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THE LIFE
OF
ULRIC ZWINGLI.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN
OF
JEAN GROB:

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PREFACE.

THE present is honored in appreciating the past. But the records of bygone days are largely made up of the deeds of individuals whose true greatness is estimated by the beneficence of their acts. If worthy, they should be held in everlasting remembrance. Such is the righteous treatment bestowed by every generation deserving of the inheritance of heroic ancestors.

Well-nigh the entire civilized world recently honored the memory of one of the moral heroes of the race. The four hundredth anniversary of the birth of another is at hand.

Ulric Zwingli, the Reformer of Switzerland, merits the gratitude of every lover of civil and religious liberty. For the highest welfare of his Fatherland on earth and for his best interests in his Fatherland in Heaven, he lived and died a true patriot and a sincere Christian.

It is the design of this volume to present a reliable record of the man, in Church and State, without entering into the details of political questions or theological problems.

Owing to the shortness of time for publication, the work of translation was divided between the Revs. I. K.

Loos and G. F. Behringer. To the latter was assigned the task of editing the whole.

In justice to the author, the Rev. J. Grob, it is due to state that portions of the original of a doctrinal and controversial nature were omitted in the translation, because of the undenominational character of the "Standard Library," of which this volume forms a part.

G. F. B.

BROOKLYN, Dec. 25th, 1883.

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THE LIFE OF ULRIC ZWINGLI.

CHAPTER I.

ULRIC ZWINGLI'S FATHERLAND.

THE outline of Europe may be compared to that of a maiden in a sitting posture. Beautiful Switzerland forms the heart of this maiden. It is the native country of the man of whom this volume will relate great, wonderful, and truly divine things.

From the remotest times of its history, Switzerland seems to have been inhabited. In primitive ages, however, the people chiefly occupied the highlands, the lowlands consisting of swamps and forests. But the names of the tribes which first selected Switzerland as a permanent place of abode are not known. Six centuries before the birth of Christ, Rhætius, prince of an Etruscan race which had occupied Italy as far as the Alps, fleeing with many of his nobles and warriors before the wild and brave Gauls—who dwelt beyond Mount Jura and Lake Geneva, and who had overrun upper Italy and conquered the Etruscans in bloody battles—came from Italy across the Alps. He found a peaceful reception, and from this time forward the inhabitants, out of respect to him, called themselves *Rhætians*, and the country *Rhætia*. The primitive inhabitants whom he met placed no obstacles in his way, but gradually

adopted the customs and language of these fugitives. Thus the Rhætians gradually grew to a numerous and warlike people, and spread themselves victoriously in all directions. Their boundaries extended, on the north side of the Alps, from the sources of the Rhine to Lakes Wallen and Constance, and far into the modern Tyrol; on the south to Lake Como and the river Adige.

The Rhætians, moreover, were divided into numerous small tribes, which for the common defence of their country formed themselves into a confederacy. The leaders of the united people dwelt in castles erected on almost inaccessible rocks. The Rhætians were no strangers to agriculture. The sunny soil was well adapted to it, while the green mountain sides invited to grazing. Vine culture also received attention. The Emperor Augustus, who in a later age conquered the Rhætians, was a lover of Rhætian wine.

Their nearest neighbors on the west were the Helvetians, of the same lineage as the Gauls, who dwelt beyond the Jura Mountains and Lake Geneva. The Helvetians occupied twelve cities and four hundred villages, and numbered about two hundred and sixty-three thousand souls. They submitted about the year 58 B.C. to the Romans, by whom vineyards were planted, roads laid out, and Roman customs, culture, and language introduced. Forty-two years later the Rhætians also submitted to the Emperor Augustus, and remained under the Roman government five hundred years, until 476 A.D., when the last Roman emperor was dethroned and part of Helvetia fell into the hands of the still savage Alemanni, and part into the hands of the Burgundians, who had already been converted to Christianity. The name of the *Helvetians* was extinguished. They had been slain by the sword or reduced to servitude, and

their formerly flourishing cities, Wifflisburg, Windisch, Augst, and very many others, fell into ruin and decay. Thus nations disappear. New generations dwell upon their graves. Joyfully the farmer drives his plough over the relics of a former age, and here and there strikes against remarkable monuments of it, as at Knonau, Maschwanden, Mettmenstetten, Affoltern, and Windisch.

