasion of much discussion among the members of the confederacy. Five of the Cantons, who remained attached to the Romish Church, formed a coalition and bound themselves to prohibit within their limits the preaching of the opinions of Luther and Zwingle. This league produced an antagonist alliance on the part of Zurich and Berne, who agreed to assist each other against all who should attempt to restore the errors of popery. Hostile measures like these were the commencement of sanguinary conflicts between States hitherto closely united. The papal and reform parties were arrayed in opposition to each other throughout the country, and the minds of both were evidently inflamed. The storm at length burst forth. The inhabitants of a valley called Hasli, subject to the authority of Berne, refused to obey the late decree of the Senate, and were supported in this refusal by the citizens of the bordering Canton of Unterwalden. At the appearance of the troops sent to enforce

the order of the government, the people of Unterwalden returned home; but their retreat did not prevent difficulty. The Senate of Berne complained, without receiving any satisfaction, of the assistance which had been rendered to their rebellious subjects. This, combined with other causes, led to a declaration of war between the five Cantons, and Zurich and Berne. The neutral Cantons were able to prevent a battle, and owing to their friendly exertions a treaty of peace was ratified at the village of Cappel, June 25th, 1529.

This truce put an end for the time to open war; but it did little to reconcile the hostile parties. The Catholics submitted to it as a matter of necessity; and therefore took every occasion to show their discontent. Event after event occurred to widen the breach already opened between the different members of the confederacy; until an appeal to arms seemed to be the only alternative. The history of this period is dark and gloomy. Our limits allow us to give only an outline of that part of it which records the closing scenes of the life of Zwingle.

The persecution, in Catholic districts, of those who held the new opinions grew at last to be so aggravated and frequent, that the government favorable to the reform determined if possible to put an end to it. A most unfortunate plan was adopted for this purpose. The five Cantons had

no resources but their flocks, and were dependent upon Zurich and Berne for a market. To bring them to terms a proclamation was issued, forbidding their intercourse with those cities, that thus their supply of provisions might be cut off, and their territories, as it were, placed in a state of blockade. This measure was opposed as cruel by the Zurichers; but their objections were overruled by the advocates of the scheme who entertained sanguine hopes of its success. Their restless neighbours would, they thought, be convinced of the value of toleration and forbearance, when they were made to feel their dependence upon the other Cantons. But the erroneousness of this expectation was soon manifest. The Catholics were made desperate by this severe treatment, and flew at once to arms. The Protestants, being wholly unprepared for such resistance, were thrown into great confusion. Instead of adopting prompt measures to meet the exigency, they wasted time in mutual reproach and recrimination. The adversaries of Zwingle, those immoral and ambitious persons whom he had so boldly censured, seized upon this occasion to take their revenge, by declaring that his unwise zeal in defence of the persecuted was the cause of all the evils which the nation suffered.

Zwingle saw through the designs of his enemies, notwithstanding their hypocrisy and cau-

tion. His usefulness, he feared, was at an end, and he resolved to leave a place where he could no longer do good. In the month of July he appeared before the Council, to vindicate his character and ask for his dismission. The Council would not listen to his request; but urged him most earnestly, for the sake of the cause he had so long and so well sustained, to remain where he was. To this exhortation he at length yielded and resumed his duties. He labored constantly to reconcile the contending parties, as far as it could be done without the sacrifice of truth. He knew that a dangerous crisis was at hand, and with noble disinterestedness he devoted all his energies to the good of his country.

The efforts of the neutral Cantons to preserve peace, were without effect. The five Catholic Cantons, having finished their preparations for war, took the field October 6th, 1531. Their main body was stationed at the town of Cappel. When the news of this movement reached Zurich, the Council was at loss what course to pursue. It was at last determined to dispatch against the enemy four thousand troops; who were, however, by no means in readiness for actual service. Zwingle was ordered to accompany this expedition. Entirely in doubt as to the result of the contest, he hastened to obey the

command. "Our cause is good," said he, "but it is ill-defended. It will cost my life and that of many excellent men. My confidence rests on God alone."

As the Zurichers approached Cappel the sound of cannon announced that an engagement had commenced. The officers pressed on with all speed and the soldiers followed as rapidly as they were able. Just as they joined their allies, an officer of the opposite party led out a party of three hundred men to reconnoitre. Seeing the weakness of the reinforcement, he immediately attacked them. The battle now became general. The Reformers were completely routed, and Zwingle was among the slain. The circumstances of his death are thus given by his biographer.

"In the beginning of the battle, while Zwingle was encouraging the troops, he received a mortal wound and remained senseless on the field, while the enemy were pursuing their victory. On recovering his consciousness, he raised himself with difficulty, crossed his hands upon his breast, and lifted his dying eyes to heaven. Some Catholic soldiers who remained behind, found him in this attitude. Without knowing him, they offered him a confessor: Zwingle would have replied, but was unable to articulate; he refused by a motion of his head. The soldiers

then exhorted him to recommend his soul to the Holy Virgin. A second sign of refusal enraged them. 'Die then, obstinate heretic!' cried one, and pierced him with his sword."

"It was not till the next day that the body of the Reformer was found, and exposed to the view of the army. A former colleague of Zwingle's, who had left Zurich on account of the Reformation, was among the crowd. He gazed a long time upon him who had been his adversary, and at length said with emotion, 'Whatever may have been thy faith, I am sure that thou wast always sincere, and that thou lovedst thy country. May God take thy soul in mercy!'

"The soldiers did not share in this generous sentiment. Ignorant and bigoted, they rejoiced in the death of a man whom they hated as an enemy to their faith. They surrounded the bloody corpse in the most tumultuous manner. A cry was raised, 'Let us burn the heretic.' All applauded the proposal: in vain did their leaders remind the furious soldiery of the respect due to the dead; in vain did they exhort them not to irritate the Protestants, who might one day avenge the insult: all was useless. They seized the body; a tribunal named by acclamation, ordered that it should be burned, and the ashes be scattered to the winds; and the sentence was executed the same instant."

Thus, at the age of forty-seven years, did Ulrich Zwingle finish his course. His death was a source of triumph to the Catholics and a terrible blow to the Reformers. For a while after the loss of their great leader the Protestants were weak and discouraged. But truth had struck its roots too deep into the soil of Switzerland to be easily eradicated. The people had come to the light. The new doctrines had spread in every direction. A taste for liberty had been excited. And although the Reformation struggled in after times with many obstacles and experienced many vicissitudes, it may be truly said, that by the exertion of Zwingle and his friends, the power of the Romish Church was shaken and permanently weakened.

## CHAPTER VIII.

LUTHER'S RETURN TO WITTEMBERG — PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION IN GERMANY — DIETS OF NUREMBERG — CONTROVERSY CONCERNING THE LORD'S SUPPER — WAR OF THE PEASANTS — LUTHER'S MARRIAGE — LUTHER'S LETTERS. 1522–1524.

We return again to Germany. Extensive revolutions of all kinds are attended by evils. Over-zealous and ardent men spring up in times of excitement, who are anxious to push matters to extremes, and who cannot easily be kept within the bounds of prudence and moderation. Among the Reformers were some characters of this description, whose extravagances and want of judgment were an injury to the cause they espoused. To this class belonged Carolstadt, one of the professors in the University at Wittemberg, who, not content with the boldness already exhibited by his colleagues in their attack upon popery, took advantage of the absence of Luther, to tear down the images in the churches, and by other such actions to inflame the minds of the students and create disturbance. His zeal was unfortunately seconded by some fanatical mechanics. These men, pretending to the gift of immediate and special inspiration, and treating all learning and

study with contempt, obtained many followers among the idle and ignorant, while their wildness and turbulence gave great alarm to the better informed.

The moment Luther heard of this sad affair, he determined to quit his retirement, and resume his place in the city as a public teacher. He left Wartburg early in March, 1522, without the knowledge or consent of the Elector, and soon, by his preaching and decided conduct, put an end to the disorders occasioned by Carolstadt and his party. Having accomplished this work and restored quiet, he devoted himself with renewed diligence to his great undertaking, and, assisted by Melancthon and others, proceeded rapidly with his translation of the Bible. This noble publication, which was issued in parts, did more, probably, than any thing else, to open the eyes of the common people in Germany to the errors and corruptions of the Church of Rome.

From this period the Reformation was constantly gaining strength. Several important cities openly abandoned the old forms of worship, and many of the princes and noblemen began to waver in their attachment to papacy. This latter fact was more and more evident at each successive Diet. The desire for greater political freedom was combined with the desire for religious liberty, and some of the most important members of the Germanic

Confederacy showed a decided opposition to the aggressions and exactions of Rome. This hostile feeling was very apparent soon after the death of Leo X. in 1522. Adrian, who had formerly been a tutor to the Emperor, was unexpectedly raised to the papal throne. He was a man of honest purposes and good moral character; but, although not blind to the existing abuses, he was bigoted in his reverence for the Church. He was willing to make some changes in the papal system, but insisted upon the extermination of the Lutheran heresy. Accordingly, he sent a legate to the Diet then convened at Nuremberg, to complain of the little attention which had been paid to the Edict of Worms, and to urge the execution of the sentence which had been passed upon Luther; while at the same time, he instructed this agent to consult with the assembled princes as to the best method of removing the evils in the Church. The latter part of this message met with a very frank reception. Germany, the Diet assured the legate, had already suffered too much and too long from the oppression of Rome; the call for relief could not be safely neglected, and they recommended, that a general Council should be called to see what ought to be done. They likewise drew up a list of one hundred grievances, to which they begged him to ask the especial attention of his Holiness. The only notice which

the Diet took of the Reformers, was the passage of a resolution forbidding any further innovations in religion, until the meeting of the proposed Council.

These proceedings were hailed with much joy by the Lutherans. They appealed to them as altogether favorable to their cause, and looked upon them as prophetic of its final triumph. The correctness of this opinion was confirmed, by the indignation which the conduct of the Diet excited at the Court of Rome. The bad management of the Pope was severely censured; his policy was ridiculed, as exactly calculated to increase the presumption of his enemies. To admit the existence of any abuse in the Church, to listen to the recommendation to call a general Council, was, in the opinion of the Romish ecclesiastics, a direct encouragement of heresy and a disgrace to the Pontiff; and they did every thing in their power to obstruct all Adrian's efforts for a reform. In the midst of these difficulties this unfortunate Pope died. His reign had been so unpopular and his death was an event so pleasing to the Romans, that the night after his decease they adorned the door of his chief physician with garlands, and fastened upon it this inscription, "To the Deliverer of his Country."

Adrian was succeeded in November, 1523, by Clement VII., a man of much cunning and

wholly devoted to ambitious projects for the extension of his power. The year following his election he sent a legate to attend a second Diet at Nuremberg. This messenger was careful to omit all mention of the proposed Council, and insisted upon the punishment of the heretics. His demand was supported by the Emperor, who was anxious at this time, for political reasons, to secure the favor of the Pope. But the Diet remained firm, and adhered to their petition for a general Council and the redress of their grievances. The most that could be obtained from them by the authority of their sovereign and the arts of the papal agent, was a promise to enforce the edict against Luther, as far as they could; a promise by which they intended to allow each individual in the assembly to act as he pleased. Charles was greatly incensed at the obstinacy of the German princes; but the state of affairs in other parts of his kingdom required his attention, and prevented him from adopting any effectual measures to compel their obedience. This was a fortunate circumstance for the enemies of popery; for in a very few years the Emperor found it necessary to alter his policy and to oppose the papal power. Before, however, we give an account of this change, we must notice some other circumstances and events not so favorable to the Reformation.

One of these was the controversy which early arose among the Reformers and was long continued, concerning the Lord's Supper. Luther rejected the Romish doctrine of *transubstantiation*, which taught that the bread and wine are actually changed into the flesh and blood of Christ; but he embraced a view of this ordinance hardly less absurd. He believed in *consubstantiation*, that is, that the body and blood of the Saviour are in some mysterious manner connected with or united to the bread and wine, and are thus eaten and drunk by those who partake of these elements. Carolstadt was the first who opposed this notion. Soon after his exile from Wittemberg, on account of the disturbances related in the preceding chapter, he published a treatise, in which he argued that the bread and wine used in the administration of the Supper, were only symbols to *represent* the body and blood of Jesus. This opinion was also embraced by Zwingle and most of the Swiss divines. The discussion of this subject was warm and sometimes bitter, and in the end produced unhappy divisions among the Reformers. Various efforts were made to bring about a reconciliation, but any thing like a cordial agreement was prevented by the arrogance, obstinacy, and violence of Luther.

Another unhappy affair occurred about this time, which affected almost all Germany, namely,

the War of the Peasants, as it is called. At first this was wholly a political commotion. The lower classes of the people were much oppressed by the nobility, and their condition was but little better than that of slaves. On the imposition of some new burthen, their rage burst forth in open rebellion. The insurrection began in those parts of the country where the opinions of Luther had made but small progress: but at length it reached Saxony and other strong-holds of the Reformers. There the disaffection of the people was united with religious fanaticism, and some countenance was thus given to the accusation of those who attributed the insubordination and violence of the rustics to the propagation of the new doctrine. One Muncer, who had been a disciple of Luther, hurried on by wild zeal and a restless temper, obtained great influence as a leader of the rebels in the central part of Germany. The number of the insurgents increased so fast, that they at last ventured to take the field and risk a battle. The princes, who united to oppose them, wished if possible to avoid shedding the blood of their deluded subjects. They sent a young nobleman to the camp of the rebels, to offer them a pardon, if they would deliver up their leaders and disperse to their homes. The peasants seemed disposed to accept the terms, and Muncer saw that he would soon be deserted by his followers unless he

could contrive in some way to revive their fainting courage. With admirable tact he took advantage of the appearance of a rainbow, which happened at this moment to be thrown across the clouds. He raised his hands and pointing to the beautiful arch, cried out, "Behold the sign which God has given! There is a pledge of your safety, and a token that the wicked shall be destroyed." The fickle and fanatical multitude were caught by this manœuvre, and passing instantly from the extreme of fear to that of fury, they slew the messenger who brought the offer of mercy and rushed on to attack the enemy. The princes enraged at the murder of their envoy, immediately charged the undisciplined rabble and routed them with great slaughter. Muncer was taken prisoner and executed; and the revolt was crushed.

It is said that more than fifty thousand lives were lost by this commotion, in Germany. During its continuance, Luther labored to restore peace. He endeavoured, on the one hand, to persuade the nobles to diminish the burthens of their subjects, while, on the other, he urged upon the peasants the duty of submission and obedience to their superiors. His efforts were unavailing, and he found that it was easier to excite than to curb the passions of the multitude. They had been too much accustomed to listen to him as the advocate of freedom, to regard his

voice when it recommended the patient endurance of bondage. They felt their galling yoke and were anxious for deliverance from its pressure, but were too ignorant to be guided by the counsels of prudence.

We come now to another circumstance of some importance in the history of the Reformation, inasmuch as it affects the character of its foremost champion; we refer to the marriage of Luther. While at Wartburg, he wrote a book against the celibacy of the clergy; and in a year or two he ventured to reduce his doctrine to practice. He threw off the habit of a monk, and was married in 1524 to Catherine de Bora, a lady much younger than himself, and who had formerly been a nun. This step was blamed as ill-timed and unwise by many of Luther's friends. The country was in a disturbed state owing to the commotion among the peasantry; the enemies of reform seized upon every thing which might throw ridicule upon its advocates; and the cause must suffer, by such an act at such a season of one who had made himself so conspicuous. The papists, as was to have been expected, took up the match as an excellent subject for their satire, and covered the parties with the grossest abuse. The courageous bridegroom was somewhat disturbed by the unpopularity of the new connexion he had formed; "He hoped," he said,

" that since his marriage had made him so despicable, his humiliation would rejoice the angels and vex the devils."

But Luther's mortification soon wore off. Catherine proved to be a good and dutiful wife; an excellent nurse in sickness, and a valuable helpmate at all other times. Her husband grew daily more attached to her. He showed his affection by calling his favorite work, a Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians, his Catherine de Bora. In his letters to his friends he mentioned his partner in terms of fondness and praise. On one occasion he says, " My rib Kate salutes you, and thanks you for the favor of your kind letter. She is very well through God's mercy; and is obedient and complying with me in all things, and more agreeable, I thank God, than I could have expected; so that I would not change my poverty for the wealth of Crœsus." At another time he declared that he would not exchange his wife for the kingdom of France; and " that for three reasons, 1. because she was given him at the time when he implored the assistance of God in finding a good wife: 2. because, though she was not faultless, she had fewer faults than any other woman: 3. because she had been very faithful in her affection to him."

Luther lived with his wife twenty years and had several children, all of whom survived him.

It may interest the reader and serve to give some further idea of the Reformer's social and domestic character, to introduce here a few of his familiar letters. The first we select was written to some friends on his proposed marriage.

"To the worthy, learned, venerable, and judicious JOHN RUSSELL, JOHN THUE, LL. D., &c. &c. my dear friends, collectively and individually.

"Grace and peace in Christ. What an outcry, dear friends, have I caused with the little book about the peasants! In consequence of it, every thing is forgotten that God has done for the world through me. Now lords, priests, and peasants are all against me, and threaten me with death. Well then, if they are mad and foolish, I will also prepare to show myself before I die, as created and guided by God, and retaining nothing of my popish life, that I can get rid of; thus making them still more mad and foolish; and all this for a leave-taking and adieu. For I cannot but expect that God, by his grace, will assist me to do this.

"And to this end, in conformity to the wish of my dear father, I am about to be married, and that this may not be hindered by the machinations of malicious persons, I propose to execute it speedily, intending, by your leave, on Friday week, the day after St. John the Baptist's, to have a little merry-making on occasion of bring-

ing the bride home. This I was not willing to withhold from my good friends, and I beg your assistance in asking a blessing for us. Now as affairs stand at present in the country, I have not ventured to solicit your company, or to require your attendance. Yet, if with your own good will, you can or will come to us with my dear father and mother, you may easily suppose that it will afford me great satisfaction, and whatever contributions, from good friends, you can bring with you, will be acceptable to my poverty. Without any direct request, I beg you will thus understand me, and return an answer by my messenger.

"I should have written of this matter likwise to my gracious friends, Counts Gebhord and Adelbrecht,—but have not ventured to, because their Graces have other business to attend to, than what concerns me. Should it be necessary, however, to do any thing about it, and you think it advisable, I beg you would declare to me your opinion.

"Herewith, I commend
you to God. Amen.
"*Wittemberg, Anno* 1525."

The following relates to the same subject as the preceding.

"To John Dolzig.

"Grace, &c. &c. Without doubt the wonderful news has reached you, that I am about to become a husband; although this seems very strange to myself and I can hardly believe it, yet the evidences of it are so strong that I must in honor and good faith give credit to them, and I propose on Friday next, to give a collation to father and mother and other good friends, that I may set my seal to them and make them certain. I pray you, therefore, if it will not be burdensome to you, that you will kindly furnish some game for the occasion, and fail not to come yourself and help tie the knot, with joy, and all suitable expressions.

"Herewith I commend you to God.
Amen. 1525. M. L."

To his sister, the Lady Dorothy.

"Dear Sister,

"I find by the letter which you have sent me, that your deeply moved conscience longs earnestly for evangelical preaching, and that you may once listen to it in your church at Rossla; this news has rejoiced me much, and I have determined, God willing, to be with you on the coming Christmas eve, if life and health permit, that I may begin myself, with God's help, the preaching of the Gospel at Rossla and Over

Rossla, and recommend its continuance. Greet thy husband and thy little daughter Margaret, to whom I will bring something; and God bless you.

"*Eisleben*, 2 *December*, 1539."

Luther, who was very fond of his children, seems to have written the following to his favorite little boy, as an allegorical description of heaven.

"To my dear little son, JOHN LUTHER.

"Joy be with you, my dear little son. I am glad to find that you learn your lessons well, and are careful to say your prayers. Do so still, my dear boy, and fail not; when I come home I will bring with me a fine toy from the fair. I will tell you of a charming pleasant garden, in which there are a great many children; they wear little bright looking coats, and pick up under the trees beautiful apples and pears, cherries and plums: they sing, dance, and frolic; they have, besides, beautiful little horses with gilded bridles and silver saddles. So I asked the man who owned the garden, what children these were? He answered, they are children who love to pray and to study, and who are good humored.

"Then I said, Dear sir, I have a son, too, named Johnny Luther; may not he too come into the garden, that he may eat these fine apples and pears, ride on these beautiful horses, and

play with these children? And the man answered: if he loves to say his prayers, to learn his book, and is kind to his play-mates, he may come into the garden, and Dicky and Bob too; and if they all come together, they shall have fifes, trumpets, lutes, and all sorts of stringed instruments: they shall dance, and shoot with little bows and arrows.

"And then he showed me a fine lawn in the midst of the garden, prepared for dancing, where were suspended from the branches of the trees golden trumpets and fifes, and fine silver bows. But it was yet early, so that the children had not eaten their breakfast, and I could not therefore wait for the dancing, and said to the man; ah, dear sir, I will go directly and write about all this to my little John; so that he may be attentive at his prayers, learn his book well, and be good natured, that he too may come into the garden; but he has a nurse, Betty, that he must bring with him. Then the man replied: It shall be as you say; go then and write to him.

"Therefore, dear little son Jack, study and pray diligently, and tell Dicky and Bob to do the same; so that you may all come together to the garden. And now I recommend you to Almighty God; greetings to nurse Betty, and give her a kiss for me. From your dear Father,

"MARTIN LUTHER."

Notwithstanding its length we cannot forbear giving almost the whole of an excellent letter written by Luther to his father, when he was sick. It is full of filial affection and elevated piety.

"Dear Father,

"My brother James has written to tell me that you are dangerously ill. I feel anxious for you, in consequence of the unhealthy air, which prevails every where, and the universal sickness at this time. For, although God has given you a firm, strong body, and so far continued your strength, yet your advanced age at this period gives me anxious thoughts. Although we are none of us sure of our lives for an hour, nor can be, yet I am beyond measure desirous to come to you in the body; but my good friends have persuaded me against it, and I cannot but think myself, that I ought not to tempt Providence by throwing myself into danger; for you know how much favor I have found both with gentlemen and peasants.