But from the ruins of the disappearing ancient world, the Christian Church shines triumphantly upon us as the preserver and propagator of the doctrine of the Crucified Saviour. Upon it and by it the modern world was founded. In very early times the Gospel came to Rhætia. The first herald of the Faith was St. Lucius. Other missionaries followed him, among whom was St. Gaudentius.

In Helvetia too, as early as the time of the Roman supremacy, Christianity was proclaimed. One of the first missionaries there was St. Beatus, who, after having preached the Gospel in various places, retired to a cave near Lake Thun, which still continues to bear his name. Ursus and Victor brought the Gospel to Solothurn, Felix and Regula to Zürich, and still others to other places. In Geneva, Martigny in Wallis (Vallais), Aven-ticum, Raurika, and Windisch, bishoprics were established, which were afterward removed to Sitten, Lausanne, Basel, and Constance. The terrible inroads of the heathen Alemanni, who devastated the country and destroyed the inhabitants, ruined most of these Christian congregations. The Burgundians and these Alemanni furnished a new population to Helvetia.

Then new missionaries arrived from neighboring France and distant England and Ireland. Thus St. Germanus came into the valleys of the Jura, through which flows the Birse; St. Immerius came into a valley

at the foot of Mount Chasseral, watered by the Reuss ; Romanus and Lupizinus came into the wilds of Jura, not far from Orbe ; and where these pious men lived and labored arose cloisters and villages—Münster, St. Inier, Romammotiers. Distinguished above all is St. Gallus, for he became the founder of the monastery of St. Gall. About A.D. 640, one of his companions, Sigisbert, founded the church of the Schattdorf, in the Canton of Uri, and the monastery of Disentis, in which undertaking St. Placidus, a rich man of that region, supported him. Victor I., Count of Chur, placed all possible obstacles in the way of these godly men, and caused St. Placidus to be beheaded.

These missionaries were always travelling, partly to confirm the faithful, partly to win additional souls ; and, disregarding all misery, even persecution and death, they established cloisters and schools ; and the enthusiasm which they awakened continued in its good effects during succeeding centuries. And when Christianity had long been established in Switzerland, new cloisters continued to be erected up to the highest solitudes. In those dark ages these cloisters were for a time radiant centres of light for the preservation and spread of Christianity. In the course of time, however, when the presents and bequests of the faithful enriched them more and more, they lost their good old spirit, the love of the world gained control of them also, and swerved them from their original design. After the death of Charlemagne,* who had consolidated Germany, France, and Italy into one kingdom, Rhætia and Helvetia were incorporated with the German kingdom. Burgundy followed in the year 1032, and from this time forward

* Charlemagne died January 28, A.D. 814.—L.

entire Switzerland constituted a part of the German Empire. Those were trying times for the generations of that early period. Neither life nor property was safe; neither divine nor human laws were regarded; might made right; the law of the sword reigned supreme. It began then, and continued its sway for centuries. Only in constant dread could the weak pass their fleeting existence. Mighty strongholds, whose ruins to this day look mournfully down into the valleys, were erected on elevated places, on mountains and ledges of rocks. In locating them, greater reference was had to their safety and strength, or, if designed as a haunt for robbers, to concealment, than to comfort. The principal apartments of such a castle were the hall of the knights, the armory, the dungeon, and the chapel. The walls of the ground floor were very strong, and served as ramparts. On the outside there were no windows—all the windows opening on the inside toward the courtyard. Here were the stables for the horses, the cellar and rooms for the servants. The only way into and out of the castle was over a drawbridge, which was always up when not in use. To open and close it there was a watchman at the gate day and night, and another stationed in the tower, whose duty it was to note what was passing near at hand and at a distance. The watchmen and servants in the castle were under the command of a castellan, or governor, who was responsible for their good behavior and safety. The most dreadful place in the castle was the dungeon in which captives were kept. Seldom if ever did a single ray of sunlight penetrate into these dark dens of torture, in which the unfortunate slowly languished and died.

The most spacious room in the castle was the hall of the knights. Here hung the trophies which the

knightly owner had won in numerous encounters with his foes. Here he entertained his guests, and enjoyed himself, after the wild play at arms, in feasting and drinking. In the armory hung offensive and defensive weapons, swords, helmets, coats-of-mail, lances, etc., for knights, esquires, and servants. If there was no quarrel, no tournament, no adventure, no predatory expedition, and if the time was not favorable for hunting, or the storms of winter swept into the lonely castle, fatal *ennui* entered there, and the knight vainly sought relief in games at dice.

About seventy-eight years after the death of the Emperor Frederick I.* the power of the counts and feudal governors ceased. The race of the dukes of Swabia had become extinct. The spirit of liberty and independence began to stir more mightily in these Alpine regions. Then Rudolph of Hapsburg was born, May 1st, 1218, whose descendants to this day occupy the throne of Austria, while the ruins of their ancestral castle, "Hapsburg," look down from the edge of Mount Wulpel into the beautiful valley of the Aar, as if to say: "When those who formerly commanded here had learned abroad to domineer, and attempted it also in this their ancestral home, they aroused the spirit of Freedom; it came and crushed the cradle of their house." Rudolph was a brave man, and his fame was sounded far beyond the bounds of his native land. In the year 1273 he was chosen Emperor of Germany, and received the news of his election just as he began to lay siege to the city of Basel. He at once made peace with the city and entered on his imperial government. He introduced good order, restrained the law of the sword, destroyed

* Died June 10, 1190.—L.

the robbers' castles, and ordered the knightly robbers to be hanged. This severity produced good results. Peace prevailed in the country during his entire life. In Argau, Zürich, and Thurgau, in Gastel, the March, Glarus, Zug, Luzerne, and in the three Forest Cantons—Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden—he had many manors, possessions and privileges. He confirmed and increased the ancient liberties and privileges of the cities and country districts. He gained by conquest Austria, Steiermark, Carinthia, and Carniola. He died July 25th, 1291.

His son, Emperor Albert, was of a different disposition. He deprived the three Forest Cantons of their rights and liberties. He also sent cruel lieutenants to govern them—Beringer of Landenberg to Unterwalden, and Gessler of Brunek to Schwyz and Uri. In vain the three cantons complained of the oppression. There was no relief. Justly indignant, Conrad Baumgartner slew Wolfenschiess, the governor, who lived in the Castle of Rossberg, and fled to Uri. Thither also fled Arnold of Melchthal from the cruelty of Beringer of Landenberg, who resided in the Castle of Sarnen; and on account of this flight, as Arnold learned afterward, to his great grief, the eyes of his poor father were put out by command of the governor. Gessler, riding by the fine, newly built house of Werner Stauffacker, at Steinen in Schwyz, called out to the owner, whom he saw at work on it, "I will not permit farmers to build houses without my consent, and to act as if they were free. I have the power to check this evil disposition." These words of the governor caused Werner Stauffacker serious reflection. His wife, Margaret, who saw his concern, said to him, "Go to Uri, to Walter Fuerst and other honest friends, and consult with them how the three districts may be relieved of their misery." Werner went to Uri