"But it would be a great joy to me if it were possible that you could come to us, with mother. Catherine also desires it with tears, and all of us. I trust we could take excellent care of you. For this reason, I have got Cyrus ready to go to you, that he may ascertain if it is possible, on account

of the state of your health. And although I know it will be with you according to God's will, whether for this life or the next; yet I long earnestly, — if it might be permitted, — to have your bodily presence with me, and according to the fourth commandment, with filial love and duty, to show my gratitude to God and to yourself.

"In the mean time, I pray to God, — who created and appointed you to be my father on earth, — from the bottom of my heart, that he will strengthen you by his exhaustless goodness, and enlighten and preserve you by his spirit, that you may know with joy and thanksgiving the blessed Gospel of his Son our Saviour Jesus Christ, to which you have already come, being called by his grace out of gross darkness and error; and I trust that his grace having given you this knowledge, and *his word having begun in you*, will sustain and perfect you unto the end of this life, and the joyful coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

"For this faith and doctrine he has already sealed unto you, and confirmed by signs, inasmuch as you have been called to suffer with the rest of us for my name's sake, much evil speaking, hatred, contempt, shame, scorn, enmity, and many dangers. And these are the true signs, through which we become like unto our Lord Jesus Christ,

as St. Paul says, Romans VIII, that we may also resemble him in his future glory.

"Let your heart then be comforted and lifted up even in your weakness; for we have in the other world with God, a sure and faithful helper, Jesus Christ, who, for us, has destroyed both sin and death, and sits in heaven now to intercede for us, and with angels, looks down upon us, waiting till we shall have run our course; so that we need not be anxious or fearful that we should sink or fall to the ground. He has too great power over sin and death, to permit that they should injure us, and is so true and merciful that he neither can nor will deceive us; that is, if we go to him nothing doubting.

"For this he has said, promised and assured us; and we are sure that he cannot deceive us. "Ask," says he, "and ye shall receive, seek and ye shall find, knock and it shall be opened unto you." And, "all who call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved." And the whole Psalter is full of such gracious promises, especially the ninety-first Psalm, which is particularly suited for the reading of all sick persons.

"These things I have written unto you, being anxious on account of your illness, — although we know not when the hour cometh, — that I might be partaker of your struggle, your comfort, and thanksgiving unto God for his holy word,

which he has richly, powerfully, and graciously given unto us in this life.

"But if it should be the divine will, that you should yet longer be kept from that better state, that you should still see and hear with us the sorrows and afflictions of this sad vale of tears, or with all Christians endure and conquer them, he will give you grace to do all willingly and obediently. Yet this wretched life is nothing else than a vale of sorrows, in which the longer we remain, the more we see and experience of sin and iniquity, misfortune and distress, without cessation or diminution, until we are cut down by the scythe of death; then must it all cease, and we shall sleep quietly in the peace of Christ, until he comes and awakes us again with joy. Amen."

* * *

"Although I trust that your pastors and ministers will show their faithfulness unto you, so that you do not require my words; yet I could not fail thus to make up for my absence from you, which, God knows, makes my heart sad.

"My Kate, little John, Nelly, nurse Betty, and the whole family greet you heartily and pray earnestly for you. Greet my dear mother and the whole household. God's power and grace be and abide with you for ever. Amen.

"*Wittemberg*, 15*th February*, 1530."

We add one more epistle, somewhat humorous in its character, and intended probably as a playful satire upon the contentions and divisions in the German Diets.

A jesting letter, addressed to some of his companions.

"Grace &c. Dear gentlemen and friends, — I have received all your letters and understand by them, how things are going on with you. That you may know in return, how things fare with us, I have thought best to inform you, that we, viz: myself, masters Victor and Cyrus, are not gone to the Imperial Diet at Augsburg: we are come, however, to another diet.

"There is a small wood just before our window, in which the crows and the rooks have assembled a diet; there is such a journeying to and fro, such an incessant screaming through the night and day, as if they were all crazy or bewitched; they caw all together young and old: still I wonder how their voice and breath can hold out so long. And I would gladly know if such noblemen and knights-errant are to be found likewise with you; for methinks all that the world contains must be gathered together here.

"I have not yet seen their emperor; but their nobles and great personages are continually hov-

ering and flying about before our eyes, not very splendidly attired, but simply — in an uniform color, all equally black, all with grey eyes; they all sing the same song, yet with a pleasant difference betwen young and old, great and small. They care not for great halls and palaces; for their hall is roofed by the beautiful wide-spreading sky; its floor is merely turf, its tables beautiful green branches, and its walls extend to the extremity of the earth. Neither do they ask for horses and carriages; they have winged wheels with which they fly from the sportsman, and withdraw from the angry passions of their companions.

"They are great and powerful lords; but I do not yet know their decrees. Thus much I have learned from an interpreter, that they are projecting a vigorous attack upon wheat, barley, oats, rye, and all sorts of corn and grain, and there are many knights among them who are to perform great actions.

"Thus, you see, we sit here in the midst of the Diet, looking and listening with great delight and affection to the cheerful singing and merry lives of the princes, nobles, and chief men of the kingdom. But we have particular pleasure in seeing them sharpen their bills and put on their armor, that they may be victorious and acquire honor in their contests with corn and barley.

We wish them safety and success, and trust, that they will not all be impaled on some sharp pointed hedge.

"I think, however, that the crowd which are just before me can be nothing but sophists and Romanists with their preachers and scribes, who have come that I may hear their harmonious voices and preaching, and see what useful people they are to destroy every thing upon the earth, and then yawn for something to do.

"To-day we have heard the first nightingale; for they are not willing to trust themselves in April. It is now very fine weather with us; it has not rained at all, except a little yesterday. Perhaps it is otherwise with you. God's blessing be with you and support your house.

"From the Diet of Maltese Knights, 28th April, 1530."

## CHAPTER IX.

DEATH OF FREDERIC OF SAXONY — DIET AT SPIRES — THE PROTEST — DISPUTE AMONG THE REFORMERS CONCERNING THE LORD'S SUPPER — SECOND DIET AT SPIRES — DIET AND CONFESSION OF AUGSBURG — LEAGUE OF SMALCALD — PEACE OF NUREMBERG. 1526 - 1532.

FREDERIC, Elector of Saxony, died in 1525, soon after the defeat of the peasants. He had been a cautious, but on the whole a firm friend of Luther, and his loss would have been severely felt, had not his brother and successor John been decidedly in favor of the reform, and a man of bold and independent character. Being a convert to the new doctrines and believing that the time had come when a choice between them and popery must be publicly made, this prince directed Luther and Melancthon to form a set of rules for the government of the churches throughout his dominions. His example was followed by other noblemen, — and thus a new impulse and greater dignity was given to the Reformation. Steps so decided aroused the bitter and active opposition of those who still adhered to the papal see; and had it not been for the lukewarmness of the Emperor and the distracted state of the empire,

an immediate collision would probably have taken place between the Romanists and their adversaries.

As it was, however, the proceedings of the next Diet, which assembled at Spires in 1526, were favorable to the Reformers. Charles V. had been engaged in a long war with his rival the king of France, in which the latter was taken prisoner and released, after a protracted negotiation, only on condition of his complying with the terms of a hard treaty. This he promised to do. But when he was set at liberty, he obtained absolution from his oath from the pope, who began to fear the growing power of the German Emperor, which he endeavoured to check by forming an alliance with England and France. Charles, greatly exasperated at this conduct, immediately declared war against the pontiff; one of his generals entered the holy city with an army, and beseiged Clement in the castle of St. Angelo, where he was reduced to such extremity of hunger as to feed on asses' flesh, and obliged at last to surrender, on such conditions as his conquerors chose to dictate. He agreed to pay a large sum of money, to give up his fortresses, and to remain a prisoner until these terms were fulfilled. It was during this rupture, that the above mentioned Diet was held. The Reformers took advantage of the state of affairs. A majority of

the deputies present declared it to be impossible to enforce the Edict of Worms, and voted to leave every one to manage the religious concerns of his own territories as he pleased, until the convention of a general Council.

It was the policy of the Emperor to countenance this decision: and the advocates of the new doctrine, finding themselves unmolested, were greatly encouraged. Their preachers were indefatigable, and their writings were extensively circulated. Many, who had hitherto been indifferent or timid, now came out and joined their ranks. And it seemed as if the whole empire was about to break away from the dominion of the Pope. But this prosperity continued only for a short season. Political considerations alone dictated the course of Charles with regard to the different religious parties. He favored or opposed one or the other of them according to the aid they might render in the execution of his ambitious designs. He soon discovered that he had gone too far in his contest with the Pope, and deemed it necessary to change his line of conduct. Having in some measure settled the disturbed affairs of his kingdom, and having liberated and formed a league with Clement, he directed his brother Ferdinand, who acted in his name, to support the popish party in the second Diet of Spires, which was held in the spring of 1529. Thus deserted

and opposed by the Emperor, the Reformers were discomfited. The decrees of the former Diet were revoked, and any change in the forms of worship declared unlawful until the opinion of the proposed general Council should be known.

The Elector of Saxony and his followers now found themselves in a desperate condition. Under existing circumstances, as they were well aware, it was vain to hope for the assembly of an impartial council — even if the promise to summon one was not altogether a piece of deception, — and they felt the necessity of making every exertion in defence of their rights. Accordingly the Elector John, the marquis of Brandenburg, the landgrave of Hesse, the prince of Anhalt, together with the deputies of fourteen free cities, entered their solemn PROTEST against the decision of the Diet. It was from this circumstance that they obtained the name of *Protestants*, which has since been extended to all who have separated from the Church of Rome or denied its infallibility. In addition to their remonstrance, the protestant princes sent special envoys to meet the Emperor, who was then on a journey from Spain to Italy. These noblemen were ungraciously received. Offended by the spirit and firmness with which they discharged their office, the arbitrary monarch ordered them to be imprisoned for several days, and treated their com-

munications with contempt. When the news of the treatment experienced by their ambassadors reached the Protestants, they saw how little justice was to be expected from their sovereign, and also the necessity of a closer union among themselves. They therefore held several meetings for the purpose of forming a league for their mutual defence; but so great was the diversity of sentiment among them, that they came to no definite agreement.

The chief source of divison was the old controversy concerning the Lord's Supper, which prevented a cordial sympathy between those of the same mind on almost every other point of doctrine; and shows how slowly men learn to tolerate differences in opinion even about matters of small importance. The very persons, who for years had been contending side by side for religious liberty, began, while their cause was yet in great jeopardy, to quarrel among themselves concerning that ordinance which was, in part, intended to be significant of Christian union.

This gross inconsistency was felt by the more prudent of their number, who endeavoured to settle a dispute so trivial in itself, and at the same time so dangerous to their cause. The Landgrave of Hesse, in particular, was extremely anxious to reconcile the followers of Luther and Zwingle, and for this purpose he invited them to

hold a friendly conference at Marpurg in 1529; but this well-intended measure was productive of little good. Zwingle and his friends were, indeed, "easy to be intreated" and willing to unite with their German brethren; but Luther met all attempts at a compromise with the most dogged obstinacy. He was coarse and violent in his language, and treated with coldness the frank and cordial pastor of Zurich. The most that could be extorted from him was a promise, — which he did not keep, — to use milder language in whatever he might hereafter publish in opposition to the Swiss divines. Before they left Marpurg, the members of the conference drew up a paper containing the doctrines admitted by them all, and leaving each individual to exercise, on the subject of the Supper, as much charity towards those who differed from him, as his conscience would permit.

We have now arrived at that period, when the Reformation, — having long since ceased to be a mere quarrel between monks and theologians, — became an affair of great moment, involving the interests of the whole German empire. Princes and States were arrayed against each other, and the contest assumed a political, as well as religious character. On the one side were the Emperor, the Pope, and those petty sovereigns who still adhered to the Romish faith; on the other, the

less numerous and powerful, but no less determined friends of the new religion. The struggle was long and fearful, and the Protestants were obliged to put forth all their strength and contend with determined resolution, in order to obtain a recognition of their rights. A complete history of their achievements would fill a volume; we can only glance at the most striking and important.

Undismayed at the rough reception of their envoys, the protestant princes were about to repeat their application to the Emperor for redress, when they received intelligence that he was soon to visit Germany in person. Charles arrived at Bologna in Italy, November 1529, and spent the winter in consultation with the Pope concerning the steps to be taken to subdue the enemies of the papal system. Clement recommended the immediate adoption of severe measures, and manifested great repugnance to the convention of a general Council. But the Emperor was not prepared for open hostilities, until something should be done to examine into the condition of the Church. A middle course was finally chosen; and it was resolved to try once more the effect of a national assembly. Accordingly a new Diet, was summoned to meet at Augsburg the ensuing summer.

The Emperor, on his journey to attend this Diet, had an opportunity to observe the temper of

his subjects. When he discovered the extent and formidable character of the Protestant party, and the degree of favor with which they were regarded by the people, he was more anxious than ever to avoid an appeal to arms. He entered Augsburg, on the 15th of June, with great pomp. The deputies went out to meet him. The Romanists anticipated from his presence a complete triumph over their opponents; while the Protestants could not but rejoice in an opportunity to plead their cause before their sovereign; both parties united in welcoming the return of the monarch, after so long an absence. This apparent joy lasted, however, but for a few hours. The very next morning an occurrence took place, which taught the Reformers the vanity of their reliance upon the impartiality of Charles. It happened to be one of the great festivals of the Church; and the Emperor called upon the Protestant princes to join the procession. This they positively refused to do; and when the haughty monarch threatened to punish them for their disobedience, the Marquis of Brandenburg replied, "Rather would I instantly kneel down and submit my neck to the executioner than prove unfaithful to God, and receive or sanction Anti-christian error." This bold and unexpected language showed the Emperor that the Reformers were not to be trifled with,

and their attendance upon the celebration was excused.

The session of the Diet commenced on the 20th of June. Two important subjects came up for consideration, viz. a war to be undertaken against the Turks, and the state of religion. The latter was first attended to. To open the way for its discussion, the Protestants had prepared a statement of their opinions, for the better information of the deputies. This paper, called the Confession of Augsburg, was composed by Melancthon, who was selected for this task in preference to Luther, because the warmth and violence of the latter was ill suited to the promotion of that peace which was now so anxiously desired. The Confession consisted of twenty-eight articles, of which twenty-one stated the views of those who signed it, and the remaining seven recounted the abuses which had led to their separation from the Romish community. This document was subscribed only by the Lutherans; those of the German Reformers, who sympathized with Zwingle's opinion of the Lord's Supper, refused to assent to it, because it favored the doctrine of transubstantiation.

The Emperor would not allow the Confession to come before the Diet, but, after hearing its contents in a more private assembly, he directed some Popish divines to prepare an answer to it,

This was immediately done, and the reply was, in turn, reviewed by Melancthon. Nothing, however, was gained by the discussion. The contending parties remained as far asunder as ever. The summer was spent in fruitless efforts to bring about a reconciliation. Charles, who was desirous of avoiding a rupture with the Protestants, whose aid he needed in his proposed expedition against the Turks, made great exertions to bring them to terms. He tried first to win over the leading divines, and then to bribe the most eminent among the princes. But although both of these classes were anxious for peace, they refused to purchase it by an abandonment of their religion. They were prepared to endure any and every extremity, rather than do violence to their own consciences. In leaving the Romish communion they had acted from principle, and neither threats nor promises could induce them again to submit to its tyranny. Not prepared to grant them perfect toleration, and baffled in every attempt to persuade them to acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope, Charles at last resolved to use compulsion. On the 19th of November, when many of the Protestant leaders had left the city, a decree was passed, "in which new force was added to the Edict of Worms, and the princes and cities that had become alienated from the Pontiff, were admonished to

return to their duty, within a certain time, unless they wished to incur the vengeance of the Emperor." The only part of this law, which was favorable to the Reformers, was an indefinite promise of a general Council.

The Elector of Saxony and his friends were greatly alarmed by this transaction. It shut out all hope of obtaining justice, and called upon them for some new measures for self-preservation. They met at Smalcald, and there, after deliberating upon the position in which they were placed, they formed a league for mutual protection, and conceived the design of elevating themselves into an independent confederacy. They even ventured to seek assistance from foreign powers. This plan was not adopted, however, with sole reference to religious matters. About this time the Emperor wished to have his brother elected king of the Romans, and thereby to give him control over Germany. The allied princes saw in this desire another blow aimed at their liberty, and determined, if possible, to prevent its execution. Their remonstrances were disregarded by Charles, and Ferdinand was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, about the middle of January, 1531. On hearing of this event the Protestants renewed with success their applications for support to the king of France, and took a still more decided stand in opposition to their sovereign.

The Emperor, unprepared for these bold proceedings, was speedily convinced how impolitic, at present, would be the employment of violence. Instead of accomplishing his great design, which was to consolidate Germany into one united body, he found that by consulting the wishes of the Pope he was running the risk of a civil war. To avoid a result so disastrous, he began to sue for peace. After much negotiation and delay, a truce was agreed upon by the Emperor and the Protestants at Nuremberg in 1532. The terms of this peace were, that the Protestants should assist in the Turkish war, and acknowledge Ferdinand's election as king of the Romans, while the Emperor annulled the Edicts of Worms and Augsburg, granted to the Lutherans "full liberty to regulate their religious matters as they pleased, until either a Council, which was to be held within six months, or a Diet of the empire, should determine what religious principles were to be adopted and obeyed." Just after the conclusion of this pacification the Elector of Saxony died; an event of no injury to the Reformers, as he was succeeded by his son John Frederic, who was an ardent friend to their cause.

## CHAPTER X.

THE ANABAPTISTS — THEIR ORIGIN AND LEADERS — THEIR CAPTURE OF THE CITY OF MUNSTER — THEIR DEFEAT. 1533-1535.

THE disturbed state of men's minds, during the times of the Reformation, gave rise to some strange excesses, which, although they may not in strictness be considered a part of the history of that event, are yet too interesting and instructive to be entirely omitted. Of one of these, — the War of the Peasants, — we have already given some account; and we shall devote this chapter to a brief description of another, which will, perhaps, serve to remind our readers how necessary to the welfare and virtue of society are the restraints of knowledge, reason, and good government.

The insurrection of the peasantry, although chiefly owing to the oppression of their masters, was, as has been stated, influenced and promoted by religious fanaticism. After the rebellion was crushed, some of the enthusiasts who had been engaged in it roamed about Germany and Switzerland, and spread their over-heated zeal and extravagant notions among the lower classes of the people. As the number of their converts

increased, their restlessness and wild conduct frequently called for the interference of the civil authority, and in some places they were treated with great severity. Notwithstanding this, they continued to multiply with great rapidity, being every where joined by the idle, discontented, and ignorant, until the years 1533 and 4, when they appeared in crowds and caused great disturbances. Their distinguishing tenet, and the one from which they derived their name of *Anabaptists*, (to re-baptize), related to the rite of baptism, which they contended ought only to be administered to adults, and then always by immersion and not by sprinkling. In addition to this they professed many dangerous, opinions. They declared the existence of civil government to be an encroachment upon the privileges of Christians, who were a law unto themselves; they allowed polygamy; they insisted that the distinctions occasioned by birth, rank, or wealth were contrary to the gospel, and that all possessions should be thrown into a common treasury, for the use of the whole community, who were to live together as brethren on a perfect equality; they also pretended to the gift of prophecy and to immediate inspiration, and held all human learning in contempt.

Sentiments like these, promulgated by dissolute impostors or ignorant fanatics, soon produced

most lamentable consequences. In the year 1534, John Matthias, a baker of Harlem, and John Bockhold, a tailor of Leyden, filled with a rage for making proselytes, and forming a society, fixed upon the city of Münster in Westphalia, as a place of residence. Here they gained over and deceived many of the populace, and among the rest a Protestant clergyman, and an opulent magistrate by the name of Knipperdolling. When their followers were sufficiently numerous to warrant the step, they sallied forth at midnight, seized upon the arsenal and Senate house, and ran through the streets, sword in hand, crying, "Repent and be baptized!" "Depart ye ungodly!" The bishop of Münster, and the sober citizens, both Catholics and Protestants, fled in terror, and left the town in the hands of the fanatical multitude. Freed from all control, the Anabaptists yielded themselves up to the directions of Matthias.

The community was formed into a sort of Commonwealth, of which Knipperdolling and another were nominally appointed consuls; all the real authority being possessed by the fanatical baker. The churches were plundered and their ornaments destroyed; — all books were burnt except the Bible; — the gold, silver, and other valuable articles found in the houses of the opulent citizens were collected together into a common treasury; and in order to establish a

more perfect equality, the multitude ate at tables daily prepared in public. Having finished these arrangements, Matthias next set his followers at work to fortify the city, and sent emissaries to invite the Anabaptists in other parts of the country to assemble at Münster, or, as it was now called, Mount Sion.

While this strange revolution was going on, the bishop of Münster began to raise forces, for the purpose of attacking the city and driving out the rebels. The moment the army appeared before the walls, Matthias sallied forth and routed one division of it with great slaughter. He returned from this victory, loaded with spoils and in higher repute than ever with his deluded followers. "Intoxicated with this success, he appeared the next day brandishing a spear, and declared that, in imitation of Gideon, he would go forth with a handful of men and smite the ungodly. Thirty persons, whom he named, followed him without hesitation, and rushing on the enemy were cut off to a man."

The death of Matthias at first confounded the Anabaptists. But Bockhold rose up to take his place as a leader, and soon succeeded to his influence over the infatuated multitude. Less courageous, but more ambitious, less skilful, but more fanatical than his predecessor, the new prophet and general contented himself with a

defensive war, and strove diligently to increase his authority over his disciples. Having prepared the people by a series of well-managed predictions to expect some great event, Bockhold went naked about the streets proclaiming, "That the kingdom of Sion was at hand; that whatever was highest on earth should be brought low, and whatever was lowest should be exalted." He began to prove the truth of his words by depriving Knipperdolling, who was so deluded as to rejoice in the change, of his office as a magistrate, and appointing him to the station of common hangman. He likewise degraded all others in authority, and ordered the most lofty buildings in the city to be demolished. "In place of the deposed magistrates, he set up twelve men whom he styled judges, according to the number of the tribes of Israel, to preside in all affairs; retaining to himself the same authority which Moses anciently possessed as the legislator of the Jews."