and consulted with his friends. Soon afterward the three men, Walter Fuerst of Uri, Werner Stauffacker of Schwyz, and Arnold of Melchthal, came by night from Unterwalden to a secluded mountain meadow on the Rütli, each accompanied by ten trusty men, and here by solemn oath they formed a perpetual league: "That they would faithfully stand by one another, and devote their property and blood to free the three Cantons from the tyranny of the governors, and to keep them free forever." January 1st, 1308, was appointed as the time for the general uprising of the people. Meanwhile at Altdorf, in Uri, Gessler ordered a hat to be raised on a pole, with strict orders that the people show to it the same reverence as to himself. William Tell, a citizen of Bürglen, refused to bow before the hat of the tyrant, and was condemned to shoot an apple from the head of his own son. Tell hit the apple; but when Gessler saw that he had another arrow in his waistcoat, he asked what he intended to do with it, assuring him that his life should suffer no harm if he told the truth. Tell answered: "That arrow was intended for you, if I had killed my child, and you I should certainly not have missed." Upon this Gessler ordered him to be chained and brought to the boat on which he sailed to Kuessnacht. A fierce storm arose; the boat seemed lost, and only Tell, who was as skilful a steersman as marksman, could save those on board with him. His chains were removed. As soon as he was free, helm in hand, he steered the boat hard by a flat rock which still bears his name. With one bound he was on shore, leaving the boat to wind and wave. His concern now was to save his life from the vengeance of the governor. At the narrow pass near Kuessnacht Tell awaited Gessler, and there his arrow pierced the tyrant's heart.

On New Year's day, 1308, the people rose in the three Cantons, took possession of the strongholds, and sent away the governors with their goods and servants unharmed, after they had solemnly sworn never more to enter the country, nor take revenge for what had just been done. In the spring of the same year the Emperor Albert came to Baden, in Aargau. He was on his way to meet his wife, who was going from Rheinfelden to Brugg. His nephew, Duke John of Austria, was apprised of it, and secretly told the nobles who had conspired with him against the Emperor: "He rides toward Brugg." The conspirators had resolved on the Emperor's death. They accompanied him, crossed the river Reuss with him, the rest of his attendants remaining behind, and murdered him near Windisch, on the spot where afterward the monastery of Königsfeld was built. A curse followed this deed.

A series of struggles for freedom ensued at Morgarten, Laupen, Sempach, and Nafels. Luzerne, Glarus, and Zug joined the Rütli league. Zürich and Berne followed. The alliance of the eight old Cantons of the Confederacy was thus complete. From this time onward history mentions the Helvetian or Swiss Confederacy. Battles were fought at St. Jacob's on the Birse, at Granson, and Murten, with the design of again reducing the Confederate Cantons to subjection to the House of Austria; but in vain. In 1481 the League had increased by the reception of new members; Freiburg and Solothurn joined it. Twenty years later Basel and Schaffhausen followed; in 1513, Appenzell—increasing the Confederacy to thirteen Cantons. Basel so greatly rejoiced in the League that, instead of the numerous watchmen formerly stationed at the city gate, a woman with a spinning-wheel was placed there to signify how

safe and inapproachable the city felt since its reception into the Confederate League.

In 1803, after 290 years of alternate joy and sorrow, six additional Cantons joined the Confederacy—Grisons, Aargau, Thurgau, St. Gall, Vaud, and Ticino. Twelve years later Wallis, Neuenburg, and Geneva were received, and thus the number of Confederate Cantons increased to twenty-two, which ratified their perpetual alliance by solemn oaths August 31st, 1815.

In this sketch we have rapidly travelled through the Fatherland of Zwingli, and permitted a series of its events, extending over centuries, to pass in review before us. In the history of its heroic deeds, its words and works, Providence permits a people to see, as in a glass, its good and evil peculiarities, its virtues and faults, its advantages and weaknesses, right and wrong, truth and error, times of joy and sadness, and much more besides, bringing it thus to self-consciousness, and calling to it: “In vain do the boldest and bravest contend, in vain do the wisest and most prudent consult and resolve, if the Lord withdraws His hand.” Bloody tyranny oppressed the beautiful Alpine country of Switzerland till the Rütli League laid the corner-stone of the Swiss Republic, which is now 575 years old.

In times of severe distress previous to 1484, God raised up those who protected the cause of the oppressed people. Great liberties and rights had already been secured for them. But this liberty was freedom from secular tyranny alone. Their greatest nobility consisted in being faithful Confederates. This made them so strong that friendship and right were of more value to them than all else. They knew as yet no higher dignity. With all their patriotic liberty they were servants of sin. Spiritual tyranny oppressed their country with

a weight like that of the Alps. Other men must follow those of the Rütli League with a high and holy inspiration for freedom, not merely from the tyrannical yoke of earthly rulers, but from the bondage of sin and the most grievous corruption of morals. Such men came.

CHAPTER II.

ZWINGLI'S PARENTAGE AND HOME.

WILDHAUS is a small Alpine village at the eastern end of the valley of the Toggenburg, which valley is about thirty miles in length, elevated 2010 feet above Lake Zürich, having the Tyrolese Alps in the east, Mt. Sentis on the North, Kuhfirsten with its seven peaks on the south. On account of a remarkable historical occurrence this village has always been gladly visited by tourists in Switzerland. One mile from the church, in the centre of the village, to the left of the road leading over the Thur, stands in a green meadow a plainly-built, cheerful-looking house, with slender walls, round window-lights, and a shingle roof, weighted down, according to the custom of the time, with stones. In this house was born the great Reformer, Dr. Ulric Zwingli, a man whom God called to become a distinguished teacher of Christianity, and the first of the fathers and founders of the Reformed Church.

In this house lived, in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, a pious couple, the parish bailiff, Ulric Zwingli, and his wife Margaret, whose maiden name was Meili. His brother Bartholomew was pastor at Wildhaus, and afterward dean at Wesen, where, with constantly increasing reverence, he discharged the duties of his office during twenty-five years. The wife of bailiff Zwingli had a brother, John Meili, who was for thirteen years abbot of the monastery at Fischingen, Canton Thurgau,

and at the same time a highly respected divine. The Zwingli generation was, throughout Switzerland, "a highly-respected, good, and honorable family." Bailiff Zwingli was sincerely loved by the entire population. He was not ashamed of honest toil. By fidelity and industry in his calling he set the inhabitants of the Thurgau Alps a praiseworthy example. He was a shepherd. When early in May the valleys and Alps were arrayed in green, Ulric Zwingli, the parish bailiff and patriarch of Wildhaus, could no longer be detained in the vales below. Accompanied by his two sons, Heini and Claus, he drove his flock up toward the green, fresh Alpine heights. Rising gradually higher, from station to station, they reached, by the 1st of August, according to custom, the upper pastures on the highest peaks. Then they returned slowly down the mountain. Toward the end of October the flocks had again returned to the valley, and were ready for their winter quarters. Let no one suppose, however, that these six pasture-months were without their interest. On fine summer days the song-loving school-children of Wildhaus frequently formed excursion parties, ascended the Alps, visited their fathers, brothers, friends, enjoyed the delightful Alpine air, sang their Alpine songs, drank Alpine milk, and amid songs and the clang of Alpine horns enjoyed life and amused themselves with games, jumping, plucking Alpine roses, and then returning to their homes in the valley to prosecute their domestic labors, attend to their gardens and meadows, and prepare comfortable stables for their cattle.

Through the long winter months also bailiff Zwingli well understood how to make the evenings pass pleasantly to himself, his Margaret, his sons Heini and Claus, and the other citizens of Wildhaus. In almost every

house in the Swiss valleys and on the mountains, at least one person knows how to play upon some musical instrument. So it was in the days of bailiff Zwingli. As soon as the sun had disappeared behind the fir-trees and dusky night had settled upon the Alps, when the cattle had been attended to in the barns and the day's work was done, when the dreadfully cold mountain blasts daunted the peaceful inhabitants, and all, before retiring, wished to enjoy an hour of rest, bailiff Zwingli used to take down his guitar, and delight with its music the young and the old, assembled for a joyous, social evening hour. By nearly every one was brought a musical instrument for mutual entertainment, music from which was interspersed with Alpine songs ; and if the bailiff did not himself do it, some one of those present related a fragment of patriotic history of the years of public oppression and want, during which the country and people suffered for more than two hundred years from the Hapsburg governors, till finally, after many well-fought battles, they compelled them to acknowledge the Swiss as a free and independent people, and secured this freedom by the Swiss Confederation.