This authority did not, however, long satisfy him. He longed for the power of a monarch; and at length succeeded in persuading his followers that a special revelation had been given him, which declared it to be the will of God that he should be king of Sion and sit on the throne of David. Accordingly, with the consent of his subjects, he now put on a golden crown, clothed himself in royal apparel, coined money stamped

with his own image, surrounded himself with guards, and appointed the pliant Knipperdolling, as a reward for his recent degradation, governor of the city.

Having attained this height of power, Bockhold's enthusiasm gave way to the open indulgence of the vilest passions, and the exercise of the most bloody tyranny. Abandoned to all sorts of dissoluteness himself, he encouraged in others a total disregard of the laws of decency and morality. He married fourteen wives, and permitted his followers to imitate his example. Supported by those who cared for nothing but the gratification of their senses and appetites, and who were almost transformed into brutes, he instantly executed all who ventured to oppose his authority. On a certain occasion, "one of his wives having uttered words which implied a doubt concerning his divine mission, he called together the whole number, and commanding the blasphemer, as he termed her, to kneel down, cut off her head with his own hands; and so far were the rest from expressing any horror at this deed, that they joined him in dancing around the bleeding body of their companion."

Such outrages were not long to continue. The pretensions and enormities of Bockhold attracted the attention and aroused the indigna-

tion of the German divines and rulers. Luther loudly called upon the nobles to crush the monster and put an end to his iniquities. His exhortations were not without their effect. The princes of the empire assembled, and voted to raise money and men to aid the bishop of Münster in the recovery of his city. Their forces were put under the command of a skilful officer. When they arrived at the town, the general found the walls too strongly fortified and manned to hazard an assault; he therefore determined to reduce it by a regular siege. This would have been a tedious undertaking, had not the Anabaptists been destitute of the means of support.

They had now been in possession of the city about fifteen months; and notwithstanding the care which had been taken by their leaders to guard against such an extremity, they began to feel the pressure of an approaching famine. The succors they had expected from other parts of the country had been intercepted and cut off; the besieged were worn out and enfeebled by their riotous living, and their labors to fortify and defend the town. Such, however, was the ascendancy obtained over them by Bockhold, that they kept up their spirits for a long time, and listened with implicit faith to his predictions that some miracle would yet be wrought for their

deliverance. But at last the confidence of some began to be weakened by their acute sufferings; starvation threatened them and no prospect of relief had appeared. One of the discontented escaped from the city and fell into the hands of the enemy, to whom he pointed out the weakest parts of the fortifications, and offered to act as a guide if they would venture to attack them. This proposal was gladly accepted. On the night of June 24th, 1535, a select body of troops scaled the walls and opened the gates of the city to the rest of the army. The Anabaptists defended themselves with all the courage of despair; but overpowered with numbers and weakened by hunger, most of them were slain or taken prisoners. Among the latter was Bockhold and Knipperdolling. The king loaded with chains was carried from place to place and exposed to the insults of the people. Afterward he was brought back to Münster and there tortured to death, in company with Knipperdolling, with red hot pincers; and their bodies were hung in cages upon the steeple of one of the churches, as a terror to all rebels. Bockhold, who at the time of his execution was only twenty-six years of age, remained firm to the last, and died adhering to the tenets of his sect with unshaken obstinacy.

"Together with its monarch," says Robertson, from whose history of Charles V. the above account has been mostly compiled, "the kingdom of the Anabaptists came to an end. Their principles having taken deep root in the Low-Countries, the party still subsists there under the name of Mennonites; but by a very singular revolution this sect, so mutinous and sanguinary at its first origin, hath become altogether innocent and pacific. Holding it unlawful to wage war, or to accept of civil offices, they devote themselves entirely to the duties of private citizens, and by their industry and charity endeavour to make reparation to human society for the violence committed by their founders."

## CHAPTER XI.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE TRUCE OF NUREMBERG—COUNCIL OF TRENT—PREPARATIONS FOR WAR—DEATH OF LUTHER—INVASION OF SAXONY—SUBMISSION OF THE PROTESTANTS—CAPTURE OF FREDERIC—SUBMISSION OF THE LANDGRAVE OF HESSE. 1532-1547.

The truce of Nuremberg was a great gain to the Protestants. Having brought the Emperor to consent to their terms, they assumed an attitude of dignity and importance among the powers of Europe, and those who, although with them in opinion, had hitherto been too doubtful of their success to join them openly, now hesitated no longer. Charles having learned that the league of Smalcald was not to be despised, appears to have been anxious to fulfil his part of the late treaty with that body. He stopt at Bologna, on his way to Spain in 1532, and had an interview with the Pope; in which he urged him most strenuously to summon the Council which had been promised. This Clement was unwilling to do, and manifested great displeasure at the favor shown to the Reformers.

Not being prepared, however, to quarrel with the Emperor, he pretended to consent to his wishes. Propositions were made for the conven-

tion of a Council; but in all negotiations for this purpose the court of Rome took care to throw insurmountable obstacles in the way of its accomplishment. The Pope fixed upon Italy as the country in which the Council should be held, and insisted that the writings of the doctors and fathers of the Church should be deemed of equal authority with the Bible. To this the Protestants refused to listen. They demanded a free Council to meet in Germany, and that all points in dispute should be determined by an appeal to the words of Scripture alone. Before these differences could be adjusted Clement died, September 25th, 1534, and was succeeded by Paul III.

The new Pontiff was no less averse than his predecessor to a compliance with the request of the Emperor, and he likewise evaded it for a long time by the most artful policy. He seemed indeed quite tractable at first, and in 1536 issued letters summoning a Council to meet at Mantua. These letters he knew very well would not be obeyed, as he had purposely selected a place for the proposed assembly, which was not only objected to by the Protestants, but by several other princes, including the Emperor and the king of France. The Reformers expresed their dissatisfaction at another meeting at Smalcald, where they renewed their confederacy for ten years, and protested against the designs of the Pope.

Matters proceeded much in this way for a number of years, and nothing effectual was done towards a settlement of the religious disputes. Charles was engaged in an expedition into Africa, and was afterwards so involved in wars with France and the Turks, that he was in no condition to do much to compose the differences among his German subjects. As he needed the aid of the Protestants, he continued to grant them many indulgences, and endeavoured to secure their good will by appointing a conference between the Catholic and Lutheran divines, and by persevering in his efforts to induce the Pope to call a Council. But all was of no avail. At last having made a peace with Francis, and in some measure relieved himself from the pressure of his other concerns, he resolved to change his policy, and to bring to an end the contest between the Romanists and the Reformers.

The Pope having renewed his proposal for a Council, to be convened at the city of Trent, Charles insisted, in a Diet held at Worms in 1545, that the Protestants should consent to it; if they did not, recourse was to be had to arms to compel their obedience or to punish their obstinacy. The Protestants remonstrated, and resolved to run every risk rather than abandon their principles or retract their just demands. Open hostilities seemed now to be inevitable. The Emperor

had been making preparations for this crisis, and the Elector of Saxony, with his allies, began to take measures to meet the approaching storm.

While the hostile parties were arming themselves for war, and his country was about to become the scene of sanguinary conflicts, Luther died. Worn out with his many labors and troubled with many infirmities, he set out on a journey to Eisleben, his native city, to adjust some difficulties which had arisen between its inhabitants and the Counts under whose jurisdiction they lived. Soon after his arrival he was seized with a violent inflammation in the stomach. Medicine did him no good, and he expired on the morning of the 18th of January, 1546, in the sixty-third year of his age. The character of this eminent man was one of strong lights and shadows. To great energy, courage, and zeal were added other qualities less worthy of commendation. His faults of temper were a source of sorrow to himself, as well as to his friends. Inclined to be headstrong and obstinate, he frequently failed to exercise that "charity which is not easily provoked;" and partly in accordance with the bad taste of the age, and partly from the sinful indulgence of an irritable disposition, he was apt, in the heat of controversy or when opposed by others, to descend to the use of coarse, scurrilous, and abusive language. But

with all these defects, which are neither to be excused nor denied, he claims respect for the many noble qualities and deeds, by which they are to some extent redeemed. He was fearless and conscientious in his search after truth, and bold and honest in its defence. Sincere in his piety, inflexible in his principles, and ready to sacrifice interest and to expose life at the call of duty, he deserved the gratitude which he has received from the Protestant world.

The rupture between the Emperor and the Protestants was now rapidly advancing to open warfare. Some account of the parties about to engage in the conflict will help the reader to understand its character.

The defence of the Romish Church, although the ostensible, was by no means the principal, object of Charles V. It was the earnest desire of that ambitious monarch to tighten the loose bonds of the Germanic Confederacy, and to subject the whole empire to his supreme authority. The members of the league of Smalcald had asserted their independence and opposed the despotic sway coveted by their sovereign. While this formidable body existed, the Emperor knew that his power would be resisted; and it was this consideration, rather than any personal interest in the religious controversy, which made him anxious for its destruction. His motive and de-

sign were suspected by the associated princes, and they clung to each other, not only for the defence of their theological opinions, but also for the defence of their political rights.

The union among the Reformers was not, however, perfectly harmonious. The leaders, — the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse, — differed in opinion as to the line of conduct to be pursued, and thus prevented for a season that vigorous action which their perilous position required. The latter of these noblemen, with more sagacity than his colleague, was desirous of obtaining aid from the kings of France and England, and from the followers of Zwingle; but the former, who was bigoted in his adherence to the creed and advice of Luther, objected to any alliance with Catholic monarchs, and showed much unwillingness to invite the coöperation of those who rejected his view of the Lord's Supper. Thus a cordial sympathy was wanting between the commanders, which interrupted their preparations for war. It was only when self-preservation seemed absolutely to demand it, that the Elector got over his scruples and yielded to the policy of the Landgrave. But his consent to the application for aid from foreign powers was of little benefit. France and England were not disposed to render any efficient assistance, and the Romish party was so numerous in Switzer-

land, that the Cantons voted to preserve a strict neutrality with reference to the approaching conflict. This disappointment did not prevent the Protestants from raising a large army, and it will be seen that their ill success was not owing to a want of troops.

The opening of the Council of Trent in 1546 was the signal for the commencement of hostilities. Charles had been enlisting soldiers in the Netherlands (a part of his hereditary dominions), and was likewise expecting the arrival of an additional force to be furnished by the Pope. Neither of these bodies of troops had arrived, when the Protestants took the field, with a well-disciplined army of seventy thousand foot and fifteen thousand horse, provided with a train of one hundred and twenty cannon. The zeal of the Reformers and the progress of their opinions may be inferred from the fact, that this armament was wholly furnished by three of the princes and three of the free cities. Many of the noblemen, who had embraced the Lutheran doctrine, having been induced, either by the threats or promises of the Emperor, to join his standard or to remain inactive. One of these deserters, who occupies a conspicuous place in the history of this period, was Maurice, Duke of Saxony, a nephew of the Elector Frederic and the son-in-law of the Landgrave of Hesse. This young and exceedingly

ambitious prince courted the favor of the Emperor, in the hope that, amid the distractions of civil war, he might find means to increase his own power by getting possession of the territories of his uncle. It is possible, however, that he was actuated in part by better motives. He might have been deceived by the fair professions of Charles, that he had no intention of interfering with the religious opinions of the Reformers. Be this as it may, we shall presently find that Maurice, by his ability and intrigues, succeeded in obtaining the power to decide the fate of the Protestants; and that happily for them he found it for his interest to be their friend and defender.

Had the Protestants at once attacked the Emperor, who was shut up in the town of Ratisbon and defended only by about eight thousand men, they would have obtained an easy victory. But unwilling to be the first, unless compelled by absolute necessity, to kindle the flames of a civil war, they determined to try once more the effect of negotiations. They appealed by letter to the justice of Charles, and pointed out the ruinous consequences which must follow from his continued aggressions upon their rights. To this remonstrance he made no reply; but immediately declared the authors of it outlaws and rebels, who were deprived of their privileges as members of the Germanic Confederacy, and whose property

and territories might be seized and invaded with impunity. Irritated by this severe sentence, the Reformers sent a herald to the Imperial camp to make a formal declaration of war. But this defiance was followed by no decided action. Divided in their councils the Protestant leaders were sluggish in their movements; while the Emperor by skilful manœuvres succeeded in avoiding a battle and in collecting together all his troops.

About this time Maurice, under the pretext of executing the sentence of outlawry mentioned above, in company with the king of the Romans, invaded the territories of his uncle. When the news of this event reached him, Frederic hastened home to expel the invaders. His departure weakened the Protestant army and confused their plans. Most of the princes found it necessary to surrender themselves to the mercy of the Emperor. This haughty monarch treated them with the greatest severity. "The princes in person, and the cities by their deputies, were compelled to implore pardon in the humble posture of supplicants, — to pay heavy fines — to renounce the league of Smalcald, — to assist if required in subduing the Elector and the Landgrave, who still remained in arms, and to comply with other equally harsh conditions."

In the mean time the Elector had driven out his enemies and reëstablished his authority in Saxony. This he the more easily accomplished, as the Emperor was prevented by causes, which need not be detailed, from rendering immediate assistance to his brother and to his ally Maurice.

In the month of April, 1546, we find the Elector with a fine body of troops stationed on the east bank of the Elbe, near Muhlberg. Here he remained inactive and undecided as to his future movements. In the evening of the 23d of April, Charles with an army of sixteen thousand men arrived on the opposite side of the river. "The stream at this place was three hundred paces in breadth, above four feet in depth, its current rapid, and the bank possessed by the Saxons was higher than that occupied by the Imperial troops." Notwithstanding these obstacles and contrary to the advice of his generals, the Emperor resolved to force his passage across the Elbe. A bridge of boats for the transportation of the infantry was constructed the next morning, in spite of the incessant firing kept up by the enemy, the cavalry led by the Emperor in person, and each trooper carrying a foot-soldier behind him, swam and forded the river, and by great exertion reached the opposite bank. The Elector, either on account of his own indecision or deceived by the reports of his officers, was taken by sur-

prise, and being unable to effect a retreat, was compelled to risk a battle. He made as good a disposition of his forces as circumstances would permit. But, notwithstanding his personal bravery and his endeavours to animate his soldiers, he was speedily defeated and taken prisoner. When led into the presence of his conqueror, he was calm and dignified. "The fortune of war," said he, "has made me your prisoner, most gracious Emperor, and I hope to be treated" — "Am I then," interrupted Charles, "at last acknowledged to be Emperor? This title you but lately denied me. You shall be treated as you deserve." Frederic made no reply, but quietly accompanied the soldiers appointed to be his guard.

The Emperor, after resting a day or two, to recover from the fatigues of the battle, marched to Wittemberg, hoping by the capture of that city, which was the capital of the Elector's dominions, to put an end to the war. Wittemberg was one of the strongest towns in Germany; and Charles being unprovided with means of carrying on a siege, found the accomplishment of his purpose more difficult than he had imagined. He summoned the inhabitants to surrender. But animated by the noble resolution displayed by Sibylla, the Elector's wife, they refused to open the gates. To compel them to obey, the Emperor had recourse to a most cruel plan. He

called a court martial of his own officers, and in defiance of the laws of the empire and the claims of common justice, directed them to condemn to death his illustrious prisoner. This done, he sent a message to Sibylla, declaring that unless the city was instantly given up, the life of her husband should be the penalty of her obstinacy.

In this crisis, Frederic behaved with admirable fortitude. When his sentence was communicated to him he happened to be playing at chess. Pausing for a moment, he said, "It is easy to comprehend this sentence. I must die, because Wittemberg will not surrender; and I shall lay down my life with pleasure, if by that sacrifice I can preserve the dignity of my house, and transmit to my posterity the inheritance which belongs to them. Would to God, that this sentence may not affect my wife and children more than it intimidates me! and that they, for the sake of adding a few days to a life already too long, may not renounce honors and territories which they were born to possess." He then resumed his game, and having beaten his antagonist retired to his apartment.

The news of the Elector's danger was received in the city with the greatest consternation; and his firmness yielded at last to the tears of his wife and the entreaties of his friends.

He submitted himself to the will of the Emperor so far as his civil rights and offices were concerned. He resigned his electorate, — which was conferred upon Maurice as the reward of his treachery, — gave up his territories, and consented to be a prisoner for life. There was one point, however, on which he would make no concessions. Charles insisted at first upon his submission to the Pope in religious matters; but without success. His prisoner was inflexible. No threats could induce him to renounce his faith or do violence to his conscience. And having gained his own ends, the Emperor was not disposed to risk a defeat of them by a very strenuous defence of the Church.

The Landgrave of Hesse was now the only Protestant prince who remained in arms. This nobleman had it in his power to hold out long and with some prospect of success against the Emperor. But intimidated by the fate of the Elector, and urged by his son-in-law Maurice, he at last consented to the terms of submission dictated by Charles. Among other severe conditions the arrogant monarch ordered him to appear before him and sue for mercy on his knees. To this the Landgrave would not consent, until he had received the solemn assurance that his person should be held sacred. He then entered the Imperial chamber and prostrated himself at

the feet of the Emperor, who sat unmoved on a splendid throne. The unfortunate prince confessed his guilt, signed the articles of submission, and prepared to depart. But he was stopped by the guards. Proud of his success and determined to crush his late enemies, Charles knew not where to stop in his tyrannical course. Disregarding the pledge given by Maurice for the safety of the Landgrave, the Emperor ordered him to be detained a prisoner; and by stooping thus to gratify a mean revenge, he, as it afterwards appeared, lost all that he had now gained.

## CHAPTER XII.

DIET AT AUGSBURG — COUNCIL AT TRENT — THE INTERIM — JULIUS III — CHANGE IN THE CONDUCT OF MAURICE — MAURICE ATTACKS THE EMPEROR — TREATY OF PASSAU — CONCLUSION OF THE REFORMATION IN GERMANY. 1547 - 1555.

The great object of the Lutherans, notwithstanding the present disastrous condition of their affairs, was near to its accomplishment. A few more important events served to release Germany from the despotic sway of the Pope, and to bestow upon it an independent church.

The imprisonment of the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse seemed to be a fatal blow to the Protestants. The Emperor, having crushed the most powerful of his enemies, assumed towards his German subjects the bearing rather of a conqueror than of a sovereign. He determined to settle at once all disputes concerning religion. For this purpose, he called a Diet at Augsburg, surrounded it with his troops, and then demanded of it an unqualified submission to the decrees of the Council of Trent. This step is not to be attributed to any partiality for the Pontiff. Charles, on the contrary, was desirous of bringing the Council over to his interest, and then he intended to use it to weaken the influ-

ence of Rome. He met with little resistance from the disheartened Protestants; but their obedience was of little service. Paul, who began to suspect the ambitious purpose of the Emperor, under the pretence that a malignant disease had broken out at Trent, ordered the Council to be removed to Bologna, a city within his own jurisdiction. This measure in fact put an end to its session.

Unable to persuade the Pontiff to reassemble the Council without delay, Charles, as a temporary expedient, caused a paper to be drawn up by which the religious affairs of the empire were to be regulated until a Council should be called. This document was called the *Interim*, — a Latin word which signifies *in the mean time*, — because it was to be binding only for a limited period, and not to have the force of a permanent law. Neither Catholics nor Protestants were satisfied with the Interim, although by various concessions and ambiguous language, an effort was made to render it palatable to both parties. Charles exerted all his power to enforce it. Knowing the influence still possessed by the Elector Frederic over his followers, he labored with much earnestness to gain his approbation. But the captive was not to be moved by threats or promises. "I cannot now," said he, "in my old age abandon the principles for which I early contended; nor in order

to procure freedom during a few declining years, will I betray that good cause, on account of which I have suffered so much and am still willing to suffer. Better for me to enjoy in this solitude the esteem of virtuous men, together with the approbation of my own conscience, than to return to the world with the imputation and guilt of apostacy, to disgrace and embitter the remainder of my days." This magnanimous conduct drew upon the Elector new hardships. "The rigor of his confinement was increased; the number of his servants abridged; the Lutheran clergymen who had hitherto been permitted to attend him were dismissed; and even the books of devotion which had been his chief consolation during a tedious imprisonment were taken from him."

With the Diet the Emperor was more successful. When the Interim was presented to that body, one of the members arose and assented to it in the name of all the rest; and although he was not authorized to do this, no one ventured to contradict him, and thus the paper was accepted. This timidity is accounted for when we remember the sad condition of the Protestants at this time. Their leaders were in prison. Luther was dead. The gentle Melancthon was but ill suited to the management of affairs at a period so stormy and disastrous. Many noblemen who professed

to hold the new opinions were, from ambitious motives, attached to the standard of the Emperor. Under these circumstances, the Reformers could expect relief from the clemency of their sovereign alone, and therefore dared not openly offend him. They yielded to what seemed an absolute necessity, and trusted to the future for some alleviation of their troubles.

In 1550 Paul died, and was succeeded by Julius III. This Pope consented to the revival of the Council at Trent; and another Diet was assembled at Augsburg in 1551, to obtain a promise from the Protestants to abide by its decisions. Surrounded as they were by the Imperial troops, the deputies made no resistance. Maurice alone insisted upon some conditions favorable to the Reformers, before he would yield to the Emperor's wishes. Little was gained by this measure. The authority of Charles was soon attacked from a quarter whence he least suspected opposition, and the Reformation was about to owe its triumph in Germany to the arms of one whose apostacy had been threatening its destruction.

Maurice, as has already been related, had been induced to join the Emperor in his attack upon the league of Smalcald, by a desire to enlarge his territories and to acquire the electorate of his uncle. After the imprisonment of his father-in-law, he still favored the Imperial cause,

hoping thereby to obtain the more easily his release. But it was not long before he determined to change his course. Possessed of the rank he had coveted, deceived by the promises of Charles, and probably ashamed also of the aid he had given to those tyrannical measures, by which the independence of Germany had been infringed and the Protestant cause almost ruined, he resolved to desert the Emperor, and to wrest from him the power so unjustly usurped.

By great cunning and caution Maurice was able to keep Charles in ignorance of his designs, until the moment for throwing off the mask arrived. He formed an alliance with the king of France, collected together under different pretences large bodies of troops, and then issued a proclamation setting forth his reasons for taking up arms. "These were three in number; that he might rescue the Protestant religion, maintain the constitution and laws of the empire, and save Germany from being subject to an absolute monarch, and deliver the Landgrave of Hesse from a long and unjust imprisonment." These professions brought to his standard all the friends of liberty, and all who resented the disgraceful and cruel treatment of one of the chief princes of the empire.