It is plain that such conversations increased the patriotism of the inhabitants of the mountains ; that each one rejoiced anew in his Swiss, liberty-loving blood, was more closely united to his country, thought and spoke more devotedly of it, and endeavored to increase his own and others' desire for the welfare of his Fatherland. The liberty of these mountain people cost too much noble blood for a Swiss ever lightly to forget the history of his fathers. The history of the past afforded them, and will always afford to reasonable persons, insight, power, and courage. It places the old dangers—alas ! too often forgotten, yet by no means wholly vanished—and the

remedy for them, in a light at once new and well worthy of calm consideration. Therefore it well comports with the disposition of the Swiss gratefully to remember in their social circles, even on the day of patriotic rest and national peace, the Fathers of Morgarten, Laupen, Nafels, Sempach, St. Jacob on the Birse, Granson, and Murten. Thus they encouraged each other in love for freedom, religion, and their native land, putting to the test thereby, exercising and indefinitely increasing, the power of the individual and of the nation, so that in times of national confusion all the arts of the enemy might be confounded by a courageous, genuine old Swiss resistance. Neither youth nor old age was ever permitted to imagine that all troubles were past.

With such winter evening considerations—summer and autumn gone by—Ulric Zwingli and his Margaret and their two sons close the year 1483 in the village circle of Wildhaus. The last day of the year, December 31st, a Friday, comes. The last night succeeds the day. From the steeple of the Wildhaus church the bell rings out into the holy stillness of the Old Year's night; for, according to an ancient Swiss custom, the last hour of the expiring year was proclaimed by the ringing of bells. Bailiff Zwingli and family piously fold their hands in prayer. The light is extinguished, and—all are at rest. \

CHAPTER III.

ZWINGLI'S BOYHOOD—HIS FIRST FIFTEEN YEARS.

LIKE the expiration of the old, the beginning of the new year is proclaimed by the ringing of the church bells—a custom which, assisted by midnight silence, seems truly venerable, and is exceedingly touching to persons of advanced age. To them the question comes home: “Will this ringing out of the old and ringing in of the new year be the last one on earth for me?” The eyes preparing for sleep are filled with tears. The past life of from sixty to eighty years is again reviewed. Old memories revive. Now one thing, then another, presents itself in a lively manner to the soul—past days of domestic joy, the anxiety endured, the stars of hope once sending forth a bright radiance, only as suddenly to disappear, misunderstandings in the narrow circle of friends, etc. To these reminiscences is often added a hasty visit to the grave of a dear departed one, till finally, overcome by the power of sleep, the eyes are closed. Whether this was the experience of the brave bailiff in the early morning hours of January 1st, 1484, we cannot definitely say. Having arrived at the age of forty, he had just entered upon his most vigorous manhood, in which, as experience teaches, there are fewer sighs and tears than fall to the lot of one between seventy and eighty years of age. Still at that age many things may have happened, outside of one's domestic circle, which rob the days of joy of much of their attract-

iveness, and cause the otherwise bravest man to sigh :
 “ All flesh is grass, and all the goodliness thereof is as the
 flower of the field : the grass withereth, the flower fadeth,
 because the spirit of the Lord bloweth upon it ; surely the
 people is grass. The grass withereth, the flower fadeth,
 but the Word of our God shall stand forever.”

While bailiff Zwingli and his family slept sweetly, the
 new year, unperceived in its approach, began. It was
 the year 1484, and the first of January was destined to
 be a day of unutterable joy to the patriarch of Toggen-
 burg. Toward noon his faithful, noble wife, Margaret
 Meili, told her Ulric of the birth of a lovely little boy.
 His joy was great, as for the first time he pressed to his
 bosom the pretty babe, with its long, dark hair, prom-
 inent forehead, dark, clear eyes, closed lips, and goodly
 form. An equal pleasure he afterward experienced
 when he discovered that the little boy was destined to
 become a learned man, and would probably never watch,
 with Heini and Claus, his father's cattle on the Sentis
 Alps, and for recreation play the Alpine horn and sing the
 herdsman's song. But more fervent than ever his joy
 would have been if he had foreseen in his fair offspring
 his own future honor, his support, the staff of his old
 age. The happy father now had three sons—Heini,
 Claus, and the babe. Afterward followed Hans, Wolf-
 gang, and Bartholomew, to whom, still later, two other
 brothers, Jacob and Andreas, and a sister, Anna, were
 added. Jacob died in 1517, Andreas in 1519. The
 bailiff found it a pleasure and duty to prepare for the
 baptism of the child. As his brother, Bartholomew,
 was a minister, the baptism was intrusted to his care and
 attended to by him. In grateful joy for the birth of his
 son on New Year's day, the name of his father—Ulric
 —was given to him. Little Ulric was now the delight