With the large and well appointed army thus assembled Maurice fell upon the Emperor, as he

lay at Inspruck, confined by the gout and totally unsuspicious of danger. Charles escaped in a litter, attended by his courtiers, some on such horses as were at hand, others on foot, and all in the utmost confusion. In the midst of the tumult the Landgrave and the Elector were set at liberty.

This blow was so vigorously followed up by Maurice, that the Emperor was soon compelled to sue for peace. Accordingly, on the 2d of August, 1552, a treaty was signed at Passau, in which the unmolested enjoyment of their religion was guaranteed to the Protestants. This treaty was formally recognised by a Diet assembled for that purpose at Augsburg in 1555, who passed a decree, by which "all who had embraced the Augsburg Confession, were pronounced free from all jurisdiction of the Pope, and were bidden to live securely under their own regulations. Liberty was also given to all Germans to join either the Lutheran or Romish Church, as they pleased, and all were declared to be public enemies of the empire, who should molest others on the ground of their religion."

With the ratification of this treaty we shall close this part of our Sketch; not because from this time all change and all dispute in regard to religious matters ceased, — but because by this transaction that object was secured, for which

the Reformers had been striving during the last half of a century. They were now released by law from the tyranny of Rome, and their separation from the Catholic Church was formally acknowledged.

While the events which we have recorded, were taking place in Germany, the Reformation was successfully prosecuted in Switzerland, and introduced to a greater or less extent into most of the countries of Europe. In Great Britain also opposition to the papal authority early showed itself, and England and Scotland withdrew from the Romish Church. The Reformation in these two latter kingdoms is, for many reasons, deserving of a separate notice; and the remainder of this volume will be devoted to a brief account of its rise and progress.

## CHAPTER XIII.

REFORMATION IN ENGLAND — WICKLIFFE — JOHN HUSS — THE LOLLARDS — WILLIAM SAUTRE — JOHN BALBY — LORD COBHAM. 1234-1417.

As an introduction to the story of the Reformation in England, it will be well to look back for a moment, to a period much earlier than that of Luther; for the separation of the ecclesiatical affairs of the English Church, from the dominion of Rome, was facilitated by those who, probably, never dreamed, that such a result was, in part, to be brought about by their agency. Still, in the opposition of a single individual to the hard oppression and gross errors of the papal system, may be found, not only the commencement of that train of events, which ended in the destruction of the Pope's authority in England, but also the impulse which worked out the great change, already described, on the continent.

The eminent man referred to was John Wickliffe, who was born in a village of the same name on the river Tees, about the year 1324. Of the earlier part of his life, little is known. He was educated at Oxford, and from his diligent attention to the study of Scripture, obtained the title of the Gospel Doctor; an honorable name in an

age, when, as he himself says, "it was no uncommon thing for men to call God Master, forty, three score, or four score years, and yet remain ignorant of his ten commandments."

Wickliffe first appeared as a Reformer in an attack upon the Mendicants, or Begging Friars. The indolent and luxurious lives of the monks who resided in the monasteries, and of the other regular clergy, brought great scandal upon the Church. To remedy this difficulty, the order of Mendicants was established in the 13th century, who bound themselves to a life of poverty and abstinence, and were favored by the Popes, with some peculiar privileges. They were exempted, for instance, from the jurisdiction of the bishops, and from the secular authorities; they might demand alms of every body out of the monasteries; they might preach, hear confessions, say mass, and perform other offices, any where, and without regard to the parish priests. The court of Rome rejoiced in this army of wandering dependents, thus raised up to increase its power and execute its commands. But it was not long before these new servants forgot their vows. As their numbers increased, they swarmed all over Christendom, and became ambitious of power and covetous of wealth. They interfered with the other clergy, obtained great political influence, insinuated themselves into the universities,

and caused trouble wherever they came. The College at Oxford suffered so much from their intrigues, and their efforts to enlist the students, that parents were afraid to trust their sons at that institution; and the number of scholars was at one time reduced from thirty to six thousand.

Wickliffe, indignant at these proceedings, attacked the Mendicants with boldness and vigor, and they became his bitter and relentless foes. A single anecdote will show the state of feeling, which existed between the Reformer and the Friars. In the year 1379, when Wickliffe was dangerously sick, some of the Mendicants paid him a visit, hoping to frighten him into concessions in their favor. When they had finished their threats and exhortations, he ordered his servants to raise him in bed, and said; "I shall not die but live still further, to declare the evil deeds of the Friars."

It would be foreign from our purpose to follow in detail the course of "the Morning Star of the Reformation," as Wickliffe has been called. Besides his opposition to the Mendicants, he supported the English government in its resistance to the inordinate demands of the Pope, and fearlessly exposed and denounced the corruptions of the Church. He was once sent, like Luther, on an embassy to Rome, and from what he saw

there, became also, like Luther, more decided and zealous in his exertions for a reform. He was frequently summoned to answer for his rebellious conduct and heretical opinions, by the officers of the Pope; but his followers were so numerous, and his popularity with the king and his countrymen so great, that he escaped with slight punishment, and died a natural death. While engaged in the services of public worship, in his church at Lutterworth, he was struck with the palsy, and expired soon after he was taken home, December 29, 1384, in the sixty-first year of his age.

The character of Wickliffe was by no means faultless, and many of his opinions would now be deemed absurd and erroneous. But he deserves respect for his denial of the infallibility of the Pope, his reverence for the Scriptures as the rule of life and faith, and the courage he displayed by exposing the falsehoods of the Romish Church. Among other good works, by which he aided the Reformation, his translation of the Bible was, without doubt, the most important. This served to open the eyes of the people at large to the abuses of the clergy and to the errors of their creed. It may gratify the curiosity of the reader to see a specimen of this work; and therefore, we subjoin his version of the Thirteenth Chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians.

" If I speke with tungis of men and of aungels and I haue not charite, I am maad as bras sownynge, or a cymbal tynklygne, and if I haue profecie and knowe alle mysteries and al kynnyng, and if I haue al feith, so that I moue hillis fro her place, and I haue not charite I am nought. and if I departe alle my goodis into the metis of pore men, and if I bitake my bodi so that I brenne and if I haue not charite it profitith to me no thing. charity is pacient, it is benynge. charite enuyeth not, it doith not wickidli, it is not blowun, it is not coueitous, it sekith not tho thingis that ben hise own. it is not stired to wraththe, it thenkith not youel, it ioieth not on wickednesse, but it ioieth togidre to treuthe, it suffrith alle thingis, it bileueth alle thingis, it hopith alle thingis, it susteyneth alle thingis. charite fallith neuere doun. whethir profecies schulen be voided, eithir langagis schulen ceese, eithir science schal be destried. for aparti we knowen, and aparti we profecien, but whanne that schal come that is parfyt, that thing that is of parti schal be auoidid. whanne I was a litil child I spak as a litil child, I undirstood as a litil child, I thoughte as a litil child ; but whaane I was maad a man I voidide tho thingis that weren of a litil child. and we seen now by a myrour in derknesse, but thanne face to face. now I knowe of parti, but thanne I schal knowe as I am knowun. and now dwellen feith, hope and charite these thre, but the moost of these is charite."

Richard II., during whose reign Wickliffe flourished, married a princess of Bohemia, and through her attendants the opinions of this early Reformer found their way into that country. His writings, here, attracted the attention of John Huss, who had already begun to doubt the purity of the Church. Encouraged by finding that he was not alone in his objections to the papal system, this eminent man was more bold than ever in exposing the iniquities of Rome. He was soon summoned to answer for his heresies, before a Council assembled at Constance. Huss ventured to obey the summons, being protected as he thought by the safe-conduct granted by the Emperor of Germany. But his enemies did not scruple to violate the public faith, and he was burnt at the stake, July 6, 1415. He had, however, sown much seed, and numbers of his followers were to be found in the sixteenth century. Thus Wickliffe stirred up the spirit of Huss, and Huss prepared the way for Luther and the great Reformation.

In England the disciples of Wickliffe became a sect, called the Lollards, — a name formed from a word in one of the old German dialects, which means to sing, as when a mother *lulls* her infant to sleep. This appellation was first given as a reproach, and in allusion to their practice of singing hymns. These Lollards grew to be very

numerous. In some respects they were fanatical and troublesome subjects; and to this and to the animosity of the popish clergy are to be attributed the persecutions, more or less severe, according to the state of public affairs and the temper of the different monarchs, which they suffered in every reign until that of Henry VIII. Among other peculiarities, the Lollards denied the doctrine of transubstantiation, and maintained that the bread remained bread at the administration of the Supper. This opinion was made the badge of the sect by their judges, and whosoever held it was condemned to death.

These hints of an early opposition to the Romish church in England, will give the reader some idea of the preparation making in that country for a more thorough reformation; and the temper of the times, previous to the occurrence of that event, may be inferred from an account of two or three cases of martyrdom.

One of the first of these, was that of William Sautre, pastor of a parish in London. At one trial for heresy, he was persuaded to abjure his opinions; his apostacy, however, met with a charitable judge in Fuller, a historian of the 17th century, who says of it; "Let those who severely censure him for *once* denying the truth, and do know who it was that denied his Master thrice, take heed they do not as bad a deed

more than four times themselves. May Sautre's final constancy be as surely practised by men, as his former cowardliness, no doubt, is pardoned by God." The deception of which he had been guilty weighed heavily upon the mind of Sautre, and to quiet his conscience, he soon asked for another hearing and was arraigned before Archbishop Arundel. When the usual question was put to him, Whether the bread remained bread after the blessing pronounced at the Supper; he replied that it did. Upon this answer he was condemned. He was brought to St. Paul's, and being there, in the presence of the bishops, stript article by article of his priestly jewels and dress, he was afterward delivered over to the executioner and burnt at the stake.

Another sufferer was John Balby, a tailor. The box, containing the consecrated bread, was brought to him, as he stood amid the faggots, prepared for his execution, and he was there asked how he believed in it? He answered, that it was hallowed *bread.* Upon this the wood was set on fire. The poor fellow shrieked for mercy; and prince Henry, afterward king, being present ordered the flames to be quenched, and offered the sufferer his life and a daily allowance of money, if he would confess his errors. But the spirit of the humble tailor was strong, although the flesh was weak. He declined the

offer, and expired, calling upon the name of Christ.

The persecution, at this time, was no respecter of persons. Arundel, who had stooped to punish the poor mechanic, in the reign of Henry V., sat in judgment upon a peer of the realm. Lord Cobham, a man high in the favor of the king, and entrusted with the most important offices, was accused of Lollardy. Henry had so much regard for the noble qualities of his favorite, that he desired to have every mild measure tried for his restoration to the Church. It so happened, that a volume belonging to Lord Cobham was found among some heretical publications, which were about to be burnt. The book was sent to the king and found to contain what were then deemed pestilent errors. Henry sent for the owner and demanded of him if the volume was indeed his property. On being told that it was, the king begged him to confess his fault and submit to the Church. "You, most worthy Prince," was the nobleman's answer, "I am always prompt and willing to obey; unto you,—next my eternal God,—owe I my whole obedience; and submit thereunto,—as I have ever done,—all that I have, either of fortune or nature, ready at all times to fulfil whatsoever ye shall in the Lord command me. But as touching the Pope and his spirituality, I owe them

neither suit nor service; for so much as I know him by the Scripture to be the great Antichrist, the son of perdition, the open adversary of God, and the abomination standing in the holy place." Upon hearing this the king was greatly offended, and ordered the clergy to proceed against him to the utmost.

Cobham immediately shut himself up in his castle and defied, for a time, his persecutors. But the archbishop passed sentence of excommunication against him, and as he was supported by the king, Cobham found that nothing was to be gained by resistance. He therefore changed his course of action, and writing a statement of his belief, presented it to Henry, beseeching him to regard it with mercy. This paper had no effect to soften his judges. He was seized and brought to trial. His intrepid spirit would make no concessions. He was reviled and insulted, and engaged in many debates with his enemies, but he remained firm and constant in his adherence to the opinions of Wickliffe. On one occasion, Arundel offered him absolution, if he would humbly desire it: — "Nay forsooth, will I not," he replied, "for I never yet trespassed against you, and therefore I will not do it!" He then knelt down and lifting his hands, cried out, "I shrive me here unto Thee, my eternal God, that in my youth I offended thee, O Lord, most griev-

ously in pride, wrath, covetousness, and gluttony! Many men have I hurt in mine anger, and done many other horrible sins! Good Lord, I ask Thee mercy!" After uttering this prayer, he again stood up and addressed the assembly, "Lo good people! for the breaking of God's law and his commandments they never yet cursed me! But for their own laws and traditions most cruelly do they handle me and other men. And, therefore, both they and their laws, by the promise of God, shall utterly be destroyed!"

This bold conduct only exasperated his persecutors, and he was soon afterward condemned to death. By some means or other, Cobham escaped from the Tower before the day appointed for execution. There is reason to believe that the Lollards rallied around him, and formed a conspiracy against the king. This part of his history is, however, very obscure. He kept concealed during four years; at last he was discovered in Wales. He was determined to defend himself to the last, and not to be taken alive; but a woman disabled him by breaking his legs with a stool. He was carried to London and burnt in St. Giles's Fields in 1417, praising God with his latest breath.

Many other instances of martyrdom, extending through several reigns, might be recited; but these are sufficient to show the relentless spirit

of persecution, with which all who ventured to deny the pretensions of the Pope were visited, and to give some idea of the courage which animated the Reformers. The sufferings of the heretics were undoubtedly beneficial to the cause of truth. When the people beheld the anxiety of the Papists to put an end to inquiry, and the firmness with which their victims met death, they became curious to learn more of that new doctrine, so alarming to the clergy and so comforting to its professors; and the consequence was, that persecution did more to increase, than to diminish, the numbers of the Lollards.

## CHAPTER XIV.

HENRY VIII — HIS DIVORCE — CARDINAL WOLSEY — MARRIAGE OF ANNE BOLEYN — CRANMER — DESTRUCTION OF THE POPE'S SUPREMACY IN ENGLAND — PERSECUTION. 1509-1534.

WICKLIFFE's translation of the Bible and the labors of the Lollards lessened the attachment of many of the people to the Romish Church, and in some measure prepared the way for the destruction of its authority in England. The demand for a reformation grew continually louder, until it was partially answered from a quarter, whence little aid was to have been expected. The caprice and passion of a tyrannical monarch were made to some extent instrumental in the promotion of religious truth and liberty. To continue our history, therefore, we must enter a new field, and from the occurrences and intrigues of the long and despotic reign of Henry VIII. endeavour to select those incidents which mark the progress of the Reformation.

Henry VII. having been penurious and oppressive in his habits and temper, the elevation of his son to the throne in the year 1509, was hailed as a joyful event. The young prince appeared to be as generous in his feelings, as he

was commanding in his person and accomplished in his manners. He was prodigal in his expenditures, liberal in his tastes, and although of a choleric disposition, he seemed on the whole to be good natured and under the influence of a sense of justice. The passions which in after times made him a tyrant had not yet showed themselves. Previous to the death of his father he took no part in political affairs, his time being devoted to literature and theology. At the commencement of his reign he was a strong papist, and in 1522 published a book in answer to Luther's treatise on the Babylonish Captivity. This performance was sent to the Pope, with great pomp, who received it graciously, and bestowed upon its author the appellation of Defender of the Faith, a title still retained by the kings of England, although in a very different sense from that in which it was granted.

The early promise which Henry gave of being a faithful supporter of the Romish Church and a good sovereign was soon disappointed. Not many years had elapsed, before he began to exhibit a most selfish, capricious, and vindictive temper, which regarded neither the sanctity he had ascribed to the Pope nor the lives of his own subjects. This tyrannical disposition first showed itself in his efforts to put away his queen, Catherine of Arragon, who had formerly been

the wife of his deceased brother Arthur. A contract of marriage between Catherine and Henry had been made by their parents. The latter at first had scruples about marrying the widow of his brother; but these were overruled by his counsellors, and on his coming to the throne the nuptials were solemnized. Catherine obtained an ascendancy over the affections of her partner, and they lived happily together for twenty years. At length the doubts of Henry as to the propriety of their union were revived, or rather he brought them forward to cover the real motives which induced him to seek a divorce. The truth was, the beauty of the queen had faded, her children, with the exception of Mary, had died in early infancy, and there was now little hope that she would bear a male heir to the crown, and moreover the king had fallen in love with one of the Maids of Honor, a very beautiful lady by the name of Anne Boleyn; these were the real reasons which determined the unprincipled monarch to apply to the Pope for a dissolution of his marriage.

Clement VIII., who then filled the papal chair, would, probably, at any other time, have readily granted the request of a servant so powerful and faithful as the king of England. But at the time it was made, he was the prisoner of the emperor of Germany, Catherine's nephew,

and in no condition to run the risk of offending his captor. He resolved, therefore, to prolong the suit of Henry, since, as he said, "Whilst it depended he was sure of two great friends, but when it should be decided of one great foe." The most that could be obtained from the Pope was a commission appointing the Cardinals Wolsey and Campeggio his legates to examine the validity of the marriage.

These ecclesiastics opened their court at London, and cited the king and queen to appear before them. Both parties were present; when their names were called the king answered, but the queen left her seat and kneeling down before Henry, thus addressed him; — "She was a poor woman," she said, "and a stranger in his dominions, where she could neither expect good counsel, nor indifferent judges; she had been long his wife, and desired to know wherein she had offended him; she had been his wife twenty years and more, and had borne him several children, and had ever studied to please him. If she had done any thing amiss, she was willing to be put away with shame. Their parents were esteemed very wise princes, and no doubt had good counsellors and learned men about them when the match was agreed; therefore she would not submit to the Court, nor durst her lawyers, who were his subjects, and assigned by him, speak

freely for her. So she desired to be excused till she heard from Spain." Having ended this appeal, Catherine left the Court and would never after appear for trial.

Notwithstanding the departure of the queen, the legates continued the examination of the case. The trial was protracted to a great length, and when it was, at length, drawing towards a close, and at the very moment when Henry expected a decision favorable to his wishes, Campeggio, who understood the policy of the Pope, suddenly adjourned the court; an order soon after arrived from Rome, commanding him to stop all further proceedings.

Henry was greatly disappointed at this result, and full of anger against the Pope and his legates. Wolsey, who had heretofore been a favorite, was selected as the first victim of the king's resentment, and from this period is to be dated his rapid downfall. The rise and fall of the Cardinal is too instructive and shows too clearly,

"How wretched
Is that poor man that hangs on princes' favors,"

to be passed over without notice.

Thomas Wolsey, the son, as is generally supposed, of a butcher, was born at Ipswich in 1471. He obtained a learned education and was made master of a grammar school, where he taught

the sons of a nobleman who presented him with the living of Limmington in Somersetshire. Whilst a clergyman he was loose in his manners, and was once put into the stocks for drunkenness. Shrewd and ambitious he continued to advance himself in the world, and to be introduced to the notice of Henry VII., with whom he soon became a favorite. What were the qualities by which he obtained the royal favor, may be inferred from an anecdote related by Hume, in his History of England. The king having given him a commission to Maximilian, Emperor of Germanny then residing at Brussels, was surprised, in less than three days after, to see him at court, and supposing he had not yet departed on his errand, began to censure his delay. Wolsey informed him that he had just returned from his mission. "But on second thoughts," said the king, "I found somewhat was omitted in your orders and have sent a messenger after you with further instructions." "I met the messenger," replied Wolsey, "on my return; but as I had reflected upon that omission, I ventured of myself to execute what I knew must be your majesty's intentions."

On the death of Henry VII., the prospects of Wolsey were for a time clouded; but he was soon presented to the new king, and by a ready compliance with his humors rose to be his chief

counsellor. Honors and offices were heaped upon him without measure; and his ambition and extravagance increased with his wealth and power. He obtained the direction of most of the affairs of the kingdom, and being advanced by the united gifts of the Pope and the King to the highest places in church and state, he was flattered and caressed by all who sought promotion or favor at court; even foreign princes kept him in pay, that he might aid their interests with his sovereign. Thus honored and enriched, Wolsey was, as Archbishop Warham once said, "drunk with too much prosperity." His style of living rivalled that of royalty itself. He was waited upon by a train of eight hundred servants, some of whom were children of the nobility. He strove to dazzle the eyes of the populace, by the splendor of his equipages and furniture, the costliness of his liveries and the lustre of his apparel. Not only his own habit, but the saddles and trappings of his horses shone with silk and gold. When he attended the royal chapel, two tall priests walked before him carrying silver crosses; and his cardinal's hat was always borne by some person of rank and placed upon the altar.

The administration of Wolsey was not without its benefits to the kingdom. But his enormous wealth, his exorbitant demands, and his haughty bearing raised up many enemies and rendered

his station by no means enviable. His greatness, too, depended upon the will of a capricious monarch, and, in the sequel, it appeared that he had ascended to the height of power, to be dashed down again, as it were, from a precipice. Wolsey coveted the papal chair, and his efforts to obtain it involved him in many foreign intrigues, and caused his fidelity to his sovereign, in the affair of the divorce, to be suspected. At any rate, Henry was led at this time, as we have already remarked, to doubt the sincerity of the Cardinal; and soon after the court held by the legates was broken up, his disgrace began.

The office of Chancellor was taken from him and given to Sir Thomas More. His other honors were stript off, one by one, and after a while his enemies so far prevailed with the king, that he was called upon to answer to the charge of high treason. The Cardinal was so cast down at this, that on his journey from the place where he had been kept in retirement to London, he was taken sick and died at Leicester, November 28, 1530. His last words, as well as his whole career, were a significant comment on the poor rewards of an inordinate ambition; "Had I," said he, "but served my God as diligently as I have served my king, He would not have given me over in my grey hairs."

After the adjournment of the legatine court Henry, although still determined to effect his purpose, was at loss exactly what course to pursue. While he was thus in doubt, Thomas Cranmer, a fellow of one of the colleges at Cambridge, fell in company with two of the royal secretaries, and some conversation having taken place in regard to the legality of the king's marriage, he suggested the propriety of applying to the universities of Europe for their opinion upon this point. This hint was immediately reported to Henry, who received it with joy, and declared in his rough way, that "the fellow had got the sow by the right ear."

The proposed application was made, and most of the universities, both at home and on the continent, returned answers favorable to the wishes of the king. Armed with this new authority, Henry again presented his suit at Rome, but without success. At last the impatient and self-willed monarch would no longer be trifled with. Resting upon the decision of the universities as his justification, he resolved to defy the Pope and was privately married to Anne Boleyn, January 25, 1532.

Notwithstanding this new union, Catherine refused to resign her claims. To punish her firmness, Cranmer, now Archbishop of Canterbury, was directed to examine once more the

validity of her marriage. The prelate held his court near the queen's residence; but as she still refused to appear, she was declared to be contumacious and her marriage was pronounced null and void. This decision gave great offence at Rome, and was set aside by the Pope. Catherine also denied its justice, and continued to require from her attendants the honors due to a queen, until her death, which took place in January, 1536.

The quarrel between Henry and the Pope had now reached a point which forbade any hope of a reconciliation; and therefore the former was determined to put an end to the authority of the latter, in his dominions. In the year 1534 he assembled a parliament, by whom an act was passed declaring the king to be the only supreme head of the English church; they also enacted a law by which the sentence of Cranmer, in regard to the divorce was confirmed, the daughters of Catherine were pronounced illegitimate, and the offspring of Anne Boleyn made heirs to the crown. These acts were well received by the people, and the oath to observe them was readily taken by all of whom it was required, with one or two important exceptions, which we shall have occasion to notice hereafter.

The boldness of Henry and the proceedings of his parliament were favorable to the Reforma-

tion, inasmuch as they destroyed the Pope's authority in England. It must not be supposed, however, that the king intended to aid the Reformers, or that he had embraced their opinions. He consulted only his own selfish desires. So far as the pretensions of Popery interfered with the gratification of his passions, he was ready to resist and despise them; but he still hated the doctrines of Luther. This fact must be kept in mind, when studying the ecclesiastical history of his reign, in order to explain the contradiction apparent throughout it, namely, that whilst the king was constantly treating the papal power with contempt, he was slow to admit any changes in doctrine or to allow any great freedom of inquiry in the Church. As evidence of the truth of this remark, we will refer to one or two cases of cruel persecution, which took place about the time Henry began to trample upon the commands of the Pope.

One of the most eminent of the sufferers, was Thomas Bilney. The perusal of a Latin copy of the New Testament first opened the eyes of this clergyman to the errors of his creed, and he began at once to make his discoveries public. He was soon brought to trial. Tonstal, bishop of London, persuaded him to abjure his heresies. But from that hour, Bilney's conscience allowed him no peace. He retired to Cambridge, where

he remained for two years, plunged in such deep melancholy, that his friends were afraid to leave him alone. At last, he resolved to relieve his troubled spirit and to repair his fault by boldly suffering for the cause he had once deserted. He left Cambridge and went into the county of Norfolk, and preached both in public and private. It was not long before he was apprehended, cast into prison, and condemned to death. The night before his execution he ate a hearty supper; and to some one, who expressed pleasure at finding him so composed, he replied: "I follow the example of those who, having a ruinous house to dwell in, hold it up by props as long as they may." When another friend observed that his agony would be brief and God would support him, — Bilney put his finger several times into the flame of the candle, saying; "That he well knew what a pain burning was, but that it should only consume the stubble of his body, and that his soul should be purged by it; then he repeated the text, "when thou walkest through the fire thou shalt not be burnt." The following morning, November 10, 1530, he was led out to a valley, which, from being so frequently used as a place of execution, was called Lollards' Pit, and there fastened to the stake. In that situation he recited the Apostle's creed and prayed with a firm voice. The fire was then kindled, and the devout martyr expired.

Another victim, whose labors and sufferings deserve mention, was William Tindal. He declared his opinions with such freedom that he was obliged to fly to Antwerp for safety. While there, he labored, in conjunction with some of his companions in exile, to aid the Reformation by translating the New Testament into English. The first impression of this was issued in 1526. The bishop of London, to stop its spread, bought up the larger part of it, and had it publicly burnt at Cheapside. His zeal, however, only increased the evil. The destruction of the sacred volume excited the suspicions of the people, and made them more curious to know its contents. Tindal, who had connived at the bishop's purchase, in order to obtain the money necessary to print a more correct version, soon sent out another and larger edition, which was eagerly sought after and read. One of the agents engaged in circulating the work was brought before the Chancellor, who promised him a pardon, provided he would tell who supported the publishers at Antwerp. "The greatest encouragement they had," the man answered, "was from the bishop of London, who had bought up half of their first impression." Besides his efforts to circulate the Scriptures, Tindal wrote other works in favor of the Reformation. He thus made himself exceedingly obnoxious to the papists, who left no

measures untried to destroy him. They at last succeeded. He was betrayed by one Phillips, and being carried before the Emperor's Court at Brussels, was condemned and burnt.

These were not solitary instances of persecution. Many other eminent men suffered death. Poor mechanics, also, were condemned for heresy; and to own or read the Bible was a capital offence. On one occasion, the Chancellor of the county of Winchester would not allow even the dead to rest. He dug up and burnt the body of one Tracy, because, in making his will, he had deviated from the usual form, and "bequeathed his soul to God through Jesus Christ, in whose intercession alone he trusted, without the help of any other of the saints; and therefore left no part of his goods to have any pray for his soul."

## CHAPTER XV.

CHARACTER OF HENRY'S MINISTRY — THE MAID OF KENT — BISHOP FISHER — SIR THOMAS MORE — DEATH OF ANNE BOLEYN. 1534-1536.

It has already been hinted that the conduct of Henry VIII., in religious affairs, was shaped by his violent and capricious passions. At one time he favored the principal doctrines of the Church, and persecuted all who called them in question, while at another he denied the supremacy of the Pope, and compelled his subjects, on pain of death, to do so likewise. This arbitrary course on the part of the king, was the cause of sudden and violent changes in the administration of the government. His ministry was composed of men of both religious parties. Cranmer and Cromwel, formerly a secretary of Wolsey, were disposed to countenance a reform, while Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, a shrewd and wicked man, the Duke of Norfolk, and others in connexion with them, were opposed to the Lutheran heresy. Neither of these parties, however, dared to thwart the will of their sovereign, but yielded servilely to his tyrannical measures. As long as Anne Boleyn retained the affections of her husband, the Protestants, to whose opinion she was

inclined, maintained the ascendancy. This fact is visible in the laws which, as before stated, were passed in opposition to Rome. It is also visible in the execution of those laws upon men, whose friends were but lately the agents of a bloody persecution.

The monks, who were averse to the late marriage, tried to prevent it by craft and by an appeal to the superstition of the people. They encouraged Elizabeth Barton, a nun in the county of Kent, who had been subject to fits which threw her body into convulsions, to feign revelations and to utter prophecies. Among other predictions, she asserted that if Henry married another wife he should not be king a month longer, but should die the death of a villain. Many persons were induced to put faith in this declaration; and the plot, the design of which was to alienate the minds of his subjects from the king and to excite them to rebellion, promised to be, to some extent, successful. It was, however, discovered, and some of the principal men in the kingdom, supposed to be concerned in the conspiracy, were cast into prison.

One of these was John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, a prelate of great learning and good character, who had enjoyed the favor of the king. He was conscientious in his adherence to the Romish Church, and had been active in the punishment

of its enemies. Having been suspected of countenancing the treasonable speeches of Elizabeth Barton, he was advised by Cromwel to sue for pardon. This Fisher refused to do, and was, in consequence, stript of his property and otherwise punished. Afterward he was committed to the Tower, charged with denying the supremacy of the king. While he lay in prison, with nothing but rags to cover his nakedness, the Pope proposed to send him a Cardinal's hat; when Henry heard that Fisher would not refuse the offered dignity, he exclaimed in a rage; "Yea? is he so lusty? Well, let the Pope send him a hat when he will. He shall wear it on his shoulders, for I will leave him never a head to set it on." The destruction of the bishop was thus resolved on. Being entrapped into a positive denial of the king's supremacy, he was tried, condemned to death, and beheaded June 22d, 1535, being at that time nearly eighty years of age.

Another individual, who suffered about this time, was Sir Thomas More. This nobleman holds so high a rank among the illustrious men of England, that a brief account of his life and character will not be esteemed an improper digression, especially as the subject of this Sketch compels us to dwell, more than we could otherwise wish, upon the less worthy advocates of the papal system.

Sir Thomas More, the son of Sir John More, a judge of the Court of King's Bench, was born in London in the year 1480. He received the first rudiments of education at a free grammar school in the city. The custom then prevailed of placing boys in the families of men of rank, that they might be improved by the conversation of their superiors, and acquire the manners suited to their station. For this purpose young More resided with Cardinal Morton, then the king's (Henry VII.) prime minister. In this situation, the sharp and lively boy gave such promise of future celebrity, that his patron would often speak of him to his guests and say; "This child here waiting at the table, whoever shall live to see it, will prove a marvellous man." In 1497, More entered the University of Oxford. On leaving that seminary he devoted his time to the study of law and literary pursuits, and soon became one of the best lawyers and most eminent scholars of his day.

At one period, Sir Thomas thought seriously of entering a monastery; but being of a social disposition he abandoned the project and began to look for a partner. The manner of his wooing, as described by one of his older biographers, is quite amusing. "He resorted to the house of one Master Holt, a gentleman of Essex, who had often invited him thither; having three

daughters, whose honest conversation and virtuous education provoked him there especially to set his affections. And albeit his mind most served to the second daughter, for that he thought her the fairest and best favored, yet when he considered that it would be both grief, and some shame also, to the eldest, to see her younger sister preferred before her in marriage, he then of a certain pity framed his fancy toward her, and soon after married her." Erasmus, the scholar, who was the intimate friend of More, gives an ingenious account of this match. "He (More) wedded a very young girl of respectable family, but who had hitherto lived in the country with her parents and sisters; and was so uneducated, that he could mould her to his own tastes and manners. He caused her to be instructed in letters; and she became a very skilful musician, which peculiarly pleased him." The union thus formed was short in its duration. Mrs. More died young, leaving a son and three daughters; one of the latter, Margaret, inherited her father's features and genius, and was his favorite child.

Not long after the death of his first wife, Sir Thomas More married Alice Middleton, a widow, seven years older than himself. This lady was "of no good favor or complexion, not rich, and by disposition near and worldly. Her husband treated

her, and indeed most females, except his daughter Margaret, as better qualified to relish a jest, than take a part in more serious conversation;" an apparent want of gallantry and good taste, to be accounted for, probably, by the low standard of female education at that day, — for all his biographers agree in representing him as remarkable for the social virtues. He won his wife's obedience by kindness and pleasantry, and ruled his whole family with his gentleness. The picture given of his domestic life is beautiful. His custom was, beside private prayers with his children, to go daily with his wife and the rest of his household to his chapel, and there hold a religious service. "With him," says Erasmus, "you might imagine yourself in the Academy of Plato. But I should do injustice to his house by comparing it to the Academy of Plato, where numbers and geometrical figures, and sometimes moral virtues were the subjects of discussion; it would be more just to call it a school and exercise of the Christian religion. All its inhabitants, male or female, applied their leisure to liberal studies and profitable reading, although piety was their first care. No wrangling nor angry word was heard in it; no one was idle; every one did his duty with alacrity, and not without a temperate cheerfulness." More laid great stress upon the pleasures and duties of

home. In one of his works he remarks; — "While in pleading, in hearing, in deciding causes, or composing differences, in waiting on some man about business, and on others out of respect, the greatest part of the day is spent on other men's affairs, the remainder of it must be given to my family at home. I must talk with my wife, and chat with my children, and I have somewhat to say to my servants; for all these things I reckon as a part of my business; except a man will resolve to be a stranger at home; and with whomsoever either nature, chance, or choice has engaged a man in any commerce, he must endeavour to make himself as acceptable to those about him as he can." How pleasant to find the great statesman and scholar so true to the more private, but by no means least important relations of life!

In his religion Sir Thomas was a strict Catholic, although, for the age in which he lived, very free from bigotry and opposed to all persecution. Alarmed at the spread of the Lutheran doctrines, and what seemed to him the rude attacks made upon the true faith, he conscientiously employed his pen in the defence of the Romish Church.

To this sketch of More's private life and character we will add a description of his person and habits, when he was about forty years of age. Although not tall his limbs were of good propor-

tion. His complexion was fair, his hair of a yellowish-brown, his beard thin, and his eyes of a greyish hue. His pleasant countenance beamed with an expression of good humor. His dress was plain; he never wore purple or gold, except when it was required of him as a public officer. Simple dishes constituted his common food, and pure water was his usual beverage. Fond of innocent jests, he was always a delightful companion, and had he consulted his inclination, rather than his duty, he probably would have lived in private, and been the beloved centre of a circle of friends, instead of being, as he was, first the counsellor and then the victim of the cruel Henry.

Before he had reached his twenty-third year More was a member of the House of Commons. The king (Henry VII.) applied to that body for a grant of money, for purposes which were very unpopular; but no one, except young More, ventured openly to oppose the royal demand. He resisted it with firmness, and by his eloquence and arguments procured its rejection. For this act of courage he incurred the displeasure of the king, and was obliged during the rest of his reign to live in retirement. When Henry VIII. ascended the throne, More resumed his practice as a lawyer, and soon obtained a reputation which attracted the attention of that monarch. In 1516

he was made a privy counsellor, and from that time he was, for twenty years, employed in various offices of trust and honor.

Henry appeared to be very fond of Sir Thomas, and to take great delight in his society; so much so indeed that the honor became burthensome, according to Roper, who says that when his father-in-law perceived them, (the king and queen,) "so much in his talk to delight, that he could not once in a month get leave to go home to his wife and children, he, much misliking this restraint upon his liberty, began thereupon somewhat to dissemble his nature, and so by little and little from his former mirth to disuse himself, that he was of them from thenceforth, at such seasons, no more so ordinarily sent for."

When the favorite obtained leisure to visit his family, who resided at Chelsea, the king used frequently to follow him, and drop in at dinner time without an invitation, or, leaning familiarly upon his shoulder, walk and talk with him in the garden. But, notwithstanding these flattering attentions, More was not blind to the dangerous character of his sovereign; — for once, when Roper congratulated him upon his intimacy with the king, he replied; "I thank our Lord, son, I find his grace my very good lord indeed, and I believe he doeth as singularly favor me as any other subject within his realm; howbeit, son

Roper, I may tell thee, I have no cause to be proud thereof; for if my head would win him a castle in France, when there was war between us, it should not fail to go."

Upon the disgrace of Wolsey, Sir Thomas More was made, in 1529, Lord Chancellor. This was one of the highest officers in the kingdom. He was a legal magistrate and a member of the king's council, and was appointed by intrusting to his keeping the great seal, which, in days when even princes were unable to write, used to be affixed to public documents, instead of the royal signature. More received this new honor with reluctance, and in his high station preserved his simplicity and mildness of character and manners. It is said that every day before he attended to business and when arrayed in his robes of office, he asked on his knees the blessing of his venerable father. His predecessor had held his court with great pomp, so that no application could reach him without passing through many hands. Sir Thomas More, on the contrary, sat daily in an open hall to receive in person the petitions of the poor, and attended with the strictest integrity to the administration of justice.

Henry had made More his Chancellor in the hope of obtaining his service in the affair of the divorce; in this he was disappointed. More saw the injustice of that measure, and when he found

that it would be executed, resigned the great seal. The king neither forgot nor forgave this act of honest independence; and not long afterwards he came to the determination, that his old favorite should submit to his wishes or feel his vengeance. An attempt was made to involve Sir Thomas in the conspiracy connected with the Maid of Kent; from this charge, he, however, cleared himself. When the act, declaring the legality of Henry's union with Anne Boleyn was passed, More was commanded to appear before the Commissioners, April 13, 1534, and take the prescribed oath to obey it. This summons he immediately answered. When he came into the presence of the Commissioners, he said he was willing to swear to maintain the order of succession to the throne, as fixed by the Parliament; but he firmly refused the prescribed oath, which declared the marriage of Catherine to have been illegal, — a fact his conscience would not allow him to admit. His friends endeavoured, but without success, to do away his scruples. They then urged the king to be satisfied with More's readiness to engage to maintain the order of succession, without insisting upon his assent to the form of the oath; but here also they labored in vain. Resistance had made Henry's resentment wholly ungovernable, and forgetting all his former services, and the affection he had professed for him,

he ordered the Ex-Chancellor to be committed to the Tower.

After an imprisonment of more than a year, Sir Thomas, supporting his enfeebled frame with his staff, but with a firm and animated countenance, was brought for trial to Westminster Hall. As his fate had already been decided, he was soon found guilty of high treason and condemned to die as a traitor. When this sentence was pronounced, the noble prisoner turned to his judges and said; "My Lords, I have nothing further to add, but that as the blessed Apostle Paul was present and consented unto the death of Stephen, and yet both are now holy saints in heaven, where they shall continue in friendship for ever, so I earnestly trust and pray, that, though your lordships have now been judges on earth of my condemnation, we may yet all meet together in everlasting love and happiness."

The closing scenes of More's life are thus described in Macdiarmid's "Lives of British Statesmen."

"On his return from Westminster Hall to the Tower, his fortitude had to undergo a severe trial. His favorite daughter, Margaret, apprehending that this might be the last opportunity of seeing her beloved father, had stationed herself at the Tower wharf, where he would necessarily pass: but when he appeared in sight, with the

axe, the emblem of condemnation, borne before him, her feelings could no longer be controlled; regardless of the spectators she burst through the crowd, and through the guards which surrounded him, and, clinging round his neck, hung upon him in an agony of despair; the only words that could force an utterance were, "my father! oh, my father!" More, while he pressed her to his heart, endeavoured to calm her agitation; he reminded her, that she well knew the secrets of his soul; that the knowledge of his innocence ought to lessen her dismay at his approaching fate, and that resignation was due to the will of God, without whose permission none of these events could take place. At length she made an effort to recover herself, and faintly bidding him adieu, suffered the attendants to lead her away. But she had proceeded only a few paces, when the thought that she had seen her father for the last time, rushed with irresistible poignancy on her mind. She again burst through the crowd, again hung upon his neck, and gave way to all the bitterness of anguish. Her father, though his mind had long been prepared to meet his fate, and though its approach had been wholly unable to discompose his fortitude, could not look unmoved on her distress; and a tear, which stole down his cheek, betrayed the emotion which he struggled to conceal. The

spectators, deeply affected, beheld this tender scene in silence; and even the guards could not refrain from tears, while they gently forced her from the arms of her father."

"His condemnation had taken place on the 1st of June; and on the 6th of the same month, Sir Thomas Pope, one of his particular friends, came very early in the morning, by the king's command, to acquaint him that his execution was to take place that day, at nine o'clock. More thanked his friend for the good news; and observing that he was deeply affected with the painful commission which he had been obliged to execute, he endeavoured to convince him, by the gaiety of his conversation, how little his lot was to be lamented; and, when his friend could not refrain from weeping bitterly at parting, he reminded him with a look of exultation, that the interval could not be long before they should meet in eternal felicity."

"As he passed along to the place of execution, on Tower Hill, the sympathy of the spectators was expressed by silence and tears. One man alone, from among the crowd, was heard to reproach him with a decision which he had given against him in Chancery. More, no wise discomposed by this ill-timed expression of resentment, calmly replied, that, if it were still to do he would give the same decision."

"His behaviour on the scaffold corresponded to the whole tenor of his conduct; perfectly composed and collected, and dying in harmony with all mankind, his countenance was unaffectedly cheerful, and his words expressed a mind well at ease. Perceiving that the scaffolding was weakly erected, he said, in his usual tone, to the attending officer, 'I pray thee, friend, see me safely up, and for my coming down, let me shift for myself.' Observing the executioner pale and trembling, he said to him, 'Pluck up thy spirits, man, and be not afraid to do thy office; my neck is very short; see, therefore, that thou do not mar thy credit by cutting awry.' Having spent a short time in devotion, he took the napkin with which his eyes were to be bound, and calmly performed that office for himself; then laying his head on the block, he bade the executioner stay, till he removed his beard; 'for it,' said he, 'has committed no treason.'

"Thus perished Sir Thomas More, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, deeply lamented by all who knew his worth, and admired even by his enemies. By those who knew him best, and who shared his intimate friendship, his loss was bewailed as an irreparable calamity. 'More is dead!' says Erasmus, in the accents of despondency, 'More! whose breast was purer than

snow, whose genius was excellent above all his nation.' "

About a year after the death of More, another tragical scene was enacted to gratify the capricious and cruel temper of Henry VIII. Having fallen in love with another lady, the king began to grow tired of Anne Boleyn. This was perceived by the popish party at court, who eagerly made use of it to increase their own power and to destroy the Queen. Her gay and thoughtless disposition gave some appearance of truth to the stories by which the jealousy of Henry was so excited, that he determined to satisfy his rage and make way for the gratification of his new passion, by the death of a wife, — to obtain whom he had defied the authority of the Pope and the resentment of Charles V., the most powerful prince in Europe. She was brought to trial and condemned upon evidence, altogether insufficient to sustain the charges preferred against her. Anne met her fate with resignation. While confined in the Tower she endeavoured to make amends for her past errors. Her conscience reproached her for having treated Mary, the daughter of Catherine, with too much severity. The day before she suffered she called the lady of the lieutenant of the Tower, and falling upon her knees, charged her, with many tears, to go to the princess, and, in the same humble posture,

ask, in her name, forgiveness for the wrong she had done her. Anne also sent a message to the king, in which she declared her innocence, and commended her daughter Elizabeth to his care; she concluded with saying, "that having from a private gentlewoman made her first a marchioness and then a queen, he now, since he could raise her no higher on earth was about to send her to heaven." On the 19th of May the queen was beheaded, by an executioner sent for from France, because he was more expert than any in England. The next day the shameless and cruel king married Jane Seymour!

## CHAPTER XVI.

DESTRUCTION OF THE MONASTERIES — INSURRECTIONS — PILGRIMAGE OF GRACE — BIRTH OF EDWARD AND DEATH OF QUEEN JANE — FURTHER DESTRUCTION OF THE MONASTERIES — MIRACLES AND RELICS — THOMAS A BECKET — EXCOMMUNICATION OF HENRY VIII. 1535-1538.