of the household, the centre of attraction to all. His health was good; he prospered bodily and spiritually. Except God, who created him, no one knew what course on earth had been assigned to him, what high calling he was appointed to fulfil here in the short space of the last thirteen eventful years of his life. Observing his mental faculties, which unfolded themselves early and rapidly, many may have asked, "What will become of this child?" But no mortal saw in him the man chosen of God to become the Reformer of Switzerland, through whom God permitted the light of His Gospel to shine in new splendor on the Church of Europe, darkened and disfigured by all sorts of errors—the man who brought to pass, through the Reformation which he established, an inexhaustible source of blessing to the nations of the earth. If his parents, in the pressure of their delight, could have seen him, in imagination, standing as priest beside his two uncles and reading mass—they would have failed to see in him the protector which, from the thirty-second year onward, he became to his Fatherland, in the storms which agitated both State and Church. Of his brothers and sisters, of whom he had seven, besides Anna and her sister, history relates nothing of special interest. Of him, on the contrary, many volumes were to be written.

As Zwingli advanced in years he distinguished himself above all the other children of the village by his mental powers. During the long winter evenings, when the bailiff related annals of Confederate history to those who had come from the village to spend an hour with him, or to his own family, and the young Ulric heard how the Helvetians gained renown by their successful struggles for liberty in 1315, 1339, 1386, 1388, 1444, and twice in 1476, it was observed how such narratives fell into his

inmost soul like glowing sparks. These impressions, as his later life showed, were never erased, but aided materially to make him, as no other man of his time, a *man who equally cherished both Church and State with warm and cordial love*. It was his habit to sit silent, earnest and entirely absorbed in thought at the feet of his father, or of one of the elders of the Church, or of his pious grandmother, as during the long evenings and by the light of feebly-burning tallow candles they told of St. Lucius, the first missionary, who brought the Gospel to Rhætia—how he had lived in a rocky cavern above Chur, and proclaimed the message of salvation and brought many souls to the Lord Jesus Christ; or when they told of Beatus' cave on the shore of lake Thun; or of Ursus and Victor, missionaries to Solothurn; or of Felix and Regula, who brought the Word of the Cross to Zürich and vicinity; or how St. Gallus, after founding St. Gallen, had come to Grabs to visit Deacon John, and had stayed with him six days; how afterward Fridolin and Pirmin, in union with other heroes of the faith, had transformed the whole region of Rhætia and Helvetia from a natural and spiritual wilderness to a fruitful land, full of meadows and pastures—a delightful garden of God; and how in this way the valley of Toggenburg and the other parts of Switzerland had become a distinguished country. As, at such hours of devotion at home, the father and grandmother found in him a most zealous listener, so in the temple of nature none listened as earnestly as he to the voices of the magnificent mountains. "I have often thought," says Myconius, "that being brought near to heaven on these sublime heights, he contracted a something heavenly and divine." Tending his father's cattle, withdrawn from the tumult of Wildhaus life, high up on the truly glorious mountain