HENRY VIII. was not content with making himself the supreme head of the English Church. Prompted, in part, by the advice of those counsellors friendly to the Reformation, but still more by his own rapacity, he now determined to strike another blow at popery in his dominions, by the destruction of the Monasteries.

Various causes contributed to the introduction, at an early period, into the church, of that passion for a secluded and ascetic life, to which is to be referred the establishment of the religious houses. In the first place, the warm and enervating climate of the East, where Monastic institutions had their origin, is said to produce a disposition to indolence and melancholy, and a love of solitude. This propensity was augmented by the prevalence of doctrines which taught that matter was the source of all evil, and consequently that the soul would be purified and

exalted by the mortification of the body. To these must be added, as another cause, the persecution to which the early Christians were exposed, and by which many were compelled to retire for safety into the woods and caverns.

In the course of a few centuries Monasteries and Nunneries, — the former inhabited by men who were or pretended to be disgusted with the world, the latter asylums for females whose natural protectors had perished in battle or at the stake, — were established in many parts of Christendom. "From the eighth to the twelfth century," says a writer in the Christian Examiner, for September, 1835, "these institutions continued to multiply astonishingly. Multitudes flocked to them of all ages, conditions, and characters; some from devotion, some from ambition, some from timidity, some from remorse, some because they were weary of the world, and some because the world was weary of them. Children of the most opulent families, ladies of the highest fashion, courtiers, warriors, nobles, kings, were of the number; and they did not go empty handed. Many who were not ready to give themselves, gave what the monks were quite willing to take as a substitute, their money or their lands. In this way the revenues of many of the communities soon became enormous. The humble cabins, which sheltered the early

monks, were exchanged for those vast, expensive, and imposing structures, which still stand in almost every European country as the proudest monuments of Gothic wealth and taste; and their territorial possessions also soon began to rival those of the most powerful barons. Moreover, in process of time, the cloister began to be regarded as being, what indeed it was, the fairest and most direct road of preferment to the highest dignities in the church; nay, for a long period, even to the highest civil employments, whether as regents, foreign envoys, or ministers of state."

The establishments thus described were not without their good effects. They were the only seminaries of learning during the dark ages; and in their libraries were preserved, not only the manuscripts of the ancient Classics, but also those of the Scriptures, which might otherwise have been lost for ever. They served also as retreats for the widow and the orphan; they afforded the last refuge, in those days of war and bloodshed, for virtue and religion; they supplied the wants of the poor, and opened their hospitable doors to the weary traveller. Some of the Monks contributed to the improvement of agriculture by their diligent cultivation of the inferior sorts of land usually bestowed upon them, whilst others devoted their time to the copying of books, to

the mechanic arts, and to different kinds of manufactures.

Monastic institutions, however, with the increase of their wealth, which was heaped upon them by superstitious nobles and princes, became corrupt. Many of them were the abodes of indolence, avarice, and licentiousness, and supported in idleness, multitudes of men and women, who, while they opposed all attempts to instruct the people and to purify the Church, were the willing agents of wicked popes and prelates. Accordingly, those establishments were selected among the first objects of their attack by the Reformers.

In England Archbishop Cranmer advised the dissolution of the Monasteries, and that their revenues should be appropriated to the education of the clergy, and to other purposes connected with the Reformation of the Church. The first part of this advice was immediately followed by the king, since it chimed in with his avaricious desires; the latter part of it, with his usual selfishness and injustice, he took care to neglect. In 1535 persons were appointed to visit the religious houses, to inquire into their character, and to ascertain the amount of their property. These Commissioners, aware of the design of Henry, colored their report as dark as possible; but, after making a proper allowance

for this fact, enough remains to show that many of the Monasteries were very corrupt, and their inmates addicted to the most scandalous vices. This report was presented to Parliament, and a law obtained in 1536 by which three hundred and sixty-six of the smaller Monasteries were dissolved and their income given to the crown. By this act ten thousand persons were turned out of their homes to seek employment, having received no other compensation, than a shilling and a gown, which was allowed to each Monk.

To reconcile his subjects to this arbitrary proceeding, the king bestowed a portion of the wealth acquired by it, upon the principal nobles; but this bribery did not entirely prevent disturbance. Many of the clergy and many of the people were indignant at so high-handed a measure. Their discontent was encouraged and kept alive by the ejected Monks, who wandered over the country, denouncing the injustice of Henry, until at length it broke forth in open rebellion.

The first rising was in Lincolnshire, in the beginning of October, where one Dr. Mackrel, disguised like a shoe-maker, and assuming the name of Captain Cobler, collected round him twenty thousand men. The insurgents swore to be true to God, the King, and the Commonwealth; and drew up a list of their grievances, which they sent to their sovereign, whom they

acknowledged to be the head of the Church. They complained of the suppression of the Monasteries, of evil counsellors near the throne, and desired that the nobility might be assembled to redress their injuries. These complaints were treated with contempt, and forces, under the command of the Duke of Suffolk, were sent to subdue the rebels. Some of the gentry, whom the enraged populace had forced to take part with them, intimated to the Duke that the promise of a general pardon would probably put an end to the rebellion. Henry, hearing that greater disturbances were about to take place in the northern part of his kingdom, and being therefore desirous to restore quiet in Lincolnshire, issued a proclamation granting the royal forgiveness to such of the malcontents as would return to their homes. This had the intended effect; the rebel army melted away, and only a few of their leaders, among whom was Captain Cobler, were seized and put to death.

The storm, which for some time had been gathering in the North, now burst forth. Forty thousand men, from the counties of York, Durham, and Lancaster, together with many of the clergy and some noblemen, among whom was Lord Darcy, assembled under the command of one Aske, a gentleman of small fortune, but of great talents as a leader. This enterprise

was called the Pilgrimage of Grace. The rebels, led on by the priests bearing crosses, had on their banners a crucifix, a chalice or cup used at the administration of the Supper, and a representation of the five wounds of Christ; on their sleeves was embroidered the name of Jesus. They all took an oath that they entered upon this work, "for the love of God, the preservation of the king's issue, the purifying of the nobility, and driving away of all base-born and ill counsellors; and for no particular profit of their own, nor to do any displeasure, nor to kill any for envy; but to take before them the Cross of Christ, his faith, the restitution of the Church, and the suppression of heretics and their opinions." To accomplish their purpose, this formidable body marched from place to place, took one or two castles, the towns of York and Hull, and replaced, wherever they went, the Monks and Nuns in the deserted Monasteries.

The king despatched a force of about six thousand men, under the command of the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Shrewsbury, who advanced as far as Doncaster, to prevent the insurgents from coming any farther south. Norfolk, partly on account of the inferiority of his numbers to those of the enemy, and partly, perhaps, because being a Roman Catholic he felt some sympathy with their enterprise, obtained

permission from Henry to offer terms of pardon. A herald was sent across the river Don, which divided the two armies. Aske received him, sitting in a chair of state, and supported on either side by an Archbishop and Lord Darcy, and having learned the tenor of his message, would not allow it to be communicated to his followers. A battle would now have taken place, had not the river been made impassable by a heavy fall of rain. This afforded time for new negotiations. The insurgents demanded, among other things, a general pardon, the restoration of popery, the recognition of the princess Mary as heir to the throne, the reëstablishment of the Monasteries, and the punishment of the Lutherans. These demands were, of course, refused; preparations were made for an appeal to arms; when another fall of rain and a second rise of the Don, intimidated the superstitious among the rebels, who looked upon these repeated checks, as an interposition of Providence. In the mean time, Aske's troops were distressed from want of provisions, and Norfolk took advantage of this state of things and issued a promise of general pardon. His conduct met the approbation of the king, who, however, in a proclamation, bluntly told his discontented subjects, "that they ought no more to pretend giving a judgment with regard to government, than a blind

man with regard to colors." "And we," he added, "with our whole council, think it right strange that ye, who be but brute and inexpert folk, do take upon you to appoint us, who be meet or not for our council." The royal clemency, notwithstanding the ungracious manner in which it was expressed, put an end to the insurrection, and in a short time peace was restored to the kingdom.

Soon after the above transactions the queen bore a son, who was baptized by the name of Edward. This event gave the king great joy, since, as he had declared his two daughters illegitimate, there was no heir to the crown; but his pleasure was soon clouded by the almost immediate death of his wife, to whom he was so much attached, that out of respect to her memory, as some say, he remained two years a widower.

The power and popularity of Henry were so much increased by the suppression of the rebellion and the birth of Prince Edward, that he was resolved to continue his attack upon the religious houses.

When, in a convocation of the clergy, the proposition to destroy the lesser Monasteries was first advanced, it was opposed by Bishop Fisher, who related the following fable, to show that such a measure would point out to the king, how

he might come at the larger Monasteries. "An axe," said the old man, "which wanted a handle, came upon a time into the wood, making his moan to the great trees, that he wanted a handle to work withal, and for that cause he was constrained to sit idle; therefore he made it his request to them that they would be pleased to grant him one of their small saplings within the wood to make him a handle; who mistrusting no guile, granted him one of their smaller trees to make him a handle. But now becoming a complete axe, he fell so to work within the same wood, that in process of time there was neither great nor small trees to be found in the place where the wood stood. And so, my Lords, if you grant the king these smaller Monasteries, you do but make him a handle, whereby at his own pleasure he may cut down all the cedars within your Lebanon." The ingenious prediction of Fisher was now fulfilled. In the course of three years the king dissolved most of the remaining Monasteries in the kingdom, and swept their revenues, amounting to upwards of one hundred and thirty thousand pounds, into his treasury. Care was taken to do this so as to prevent any great commotion. The encouragement was held out to the people, that the new addition to the royal funds would render any taxes unnecessary. In the bill by which he effect-

ed his purpose, Henry conciliated many of the papists, by professing a belief in the principal doctrines of the Romish Church. The king also silenced much opposition by the freedom with which he spent his newly-gotten riches. In one instance, it is said, he gave the whole income of a convent to a woman, as a reward for making a pudding which happened to please his palate.

Men were further reconciled to the work of destruction by an exposure of the frauds with which the priests had imposed upon the ignorant and credulous. More pieces of the *true* cross were produced than would have made a whole one; and a sufficient number of the teeth of a certain saint, which had been distributed as a sure remedy for the tooth-ache, to fill a hogshead, were collected. In Gloucestershire a vial had been shown as containing a portion of Christ's blood, which was visible only when the pilgrim had by penitence and gifts obtained the forgiveness of his sins;— now it was discovered that one side of it was thick and dark and the other thin and transparent, and that being supplied every day with the fresh blood of a bird, the pretended miracle was performed by turning the vessel round as occasion required. At another place was a famous crucifix, with an image upon it, which, to the astonishment of the ignorant,

would move its head and limbs; — this was broken in pieces, and the springs and wires, by which the trick had been played, exposed to the derision of the multitude.

The discovery of these and other like impositions practised by some of the Monks, opened the eyes of many, and caused them to look with indifference upon their present discomfiture. To increase this feeling, and to gratify still further his own dislike to the popish priesthood, Henry determined not to let even the dead rest.

In the reign of Henry II. Thomas à Becket was made Chancellor. He was a prelate of a fearless and arrogant temper, untiring in his exertions to increase the power of the clergy, and gave his sovereign much trouble by the little respect he paid to his authority. Among other bold acts, he, at one time, excommunicated several of the clergy, who opposed his ambitious schemes, and refused to obey a command to restore them again to favor. The king was then in France. When the news of Becket's disobedience reached him, he exclaimed; "What an unhappy prince am I, who have not about me one man of spirit enough to rid me of a single insolent prelate, the perpetual trouble of my life." These angry words induced four noblemen to resolve to relieve him of his plague. They went over to England, and appearing before the Chan-

cellor while he was engaged at public worship, in the Cathedral of Canterbury, bade him, on pain of instant death, obey the command of the king. Becket, unmoved by fear, replied, that he was ready to die for the good of the Church. The confederates then endeavoured to drag him out of the Cathedral, but not being able to do this, they slew him on the spot.

The Pope took care to make the most of this deed of violence. Becket was canonized. In the reign of Henry III., his body was taken up and placed in a magnificent shrine at Canterbury. His bones and other remains worked, it was pretended, numberless miracles, and plenary indulgence was granted to all who visited his tomb; and so great was the popularity of the Saint, that many hundred thousands of persons made a pilgrimage to the place of his burial.

Henry VIII. resolved now to avenge the insulted authority of his ancestors, and to destroy the reputation of Becket. He ordered him, although dead, to be tried and condemned as a traitor; his name to be erased from the catalogue of the Saints, his bones to be burnt, and his shrine, the gold taken from which filled two chests, to be broken in pieces.

These attacks upon the dignity and prosperity of the Church caused great indignation at Rome; and when the Pope heard of the contempt shown

to the remains of Becket, he no longer delayed the expression of his anger. He sent forth a bull, "requiring the king of England and his accomplices to appear at Rome and give an account of their conduct; if they did not, the Pope deprived him of his crown and them of their estates, and both of 'Christian burial.'" Henry's subjects were absolved from their oath of allegiance, and his kingdom given to the king of Scotland, —if he would go and take it.

In former days such an act of the Pontiff would have been followed by dreadful consequences to any monarch; but now its impotency only served to show how weak the foundations of the papal throne had become.

## CHAPTER XVII.

LAMBERT — LAW OF SIX ARTICLES — ANNE OF CLEVES — CATHERINE HOWARD — PERSECUTION — DEATH OF CATHERINE HOWARD—CATHERINE PARR — ANNE ASKEW — DEATH OF HENRY VIII. 1538-1547.

Although Henry, to gratify his passions, had treated the Pope with so little respect, and had shown so little fear of his vengeance, yet he by no means wished to be ranked among heretics. He was still vain of his reputation as a Theologian, and, although many of his measures had helped their cause, had little sympathy with the opinions of the Reformers. There were those in the royal council, quick to perceive and ready to take advantage of this inconsistency between the creed and the conduct of the king. Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, in particular, being anxious to advance the plans of the popish party, ventured to suggest to his master a method by which he might restore himself to favor with the Roman Pontiff.

Many of the English Protestants had ceased to believe in the real presence of the body of Christ in the bread used at the celebration of the Supper; and for this reason they were called Sacramentaries. Gardiner advised Henry, who

still held to the doctrine of transubstantiation, to punish these heretics; and an opportunity for putting his advice in practice soon occurred. John Lambert, a schoolmaster in London, having heard a clergyman by the name of Tailor, advocate, in a sermon, the doctrine of the real presence, went to him in private and objected to his arguments. Tailor requested Lambert to state his views in writing, which he did. The paper thus obtained was shown to several persons, and its author was brought to trial on the charge of heresy. In an evil hour Lambert appealed to the king.

Henry was fond of theological controversy and was also anxious, at this time, to show his detestation of the new opinions; he therefore determined, in person, to sit in judgment upon Lambert. The Court was held in Westminster Hall. The king, attended by the principal clergy and nobility of the realm, was present in great state. When the prisoner was brought before them, Henry and ten of the most learned prelates endeavoured to make him recant. Lambert argued till he was wearied out and confounded by the number of his antagonists. Being then asked if he would confess his error, he refused, and said that "he commended his soul to God and his body to the mercy of his sovereign." He was condemned and burnt at

the stake by a slow fire; "and when his legs and thighs were consumed to the stumps," two of the soldiers raised his body on their halberds and cast it into the flames, — he crying out to the last, "none but Christ, none but Christ."

Henry now undertook to put an end to the difference of opinion on religious subjects in the kingdom. To accomplish this design, he directed the Parliament to enact six articles as the creed of the Church. By these it was declared that, after their consecration, the bread and wine became the real body and blood of Christ; that, according to the Romish doctrines, the laity should partake only of the bread, at the celebration of the Supper; that the priests should not marry; that private Masses were good and right, and that auricular confessions were necessary to salvation. To write, preach, or speak against any of the last five of these articles was to be punished with fines and imprisonment, and the penalty affixed to a denial of the first was death by fire.

So many persons were thrown into prison in consequence of the passage of this sanguinary law, that even the relentless Henry hesitated to enforce its observation, till, on a certain occasion, he found it could be used for the gratification of his selfish passions.

It has already been mentioned, that Thomas Cromwel stood high among the eminent men at the court of Henry. This individual, the son of a blacksmith, was the confidential servant of Wolsey, and after his death filled one of the highest offices in the government. By his recommendation, the king was persuaded to form an alliance with the German Protestant Princes, by marrying Anne of Cleves, a sister of Sibylla, the wife of the Elector of Saxony. The union thus formed continued only for a short time.

Anne, who was ignorant of the English language and destitute of personal beauty, failed to win the affections of her husband; who, moreover, had been lately smitten with the charms of Catherine Howard. The relatives of Catherine, who were zealous Catholics, when they discovered Henry's new passion, made use of it as an instrument to crush Cromwel and elevate themselves to power. Cromwel was soon condemned and executed for high treason; Parliament granted Henry's request for a divorce and sanctioned his marriage with Catherine; and Gardiner and other Romanists obtained the ascendancy in the government; being obliged, however, to submit to the despotic will of the king.

The contradictory elements now at work, and the inconsistent decrees of Henry, led to a persecution of persons belonging to both of the

religious parties. Protestants and Papists were drawn together on the same hurdle to the place of execution, the former for denying the first of the six articles, the later for denying the supremacy of the king. This spectacle grew to be so common, that a foreigner then in England truly remarked, "that those who were against the Pope were burned, and those who were for the Pope were hanged."

In this reign there was little dependence to be placed upon the smiles of the king; the party in power to day were in disgrace to-morrow. Thus it happened at this time; and the papist soon met with a check. It was discovered that the queen was a woman of an abandoned character; and when the fact became known to Henry he was affected even to tears. But his grief was quickly followed by indignation, and Catherine and her confederates were condemned to death.

In 1543, the king took for his sixth wife Catherine Parr, the widow of Lord Latimer, a woman of talents and virtue, and inclined to favor the Reformers. This new connexion, although it did not entirely put an end to the persecution, gave to the Protestants more influence at court. Cranmer was able, at some personal risk, to procure concessions in favor of those who embraced the new doctrines. Gardiner, on the other hand, regarded the late mar-

riage with a jealous eye, and was indefatigable in his intrigues to promote the cause of popery. It was a common saying that he had bent his bow to shoot at the head deer, meaning the queen and Cranmer; and, it may be added, his aim was so true that they had a very narrow escape.

The latter of the intended victims was saved only by the personal regard of Henry, to whom he had always been a submissive servant; while the former baffled her enemy with a woman's wit.

As it would have been dangerous to begin by direct charges against the queen, a plot was laid to cast suspicion upon her by seizing upon one of her attendants. Anne Askew, a woman of noble birth, who, turned out of doors by her husband because she had embraced the new doctrine, came to London and was connected with the court, was the person selected by Gardiner as his first victim. She was summoned before the judges and asked if she believed in the real presence; the intrepid woman replied that she did not, and then told them that if the bread used at the supper was left in a box three months, it would at the end of that period be found to be mouldy like any other bread. Her persecutors then tried, but without

success, to extort from her by torture some confession prejudicial to the queen.

Finding Anne determined not to yield to their cruelty, Gardiner at length caused the sentence of death to be pronounced upon her. On the scaffold she appeared composed and even cheerful, notwithstanding her limbs were broken and mangled by the rack, and met her cruel fate with firmness.

Disappointed in their hopes to force from Anne Askew any confession which they might use against the queen, Gardiner and his associates now proceeded with more direct endeavours to effect their purpose. Taking advantage of one of his moments of irritation they accused Catherine of heresy to the king, and prevailed upon him to sign a warrant for her committal to the Tower. The queen discovered their plan and immediately made a bold effort to outwit them. She repaired to the presence of Henry, who, in order to sound her opinions, turned the conversation to religious subject. Aware of his object, she humbly replied, "that on such topics she always, as became her sex and station, referred herself to the wisdom of his majesty, as he, under God, was her only supreme head and governor here on earth." "Not so Kate," answered her husband, "you are, as we take it, become a sort of doctor, to instruct, and not to

be instructed by us." Catherine cautiously replied, that she objected only that she might be benefited by his superior knowledge. "Is it so, sweet heart?" said the king; "and tended your arguments to no worse end? Then are we perfect friends again." After this interview, Gardiner lost his influence, and was never restored to the royal favor whilst Henry lived.

Henry VIII. had occupied the throne almost half of a century; but his life now drew near to its close. He died on the 27th of January, 1547, having been one of the most powerful, despotic, inconsistent and cruel monarchs that ever wore a crown. He left the religious affairs of his kingdom in an unsettled state. The creed of the church was neither that of the Protestants nor Papists, but a strange mixture of the doctrines of both, which no one probably except its royal maker ever believed. It remained for others to arrange the discordant materials bequeathed them by the capricious Henry, and to complete the unfinished work.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

EDWARD VI.—SOMERSET—PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION—JOAN BOCHER—NORTHUMBERLAND—DEATH OF EDWARD VI. 1547-1553.

After the death of Henry VIII. his son Edward VI. then but little more than nine years of age ascended the throne. "With his mother's gentleness and suavity of disposition, this young prince inherited his father's capacity and diligence and love of learning." His preceptors were selected from among the Reformers; and he was early remarkable for the purity of his character and his unaffected piety. At his coronation, when, according to custom, three swords were brought to be carried before him, he observed that there was one yet wanting,—and called for the Bible. "*That*," said he, "is the sword of the spirit, and ought in all right to govern us, who use *these* for the people's safety by God's appointment. Without that sword we are nothing and can do nothing. Under that we ought to live, to govern, and to perform all our affairs. From that alone we obtain all power, virtue, grace, salvation, and whatsoever we have of divine strength." One who was about the person of the youthful monarch, de-

scribes him as, "the beautifullest creature that lived under the sun; the wittiest, the most amiable, and the gentlest thing of all the world."

Edward, however, was a mere boy, and the government of his kingdom was carried on by others. During the first years of his reign, his uncle, the Duke of Somerset, was appointed the Governor of the king and the Protector of the realm. This nobleman was favorably disposed towards the Reformation, and encouraged Cranmer and the rest of the Protestant clergy in their efforts to destroy the remnants of Popery in England. The changes begun by Henry were finished, and new innovations were introduced. All acts which countenanced the Romanists were annulled. The law of Six Articles was repealed; priests were allowed to marry; the images were removed from the churches; the doctrine of the real presence was given up; auricular confessions were abolished, and a book of Common Prayer was prepared for the use of the people.

These and like innovations were proposed by some of the Protestants from pure motives; but this remark cannot be applied to its full extent to Somerset or many of his coadjutors. However much we may have occasion to rejoice at the progress made by the Reformation at this period, it cannot be denied that it was effected

in many instances by unjust means and for wicked ends. In monarchical governments, during a long minority, it has usually happened that the nobility have been busy with intrigues to increase their own wealth and power; this was the case in the reign of Edward VI. To enrich themselves by the plunder of the Church was the chief object of the Protector and his party. The Cathedrals were stript of their ornaments; the Monasteries were torn down and their lands bestowed upon the nobles; even the libraries, with their valuable manuscripts, did not entirely escape the general havoc. "Private men's halls were now hung with altar cloths; their tables and beds covered with the priests' vestments, instead of carpets and coverlits. It was a sorry house which had not somewhat of this furniture, though it were only a fair cushion covered with such spoils, to adorn their windows or make their chairs have something in them of a chair of state."

Such shameless proceedings were a source of grief to the sincere friends of reform, and were regarded with sorrow by the young king. On one occasion, after the nobles had been carrying on their work of plunder to an enormous extent, the Lord Admiral, a brother of the Protector, had the hardihood to propose, that the bishops should be deprived of the most of their revenues,

on the ground that they ought not to be troubled with temporal concerns. Edward understood his purpose, and answered him with great severity; — "You have had among you," said he, "the commodities of the abbeys which you have consumed, — some with superfluous apparel, some at dice and cards and other ungracious rule; and now you would have the bishops' lands and revenues to abuse likewise! Set your hearts at rest; there shall no such alteration be made while I live!"

Under rulers so destitute of principle, and amid such great revolutions in the religious institutions of the kingdom, we should naturally expect to find the people at large in a most wretched condition. This was the fact. Notwithstanding the many exceptions, produced by the labors of the most learned and pious among the clergy, the general character of society was sadly depraved. Controversy and intrigue, amongst the different parties, usurped the place of practical religion, and immorality and wickedness of all kinds every where abounded. Licentiousness, oppression, pride, covetousness, and a hatred of all religion, according to the most eminent preachers of the day, were widely spread among all the people; chiefly those of a higher rank; "and the sins of England," says Burnet, "did call down from heaven

heavy curses on the land." The escape of the nation from Popery was not followed by any immediate or great improvement in its moral character. Much as they had themselves suffered from persecution, the Protestants had by no means yet learned to be tolerant. Several Anabaptists were burnt, because they would not adopt the creed established by law. Even Cranmer, of whom better things might have been expected, was, on one occasion at least, guilty of great cruelty.

His victim was Joan Bocher, a woman of good birth and education, from the county of Kent. She was accused of maintaining an old and absurd opinion held by some in the early ages of the Church, viz., that the body of Christ was not a real, but only an apparent body. For this *crime* she was brought to trial and condemned to death. "It is a goodly matter to consider your ignorance;" said Joan to her judges, "not long ago you burnt Anne Askew for a piece of bread, and yet came yourselves soon after to believe and profess the same doctrine for which you burnt her! and now, forsooth, you will needs burn me for a piece of flesh; and, in the end you will come to believe this also, when ye have read the Scriptures and understand them." When it was found that no argument could persuade her to abandon her

opinion, Cranmer urged the king to sign the warrant for her execution. The tender and merciful Edward, not yet fourteen years of age, for a long time refused; at last, he yielded to the solicitations of the archbishop, telling him with tears in his eyes — "that he must answer for the act to God."

Somerset retained his power for several years, and exercised it in many respects with ability and wisdom. His unjust conduct in regard to religious matters is probably to be attributed to political motives and the advice of evil counsellors, rather than to any bad personal qualities. His nephew held him in much respect until his mind was poisoned and deceived by the enemies of the Protector, who at length accomplished his ruin. He was tried on a false charge of having formed a conspiracy against the king, and beheaded January 22, 1552.

Warwick, Duke of Northumberland, by whose intrigues Somerset had been destroyed, now became the chief ruler in the kingdom, and preserved that high office during the remainder of Edward's reign. He was a bold, bad man; but as his interest led him to favor the Reformers, he made no great changes in the church. The abuses introduced under the administration of his predecessor still continued; and, amid the political quarrels which agitated the court and

distracted the country, the condition of the people was much the same as we have above described. There were not wanting, however, among the clergy and nobility, those who made great efforts to bring about a better state of things; and had Edward lived to take the reins of government into his own hands, the nation might have been redeemed from its wickedness and saved from a relapse into popery.

As the personal character of Edward furnishes the brightest page in the history of his reign, so the close of his short life was full of beauty and interest. In the year 1552 he was attacked first with the measles and then with the small pox; but he recovered from these diseases and made a journey through his kingdom, during which he took frequent colds, which greatly impaired his constitution. In January of the following year a severe and obstinate cough with which he was seized threw him into a consumption. As the Duke of Northumberland, who was very unpopular, would allow none but his own friends to approach the king, suspicions arose that slow poison had been given to him; but no proof that any such villany was practised has ever been found.

During Edward's illness Ridley, one of his bishops, preached before him and took occasion

to speak of the obligation that lay upon men of high condition to be eminent in works of benevolence. This so touched his royal auditor that after the service he sent for the bishop, bade him sit down and be covered in his presence, and then telling him that he took the sermon to himself, desired him to point out the best way in which he could obey his exhortation. Ridley, overcome by the humility and kind disposition of the prince, requested leave to consult with others before he answered his question. This was granted; and applications were made to the magistrates of the city for their advice. They replied that the poor might be divided into three classes, — those who were so by reason of natural infirmity, such as idiots and madmen, — the sick and maimed, — and those who were too indolent and dissolute to work. When this statement was reported to the king, he ordered Gray-friars' church to be turned into an asylum for orphans, St. Bartholomew's into a hospital, and gave his own house of Bridewell as a place of correction for the wilfully idle. This order was not fully executed until the following June; and when Edward had signed the papers necessary to finish its benevolent design, he thanked God for prolonging his life till he had completed this work.

On the sixth of July the king found himself to be dying, and gave his last moments to devotion, praying most earnestly for his people, that they might be blessed and saved from the errors of popery. Having ended this supplication, he said to one who was holding him in his arms, "I am faint. Lord have mercy on me, and receive my spirit;" and "so he breathed out his innocent soul."

Historians dwell with delight upon the character of young Edward, who, although he was but sixteen years of age when he died, had given the promise of being one of the wisest and best of monarchs. His natural talents were of a high order, and his diligence in the pursuit of all knowledge that might be useful to him as a sovereign indefatigable. He kept a journal of his life; and likewise a book, wherein he recorded the characters of the chief men in the kingdom, that he might be able to select the most worthy for his counsellors. To his fine mental endowments was added an affectionate and merciful disposition; and, indeed, his whole character deserves all the eulogy it has received, as well as the study and imitation of every youth who aspires to that true greatness, which comes from the union of a cultivated mind with a sanctified heart.

## CHAPTER XIX.

USURPATION OF THE LADY JANE GREY — ACCESSION OF MARY — EXECUTION OF THE LADY JANE — RESTORATION OF POPERY — PERSECUTION — JOHN ROGERS — LAWRENCE SAUNDERS — LATIMER — CRANMER — DEATH OF MARY — ACCESSION OF ELIZABETH — REFORMATION ESTABLISHED. 1552-1559.

NORTHUMBERLAND, whose ambition was not satisfied with the power he had already enjoyed, formed a plan by which he hoped to maintain his authority yet longer. Having married his fourth son, Lord Guilford Dudley, to the Lady Jane Grey, daughter of the younger sister of Henry VIII. he prevailed upon Edward, who dreaded the effects of his sister Mary's hatred of the Reformers, to make a will and appoint the Lady Jane his successor. Accordingly, after the decease of the king, Jane, then only sixteen years of age, and contrary to her own wish, was proclaimed queen.

The lovely usurper, whose reluctance to ascend the throne had been overcome chiefly by the earnest entreaties of her father, the Duke of Suffolk, maintained her dangerous elevation only nine days. Northumberland was almost universally detested; the right of Mary to the crown was undisputed, and the rapacity of the pre-

tended friends of the Reformation, during the last reign, had rendered the people quite indifferent in regard to religious affairs. With these circumstances operating in her favor, Mary found it easy to defeat her enemies and recover her rightful authority. She entered London supported by the whole nation, and was acknowledged by all as the lawful sovereign of the realm.

To enlist the Reformers on her side, Mary had promised not to alter the religion as established by her brother. This promise was soon broken. The Queen, whose disposition inclined her to cruelty, was bigoted in her attachment to popery, and violent in her hatred of the new opinions; and indeed the injustice she had received at the hands of the Protestants would have excited the indignation of a far more merciful temper than she possessed. To them she attributed the dishonor of her mother, the danger to which she herself had been exposed during the reign of her father, and the vexations she had endured from her brother's anxiety to change her faith.

Hardly, therefore, had the queen mounted the throne, before she showed it to be her determination to restore the Catholic religion. She granted a pardon to those prelates who had been confined or removed from office, on account of

their opposition to the Reformation. The cruel Gardiner and the infamous Bonner were admitted to seats in the council. All ministers were forbidden to preach, except such as received the royal permission, which was carefully confined to popish priests. The foreign Protestants, many of whom had settled in England in the time of Edward, were expelled from the kingdom. The marriages of the clergy were declared illegal. A Latin mass was performed at the opening of Parliament. And to crown the work, the Pope was secretly informed of the queen's earnest desire to be reconciled to the Roman see.

These changes gave great offence to a large portion of the people; and when in addition to them it was known that the queen intended to marry Philip, the eldest son of Charles V., a step which threatened to bring England under the control of that monarch, the general discontent broke out in open rebellion. The insurrection was soon put down; but Mary made use of it as an excuse for the destruction of all whom she feared as rivals or dreaded for their virtues.

The most eminent among the victims were the Duke of Suffolk, who had been weak enough to lend some countenance to the rebels, Lord Dudley, and his wife the Lady Jane Grey. The account of the execution of these nobles belongs

to the civil history of this period; but we cannot forbear pausing to notice the firmness with which the last met her sentence.

There are few characters in history so deserving of affectionate respect as that of the Lady Jane Grey. Young, beautiful, learned, religious, the unhappy instrument of her ambitious relatives, she was now called upon by the inexorable Mary to prepare for death. The summons was received with composure, for it announced the approach of that hour of release from trouble to which she had long been looking forward. With calmness and clearness of mind she defended her creed against the arguments of the priest, sent to convert her to the Catholic faith. In a letter to her father, "she expressed her sense of her sin in assuming the royal dignity, though he knew unwillingly she was drawn into it." "She rejoiced," she continued, "at her approaching end, since nothing could be to her more welcome than to be delivered from that valley of misery, into that heavenly throne to which she hoped to be advanced." To her sister she sent the Greek Testament, which had been her daily companion, extolling most earnestly its inestimable value, and exhorting her to read and obey its instructions.

On the day of her execution her husband desired to take leave of her. This request she

declined, as to comply with it would only increase their grief, and they would soon meet, as she trusted, never to be again separated. She even had the firmness to gaze upon his headless body, as it was brought back, after his execution, to the Tower to be buried. On the scaffold the Lady Jane confessed that her usurpation of the crown was unlawful, that she had also too much neglected the word of God, and loved too much herself and the world. Then, "having desired the people's prayers, she knelt down and repeated the fifty-first Psalm; then she undressed herself, stretched out her head on the block and cried, Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit; and so her head was cut off."

Mary, finding that she had increased her power and terrified her subjects into submission, by suppressing the rebellion and by the executions which followed, was now resolved to carry into effect her other plans. In 1554 she married Philip, and in the same year measures were adopted publicly to reconcile her kingdom to the Romish church. This latter act was performed by the Pope's legate, Cardinal Pole.

Pole, a man of mild and amiable temper, was a kinsman of Henry VIII. and a great favorite with that monarch, till he ventured to oppose his divorce from Catherine. This drew upon him the displeasure of the king, and he left

England in disgrace, and repaired to Rome where he was treated with great regard. On the accession of Mary he returned home, as the agent of the Pope, and granted absolution to the English people for their apostasy from the Church. To explain the ease with which this revolution was accomplished, it must be remembered that the nobility were more concerned about their property than about their religion, and that their consent to the desire of the queen to make peace with the papal court was obtained by a promise on her part, not to deprive them of the wealth they had obtained amid the havoc in the preceding reign.

This reconciliation with Rome was accompanied by the almost complete restoration of the old religion. To show her sincerity and zeal the intolerant queen treated her Protestant subjects with a severity so unmitigated, that she has deservedly been styled the Bloody Mary. Justice, however, requires us to say that this epithet was merited rather by the extent than by the nature of her sanguinary acts; for both the Reformers and the Catholics, in those days, held and practised upon the doctrine that heresy should be punished by fire.

The severest laws against those who rejected the doctrines of the Romish Church had been revived, and the question as to their enforcement

was now debated in the royal council. Pole, sincere as he was in his devotion to popery, recommended a mild and merciful course; while Gardiner, who had never allowed his creed to stand much in the way of his interest or safety, urged the adoption of violent measures. The advice of the latter best suited the disposition of the queen, and accordingly the fires of martyrdom were soon kindled. To record in its details the history of that dreadful persecution which continued for three years, and during which it is said two hundred and seventy persons perished at the stake, is a task too horrible to be undertaken. We can only advert to the cases of a few of the victims, premising the remark that our sympathy for their sufferings must not blind us to the fact that some of them, while in power, had inflicted upon their adversaries the same kind of punishment they themselves were now doomed to endure.

The first martyr was the memorable John Rogers. He was advised for the sake of his wife and children to leave the country; but he chose to remain and abide the worst. In the last sermon he preached, he exhorted the people to beware of popery, idolatry, and superstition. He was condemned for maintaining that the Church of Rome was not the true church and for denying the "real presence." Upon receiving

his sentence, Rogers asked permission to see his wife; Gardiner refused his request and affirmed that she was not his wife. She met him, however, with her ten children, one of them an infant at the breast, as he was on his way to execution. This sight did not shake his courage. At the stake he refused to recant and receive a pardon. The faggots were then set on fire and he expired. The death of Rogers was followed by that of Lawrence Saunders. This clergyman had continued to preach, notwithstanding the prohibition of the queen. It is said that when he was brought before Bonner and commanded to write his opinion concerning transubstantiation, he obeyed without hesitation, saying, as he delivered the writing, "My Lord, ye do seek my blood, and ye shall have it. I pray God that ye may be so baptized in it, that ye may thereafter loath blood-making and become a better man." After an imprisonment of more than a year Saunders was sent to Coventry to be burnt. He embraced the stake and died exclaiming "Welcome the cross of Christ, welcome everlasting life."

Hooper, bishop of Gloucester, was another victim. When the executioners were binding him with chains, he desired them to spare their labor, for he was confident he should make no attempt to escape. The wood being green kindled slowly, and the martyr called upon the people to

bring more fire. This they did; but the wind blew the flame and smoke aside, and it was three quarters of an hour before his agony terminated. One of his hands dropped off before he died; with the other he continued to smite his breast until the last.

Passing over many other instances of men who were found ready to sacrifice their lives, rather than do violence to their consciences, we come to Latimer.

Hugh Latimer was born in the year 1475. In the early part of his life he was a zealous Catholic; but he was afterwards converted by Thomas Bilney, with whom he contracted a friendship at Cambridge, and became thenceforward one of the most active and fearless of the Reformers. During the reign of Henry VIII. he was frequently exposed to danger from the Romanists, and the great exertions made by his patrons at court alone prevented his sharing the fate of Bilney. Latimer confined his attention to his clerical duties and meddled but little with politics. His moral character was pure, his piety warm; and these together with his wit and humor made him a popular and efficient preacher. Henry, who respected his blunt sincerity, bestowed upon him, in 1535, the see of Worcester. In this station Latimer failed not to rebuke the vices of the day; neither rank, nor

power saved the wicked from his censure; and more than once he boldly denounced the sins of the king himself.

Many attempts were made to destroy his influence by those who dreaded his honest zeal; but they were unsuccessful until the passage of the Six Articles. Latimer would neither vote for them nor assent to them. He resigned his bishopric, and, when he threw off his robes, leapt up and declared that "he felt lighter than he had ever found himself before." He then retired to the country where he meant to spend the remainder of his days; but being obliged to visit London for medical advice he was accused of having spoken against the Six Articles and cast into prison.

On the accession of Edward, Latimer was released and took up his residence at the house of Cranmer. He was often called upon to preach before the king; and such was the fame of his eloquence, that, to accommodate the crowds who flocked to hear him, the pulpit was removed from the royal chapel into the garden. "Upon these occasions he attacked the vices of the great with honest freedom; charging them in particular with covetousness, bribery, and extortion so emphatically, that it was impossible for them by any self-deceit to avoid the direct application of his reproofs to themselves. And so great was the

effect of his sermons, that restitution was made to the king of very considerable sums of which he had been defrauded."

When Mary came to the throne, Latimer, with other eminent prelates, was again committed to the Tower. The usual liveliness of his temper did not, however, forsake him. As a servant one cold day was leaving his apartment, Latimer called after him and bade him, "tell his master that unless he took better care of him he should certainly escape him." Upon receiving this message the lieutenant of the Tower came to his prisoner for an explanation. "Why, you expect, I suppose, Mr. Lieutenant," replied Latimer, "that I shall be burnt; but if you do not allow me a little fire this frosty weather, I can tell you I shall first be frozen."

Latimer and his fellow prisoners were troubled with many vexatious examinations. On one occasion, when he was ordered before those appointed to sit as his judges, he appeared in his prison-garb, with a cap buttoned under his chin, a pair of spectacles hanging at his breast, a New Testament under his arm, and a staff in his hand. Being told that he must defend his opinions the following day, he complained of his age and infirmities, and told the commissioners that he was just as well qualified to be made Governor of Calais as to enter into a debate with them; and

then added, in allusion to the doctrine of the real presence, that "he had the use of no book but that under his arm, which he had read seven times over deliberately, without being able to find in it neither the marrow bones nor the sinews of the mass." The venerable man was conscious that his faculties were impaired by time and suffering, and would not, therefore, venture to injure, by a weak support, what he held to be the cause of truth.

Bishop Ridley and Latimer were sentenced to be executed at the same time. On the 16th of October, 1555, they were led to the stake. Latimer threw off his tattered gown and appeared in a shroud prepared for the occasion, and animated by holy courage, "stood bolt upright as comely a father as one might lightly behold." When the pile was set on fire, he said to his companion; "Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man; we shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust shall never be put out." Latimer expired first. Ridley who was on the opposite side of the stake lingered in agony till the flames caught some gunpowder which had been tied about his waist.

About this time Gardiner died, expressing, as it is said, remorse for his deeds, and often repeating these words, "Erravi cum Petro, sed non flevi cum Petro — I have erred with Peter, but

I have not mourned with Peter." His decease did not put a stop to the persecution, which continued to rage, and among others reached at length Archbishop Cranmer.

This prelate was first arrested on the charge of high treason, because he countenanced the usurpation of the Lady Jane Grey. Of this act he confessed himself guilty and besought the pardon of the queen, which was granted, she having determined to condemn him for heresy. He was tried before commissioners sent from Rome, deprived of his office, and degraded from his dignity. Afterwards promises of safety were held out to him, if he would abjure his opinions and become a Catholic. Cranmer, to preserve his life, consented and solemnly denied his former faith. But his enemies only meant to insult and disgrace him; his fate had been already decided. On the day appointed for his execution he was brought to St. Mary's Church, Oxford, there to listen to an account of his extorted penitence, and to hear it asserted that his errors were too great to be passed over by any earthly tribunal. When he found that there was no hope, the Archbishop resolved to atone as far as possible for his apostasy. He openly confessed that the fear of death had made him belie his conscience, and declared his readiness to suffer for his sins. At the stake he showed much firmness, keeping the right

hand, which had signed his recantation, extended in the flames, that it might be consumed before the rest of his body, crying out several times, "that unworthy hand."

The tragical end of Cranmer and the coloring of partial historians have given him a reputation not wholly deserved. His life was for the most part devoted to efforts to separate the church of England from that of Rome, and to secure its independence. He was also a man of talents and of an amiable private character. But he was guilty of actions which ought materially to lessen the sympathy excited by his dreadful death. It is not to be forgotten that he aided Henry VIII. in his attempts to get rid of the ill-used Catherine; that he did not oppose with boldness the condemnation of Anne Boleyn, and that, in general, he was very submissive under all the unjust and arbitrary acts of that tyrant. It was Cranmer too who sat in judgment upon Joan Bocher, and compelled the weeping Edward to sign the warrant for her execution. These and other facts are sad blots upon the character of one from whom better things might have been expected. "The truth seems to have been, that he was fitted for private life, where the dangers, trials, and temptations were less, and evil was the hour when he left it to aid in a Reformation which could have gone on as well without him.

From that hour he seems to have drifted upon the stormy tides of party, and to have maintained his ascendant, not by pressing gallantly forward to a certain harbour, but by changing his course as the wind might happen to blow. That he was instrumental in advancing a great religious reform will not entitle him to the great name of Reformer. He did not, like Luther, go out to strive against old abuses with a towering self-devotion. He was not ready to sacrifice every thing to the great cause of truth. He did not speak with a voice of deep and burning conviction, which must and would be heard. He was not found to defend his cause with all the world against him, nor did he master the fear of death, till he found that no submission could save him from the revenge of those who were thirsting for his blood."

Notwithstanding the vengeance with which she had visited her own enemies and the enemies of her faith, Mary wore an aching heart under the robes of royalty. Passionately fond of her husband, she strove without success to induce Parliament to bestow upon him a share of her authority. And, to add to her trouble, when Philip found he could not be sovereign of England, he neglected and deserted the unhappy queen. To win back his affection and to aid him in his ambitious projects on the continent, she laid

heavy taxes upon the nation, and this and her cruelty to the Protestants caused her to be universally hated by her subjects. These misfortunes preyed upon her health and aggravated the dropsical complaints with which she had for a long time been afflicted, until at last her reign and her life both terminated on the 17th of November, 1558.

At the decease of Mary, Elizabeth, the daughter of Anne Boleyn, ascended the throne. This princess, who narrowly escaped being one of her sister's victims, was a Protestant. Her accession was therefore hailed with joy by the enemies of popery, now more numerous than ever. They hoped soon to see their cause triumphant; and in this they were not disappointed. The Reformation advanced with great rapidity, until it was brought to a conclusion by several acts of Parliament, which denied the supremacy of the Pope and established the independence of the Church of England.

## CHAPTER XX.

REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND — PATRICK HAMILTON — JAMES V. — DESIGN OF HENRY VIII. — DEATH OF JAMES V. — MARY STUART — EARL OF ARRAN REGENT — WISHART — ASSASSINATION OF CARDINAL BEATON — JOHN KNOX — QUEEN MOTHER REGENT — MARY STUART'S CLAIM TO THE THRONE OF ENGLAND AND ITS CONSEQUENCES — DESTRUCTION OF THE CHURCHES — LORDS OF THE CONGREGATION — CIVIL WAR — DEATH OF THE QUEEN REGENT — PEACE — ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REFORMATION. 1525 - 1560

We come next to the Reformation in Scotland, which took place almost simultaneously with that in England, and is so similar in its general features that only a brief account of it need be given.

As early as the year 1525 there was a law forbidding the importation of any of the books of Luther into Scotland, which, it was said, had always "been clene of all sin, filth, and vice;" a fact which shows that the new opinions had already made their way into the kingdom. But the honor of first announcing and sealing with his blood the doctrines of the German Reformers, belongs to Patrick Hamilton, the grandson of a sister of James III. Having had his atten-

tion drawn to the new light now breaking upon the world, while yet a youth, he repaired to the continent, where he became the pupil and companion of Luther and Melancthon. Anxious to communicate the knowledge he there obtained to his countrymen, he returned home and began the attack upon the errors of popery; but his career was short. He was decoyed by the clergy to St. Andrews, and there committed to the flames in February, 1528.

The fate of Hamilton served rather to increase than to diminish the interest and courage of his followers, and as some one has expressed it, the smoke of the fire which consumed him infected many with his heresy. Many of the people and even some of the nobles began to study and embrace the opinions of the Reformers. Tindal's translation of the Scriptures was obtained from England and the continent, and circulated in private with great diligence. "One copy of the Bible supplied several families. At the dead of night, when others were asleep, they assembled in one house; the sacred volume was brought from its concealment; and, while one read, the rest listened with mute attention." In this way the knowledge of the Scriptures was diffused at a period, when it does not appear that there were any public teachers of the truth in Scotland.

Hamilton suffered in the early part of the reign of James V., and when that monarch was under the control of the Earl of Angus. Soon afterwards the king escaped from his keeper and took the government into his own hands. As James was a wise and good, so, in any other country or at a later period, he would probably have been a fortunate prince. But the Scottish nobility were rude and turbulent, and but little disposed to respect the authority of the crown. To this circumstance is to be attributed in part the unwillingness of James to tolerate the Reformers, a course to which at one time he seemed inclined. His uncle Henry VIII. urged him to follow his example and throw off the yoke of Rome. But the king of Scotland dreaded the power of England and the violence of her monarch; and besides, he found the clergy from their skill and learning more fit to assist him in the administration of his government than the fierce and ignorant nobles. He therefore resolved to adhere to the Catholic faith, and to defend himself against the indignation of Henry by an alliance with France. He first married a daughter of Francis I., who died within forty days after her marriage. He then obtained the hand of Mary of Guise, whose family were bigoted papists.

Thus supported by their sovereign the clergy took violent measures to prevent the spread of the opinions of the Reformers, which were zealously advocated by learned men, who had adopted them while pursuing their studies in the German and other foreign universities. Several persons were burnt; stricter and more sanguinary laws were passed for the punishment of heresy; and to dispute the power of the Pope, was made a capital offence.

This severity did not stop the progress of the Protestant cause. Many of the nobles, displeased with the partiality of the king towards the clergy, and anxious to enrich themselves by the destruction of the religious houses, began to favor the Reformers, and to countenance Henry VIII. in his renewed efforts to form an alliance with his nephew. The king of England sent an ambassador to James, to represent the advantages he would gain by a rupture with the Pope, and to propose a personal interview with him at York, where they could consult as to the means of promoting the mutual good of their two kingdoms. James gave a partial assent to this invitation; but, being under the influence of the Catholics, he was induced to retract it. Henry immediately declared war; and the Scottish army were defeated in a battle fought at a place called Solway-Moss. When the news of this misfortune was

received, James shut himself up in his palace and refused to listen to any consolation. His grief and shame brought on a fever. Being told of the birth of a daughter, he only replied, "It (meaning the crown) came with a lass and it will go with a lass:" — then turning his face to the wall he soon after died of a broken heart. The infant who entered the world at such a mournful season was that Mary Stuart whose beauty, misfortunes, errors, and tragical end form so interesting a page in the history of Scotland.

Mary, a babe only a few days old, ascended the throne in December, 1542. The affairs of the country were in a most distracted state. Two adverse factions contended for the supreme power; the one led by the queen's mother, Mary of Guise, and Cardinal David Beaton; and the other by the Earl of Arran. Arran, supported by the nobility and the Reformers, obtained the victory and was made Regent.

Arran at first chose his counsellors from among the Reformers. He showed a disposition also to favor the new project of Henry VIII., which was to unite England and Scotland by a marriage between his son Edward and the infant Mary; and, notwithstanding the opposition of the clergy to this measure, the match was agreed to by Parliament. But the Regent was a fickle and timid man, and Cardinal Beaton and the Queen Mother

had the address to persuade him not only to renounce the friendship of the king of England, but also publicly to abjure the reformed religion, In consequence of this change the popish party came into power, and the young queen of the Scots was betrothed to the Dauphin, or eldest son of the king of France, and sent to that country for her education.

While it received the patronage of the Earl of Arran, the Reformation made considerable progress. Laws were passed permitting the people to read the Scriptures; the Bible was found in the houses of the gentry, and the New Testament in the hands of all classes; and the Protestant preachers by their activity and eloquence made many converts. But upon the apostasy of the Regent, the cruel and severe Cardinal Beaton had almost the entire management of the affairs of the kingdom, and soon again kindled the fires of martyrdom. The principal victim was George Wishart, a preacher celebrated for his zeal and wisdom. He was burnt at the Castle of St. Andrews. Beaton sat on the walls of the castle that he might behold with his own eyes the sufferings of the martyr. When Wishart was brought out he looked to the Cardinal and then said to the captain of the guard, "May God forgive yonder man who lies so proudly on the wall, — within a few days he shall be seen lying

there in as much shame as he now shows pomp and vanity."

This prediction was soon fulfilled. The death of Wishart increased men's hatred of his judge; and a band of sixteen conspirators, actuated partly by a desire to avenge that cruel deed, and partly by some private grudge, assaulted and slew Beaton in his own chamber, and exposed his mangled body on the battlements of the Castle.

When the slaughter of the obnoxious Cardinal became known, many of the Reformers, who, although they did not approve of the manner in which that deed was executed, yet rejoiced at the decease of their great enemy, joined the conspirators and aided them in their defence of the castle. Among these was the famous John Knox, who has been called the Father of the Reformation in Scotland.

Knox was born of respectable parents at Gifford, a village of East-Lothian, in the year 1505. He studied at the University of St. Andrews, and took orders as a Catholic priest. He early embraced the cause of the Reformers, and was greatly benefited by the instructions and discourses of Wishart. During the persecution by Beaton, Knox was a tutor in the families of two gentlemen, who were friendly to the new religion. Disgusted with the cruelty and restrained from preaching by the commands of the Cardinal, he

was on the point of leaving Scotland, when the assassination of that prelate changed his purpose and led him to join his brethren at St. Andrews. While in that fortress, he continued to instruct his pupils and began to preach. His learning and eloquence gave a new impulse to the Reformation, and the number of converts to that cause was rapidly increasing, when his labors were for the present suddenly brought to a close.

The regent, having received reinforcements from France, made a new attack upon the Castle, and compelled the insurgents to surrender; and the garrison, together with Knox and other preachers, were sent on board the French galleys. The commanders of these prison-ships employed both solicitation and violence to prevail upon their captives to change their religion. On one occasion an incident took place, which is thus related by a biographer of Knox, who supposes that he was the person referred to. "One day a fine painted image of the Virgin was brought into one of the galleys, and a Scots prisoner was desired to give it the kiss of adoration. He refused, saying that such idols were accursed, and he would not touch it." "But you shall," replied one of the officers roughly, thrusting it in his face and placing it between his hands. Upon this he took hold of the image, and watching his opportunity threw it into the

water, "Let our Lady now save herself; she is light enough, let her learn to swim." The officers with difficulty recovered their image, and their prisoners were relieved for the future from such troublesome importunities.

In February, 1549, Knox was released from confinement and repaired to England, where, as a chaplain to king Edward or an itinerant preacher, he remained until the accession of Mary; after which he went to Geneva and formed a friendship with John Calvin, the celebrated Reformer of that city.

The Catholic party maintained their authority in Scotland until the year 1554, when a change took place in the government of the kingdom. The queen mother by her intrigues induced Arran to resign the regency, and obtained that office for herself. Although she was herself a Catholic, the new Regent found it for her interest to favor the Scottish Protestants and even to protect their English brethren, who at this time fled to Scotland to avoid the persecution of the Bloody Mary.

Knox, as soon as he heard of this revolution in affairs, returned home and preached privately for some time in Edinburgh. Afterwards he extended his labors to other parts of the country. The clergy at length heard of him, and his preaching formed a topic of conversation in the

presence of the Regent. At one time some one affirmed that it was an Englishman, who was so successful and collected such large audiencies. "Nay," replied a haughty prelate, "no Englishman, but it is Knox, that knave." Efforts were made by the Romanists to have the knave arrested, but they were not supported by the Queen Regent. While he was thus employed, Knox received an invitation from an English Congregation at Geneva to become one of their pastors, which he accepted and left Scotland, July, 1556.

For a few years after the departure of Knox, the Reformation made a quiet but steady progress. The Protestant ministers were protected by many nobles of high rank, and their hearers were always ready to show their patriotism by supporting the government in its wars with England. This state of things was, however, altered when the queen regent was persuaded to adopt a different course from that she had hitherto pursued, and instead of encouraging to endeavour to put an end to the new religion. Her plan was defeated, and a revolution took place which ended in the entire downfal of popery in Scotland. To give the reader a clear account of this event it will be necessary to advert for a moment to a few facts in the civil history of this period.

It will be remembered that Mary Stuart was sent to France to be educated as the betrothed wife of Francis the Dauphin. The proposed marriage had now been solemnized; and the uncles of the bride, the dukes of Lorraine, as the princes of the Guise family were called, undertook the bold enterprise of seating their niece upon the throne of England. Mary argued that, as the popes never sanctioned the divorce of Henry VIII. from Catherine of Arragon, or his subsequent union with Anne Boleyn, Elizabeth was illegitimate and had no right to the crown she now wore; but that it properly belonged to the Queen of the Scots, who, as the granddaughter of Margaret, Henry's sister, was the next heir. The court of France were induced by this argument to support the pretensions of Mary. At the instigation of her brothers the Queen Regent also joined in the proposed attempt; and one of her first steps was to change her conduct towards the Reformers, who looked upon Elizabeth as one of the champions of their cause.

The Regent began to throw off the mask, by ordering the Protestant preachers to appear at a court of justice to be holden in Sterling on the 10th of May, 1559; but such a concourse of friends followed them, that she promised not to proceed with the trial provided they would not enter the town. The accused complied with her

terms, but she broke her part of the engagement, and had them proclaimed outlaws for not appearing. This deceitful conduct alarmed the Reformers, and they prepared to defend themselves by an appeal to arms.

At this critical moment Knox returned to Scotland; and an incident happened at his appearance which hurried on the hour of strife. Knox preached at Perth, the principal head-quarters of the Protestants, against the sin of idolatry, and in his sermon failed not to reproach the Regent for her late breach of faith.

When the discourse was finished, and while the people were much moved by its effects, a priest produced a little glass case, containing images of saints, and called upon the crowd to worship them. A boy cried out, "that was gross and sinful idolatry." "The priest, as incautious in his passion as ill-timed in his devotion, struck the boy a blow; and the lad, in revenge, threw a stone, which broke one of the images. Immediately all the people began to cast stones, not only at the images, but at the fine painted windows, and finally pulled down the altars, defaced the ornaments of the church, and nearly destroyed the whole building." This example, although censured by the better class of the Reformers, was followed in other places; and many noble edifices were either totally demolished or reduced to piles of shapeless ruins.

These outrages increased the displeasure of the Regent towards the Reformers. She refused to listen to their apologies and petitions, and at last left them no alternative but to maintain their rights with the sword. To prepare for the conflict, the Protestant leaders formed a league together under the name of *The Lords of the Congregation.* A civil war which now broke out was not carried on very violently. The Queen Regent depended upon troops sent over from France. The Congregation were supported by an army from England. Both parties at times had the advantage; but finally the Reformers, whose numbers were constantly on the increase, gained the day.

The Queen Regent died June 10, 1560; and Francis and Mary, now sovereigns of France, determined to restore peace to Scotland. They granted a general pardon for all offences committed during the war; they agreed that the government should be vested in a council to be chosen by Parliament, to which body they also left the subject of religion to be disposed of as they judged best. The foreign troops, which had been employed on both sides in the late contest, were withdrawn. The Parliament assembled in August, 1560, and proceeded "to condemn unanimously the whole fabric of popery, and adopted instead of the doctrines of the

church of Rome the tenets contained in a Confession of Faith, drawn up by the most popular of the Protestant divines. Thus the whole religious constitution of the church was at once altered."

## CHAPTER XXI.

### CONCLUSION.

In the foregoing pages the aim has been to give a general view of the Reformation in the 16th century, by selecting the most important and interesting facts connected with that event. Before closing the work it may be well to add a few remarks, to aid the young reader in the formation of a correct judgment concerning the character and consequences of a revolution, which has been the cause of such momentous changes in the condition of Christendom.

In reading the history of the Reformation care should be taken not to imbibe unjust and false prejudices against the Romish Church. That history necessarily exhibits many of the worst errors, and the most abandoned supporters of popery. To receive it therefore as containing the whole truth in regard to the papal system, would be a great mistake. Corrupt as were the prevalent ideas of Christianity, while Europe was shrouded in the darkness of ignorance, and gross as were the abuses introduced by those who, to accomplish their own bad ends, took advantage of the superstitious credulity of the

people, it is not to be supposed that no good thing remained in the church. Among the opponents of the Reformers were men of piety, sincere in their attachment to the ancient faith, and conscientious in their dread of innovations. Many of the clergy were indeed wicked, many of the monasteries the abodes of vice, and many men clung to popery from base motives; but there were also those among the priesthood whose lives were pure, there were religious houses where God was worshipped in sincerity, and man was loved as a brother, and, among the thousands who adhered to the old religion, multitudes undoubtedly did so from a belief that it was true. This statement finds proof of its correctness in the fact, that the most diligent and pure-hearted among the Reformers came from the bosom of the church. Luther, Melancthon, Zwingle, Knox, and others, were once Catholics; and even in the darkest of the middle ages we may believe that many a pure spirit was illuminated and warmed by rays from the "sun of righteousness."

Another error which some Protestant writers have encouraged, and against which the reader of the history of the Reformation ought to be on his guard, is the impression that Roman Catholics of the present day are necessarily chargeable with the same faults, as the Roman

Catholics of former times. However far from the simplicity of the Gospel and pure Christianity the church of Rome in its government and its doctrines may have wandered, it would be wrong to imagine that it has remained always the same, or been entirely unaffected by the changes which have taken place in the world within a few centuries. Catholics as well as Protestants have been taught wisdom; and the former as well as the latter have been benefited by the clearer light which has been shed upon the page of Revelation; and where they have been placed on a footing with other sects, and enjoyed the privileges of knowledge, they have given to the world bright examples of Christian character. Justice demands that this should be remembered in their favor, however much we may deplore what seems to us their corrupt faith; and justice also demands that they be judged of according to their own deeds and opinions, at any particular period, and not be made to answer for the sins or absurdities of their ancestors. It is unfair and irrational to argue that, because in an age of comparative darkness a church was sadly corrupt, it must be equally so in an age of greater knowledge.

Again, while discrimination and charity are to be exercised towards the defenders of popery in the sixteenth century, we are to avoid bestow-

ing unqualified admiration upon its adversaries. Gratitude for the blessings they were instrumental in procuring has sometimes betrayed men into extravagant eulogy of the Reformers. It has been forgotten that they were but men, fallible, imperfect men, who could not be expected to throw off at once all the errors which had been accumulating for centuries. The time has come to read their history with an impartial eye; and he who does so read it must see that they were guilty of many mistakes. These, it is true, are to be attributed, for the most part, to the circumstances in which they were placed, and explained by a reference to the character of the age in which they lived. But still they are not on this account to be passed over without exposure. The Protestant leaders were at times violent, intolerant, and cruel. They accomplished their ends, in some instances, by unjustifiable means and instruments. While they abandoned many of the hoary falsehoods of popery, they retained doctrines which to us appear hardly less unscriptural and irrational; while they withstood, even unto death, the tyranny of Rome, they failed on more than one occasion to remember that "charity is not easily provoked." The obstinacy and ill-temper of Luther, in refusing to meet the friendly advances of Zwingle; the persecution of the

Anabaptists; the martyrdom of Joan Bocher; the condemnation of Sir Thomas More; the destruction of the monasteries, and other sad facts, are too plainly recorded on the page of history, to permit us, with all our reverence for the noble virtues and heroic courage of some of their number, to bestow unqualified praise upon the Reformers.

But leaving the character of the Reformers to be tried by the history of their deeds, we turn to a more important question, and that is, what was the result of their labors, or, in other words, in what did the Reformation consist? We will first give what seems to us the true answer to this inquiry, and afterwards throw out a few suggestions to show its correctness. We say, then, that the Reformation consisted in a denial of the supremacy of, and a separation from, the church of Rome, and in the declaration of these two principles, namely: the sufficiency of the Scriptures, and the right of private judgment. Other benefits were gained, undoubtedly, by the great revolution in the sixteenth century: but this one statement includes all that was alike effected by that event in the different countries in which it took place,—all that belongs to it as a whole,—all that can be justly esteemed its essence. And even this was not the consequence of a distinct plan and a definite purpose, clearly formed and

systematically pursued by the Reformers; for the truth is, they had, at least in the outset, no plan and no distinct purpose. Luther did not think of denying the infallibility of the Pope, when he began his attack upon Tetzel; Henry VIII. was far from desiring a breach with Rome, when he sued for a divorce from Catherine; and it was the influence they had over the king, rather than any opposition to them as papists, which led the Scottish nobles, in the reign of James V., to regard the Catholic clergy as enemies. The Protestants were, in fact, driven by circumstances and by the tide of events over which they had no control, to results which even they had by no means anticipated.

The Reformation has been frequently represented as consisting in something more than we have allowed. It has been said, that it was a reform in the government of the church: and so it was to some extent. But that this was not its great result, is evident from the fact that no common form in the administration of ecclesiastical affairs was adopted by the Protestants. The churches of Switzerland, Germany, England, and Scotland differed as much from each other in their constitution, as they did from the church of Rome. Again it has been contended that the Reformation was a reformation in doctrine. That the study of the Scriptures opened

the eyes of men to many of the errors of popery, and gave them more correct views of Christianity, is not to be denied. But this was not the one great result of the conflict with Catholicism; for the Reformers agreed in the reception of no common creed. Zwingle differed from Luther, Luther from Knox, and all three of them from the church of England, on many articles of belief. If then the Reformation is to be regarded as consisting in those points common to all who were engaged in carrying it on, all of these are embraced in the statement given above; for all the Protestants denied the supremacy of the Pope, and contended that the Scriptures were the only rule of faith and practice, and that every one had a right to read and interpret them for himself.

We have said that two great principles were *declared* by the Reformers; but we do not mean by this that they were fully acknowledged by them in practice. For a long time previous to the appearance of Zwingle and Luther, all Europe admitted the authority of the Romish Church to settle all points of doctrine. Soon after the conflict with the Pope in the sixteenth century began, his claims to infallibility were found to be groundless; and his opponents declared that the Scriptures were the only standard of divine truth. This declaration was most true; but those who made it did not act up to it. They formed

churches and bound them together by confessions of faith of their own manufacture, and then treated as heretics all who did not receive their paper creeds. While they denied the supremacy of the Roman Pontiff, they erected some other human power to lord it over men's consciences. The care of religion was intrusted to the state, and kings and parliaments were allowed to dictate to the people what they should or should not believe. Perfect toleration was almost as little known among the early Protestants, as among the friends of popery.

The above remarks are not made to censure the Reformers. The step they took towards religious liberty was, for them, a great step. When we remember how recent was their escape from the superstitions and tyranny of Rome, we are ready to admit that they did as much as we have a right to expect. In adverting therefore to their want of entire fidelity to their own principles, we only wish to guard the young reader against the erroneous impression that they finished the work which they commenced. They struck the first successful blow, and gained the first victory in the cause of religious liberty. They began to remove those corruptions with which Christianity had for a long time been obscured, and to restore its original simplicity and power. Since their day others have taken

up and carried forward the great work; and with each succeeding generation, we trust, a nearer approach has been made to just conceptions of the rights of man, and the truth as it is in Jesus. The spirit which animated the best of the Reformers in the sixteenth century was communicated to their immediate posterity. It was that spirit which bade the Pilgrims brave the storms of a winter's ocean and seek on our rock-bound coast FREEDOM TO WORSHIP GOD.

The solemn obligation felt by our fathers, and to discharge which they endured and sacrificed so much, now rests upon their descendants. They are now in the place of the Reformers. And every lover of man, every friend to truth, every disciple of Christ, is called upon to promote the peace of the church and the progress of undefiled religion, by a meek, yet firm resistance to any and every attempt to elevate the authority of man above the authority of the Bible, or to arraign any human being for his religious faith, before any tribunal, except that of his conscience and his God.

END.