pastures, surrounded by flocks of sheep and herds of cattle, and moving among the most sublime scenes of the Alpine region, the young lad received the first holy impressions of God's greatness and majesty, which contributed so much to the lofty manhood he afterward attained, and which inspired him from his youth for the great conflict which he undertook against the imperfections of the Church and State of his Fatherland. How early his thoughtful mind dwelt in rapture on the works of God among these mountains ; how greatly he, even as a boy, devoted himself to the contemplation of the divine government, is evident from his work on the Providence of God, in which in maturer years he so vigorously described the life and habits of mice, hedgehogs, marmots, and squirrels on the mountains, and pointed to them as a proof of the providence and wisdom of God. He treats of the earth too, the nurse of all, the dew, the rain, the streams, and closes with a consideration of the mountains. His composition, celebrating in lofty strains the power and majesty of God, will always show how greatly this boy was filled, by the heights around him, with a sense of God's glory. He was at the same time characterized by an unusually tender conscience, which filled him with a horror of all dishonesty and lying, and with a deep love of truth. When eight years of age he once said that he had considered whether lying did not deserve greater punishment than theft, for truth is the mother of all virtues. From such expressions his father readily inferred that it would be doing injustice to little Ulric to confine him to a shepherd's life. He rejoiced greatly in this happy tendency of his son's mind. His parents believed that Ulric was destined for something better than the watching of cattle on the hills, and resolved that he should study for the ministry.

One day, accordingly, his father took the eight-year-old boy to Wesen, to place him in care of Bartholomew, the bailiff's brother, and a pastor in the place. Dean Bartholomew Zwingli was requested to examine his young nephew as to his qualifications, and, if possible, to take him under his care and instruction for two years. No one can divine the thoughts that flashed through the mind of this enthusiastic boy, as by his father's side he walked over the shining green heights of the Ammon, and passed the immovable rocks which so boldly jutted out from the shore into Lake Wallen. He had never before seen so much of the mountains. The road, too, led him across one of the peaks from which he could survey at one glance the entire country which should become the scene of his future labors—the valley of Glarus, the heights of Mt. Etzel, behind which is situated Einsiedeln and the smiling, stately shores of Lake Zürich. These are the three places in which his struggle for the rights of the people, for the truth of the Gospel, and for the justification of the sinner by faith without the works of the Law, was afterward so manfully determined upon, and so cautiously and systematically begun and continued, ending only with his death. And all this without the least precipitation, as he was accustomed to expect everything from the gradual enlightenment of ideas which must necessarily result from instruction constantly imparted.

However learned Dean Zwingli of Wesen might have been, his attainments were not sufficient to satisfy the increasing thirst for knowledge of the zealous little Ulric, his nephew, for more than two years. The kind-hearted uncle therefore sent him at once to the St. Theodore school at Basel, under the care of George Binzli, a thorough scholar, a kind, tender-hearted man, where he

made rapid progress in the study of the Greek and Latin languages.

He was now, A.D. 1494, ten years old. Here at Basel, too, his attainments so rapidly increased that in the debates which had for many years been conducted in the schools of Basel, he invariably gained the victory. This incurred the dislike of the older boys. In music, to which he was also enthusiastically devoted, he advanced far beyond what is common in boys of his age. When Binzli, his faithful teacher, who cordially loved him, saw that his school was no longer well adapted to the wants of his talented scholar, he sent him home, and advised his father to send him to a higher educational institution. At the close of three years' course in Basel, A.D. 1497, when thirteen years old, he went to Berne, where Henry Wölflin, or Lupulus, a good Latin scholar, poet, and historian of his native land, had opened a classical school of high rank, in which he taught his numerous pupils the works of the ancient Greeks and Romans. Here the boy, studying two years with the same success which characterized his stay at Basel, was introduced into the sanctuary of the Latin classics, by which he gained keenness of judgment, increased knowledge, and a good style of composition. He acquired the laws of poetry so thoroughly that at the age of fourteen he was able to write poems and to criticise those of other authors. He also actively exercised himself in music, learned the use of many instruments, and frequently accompanied his own voice in song, in which he was as well versed as in playing on the lute. The Dominican monks, therefore, were at great pains to attract the boy, and to induce him to join their order. But he could not make up his mind to enter a monastery; his father and uncle also were opposed to it. To withdraw him from the in-

fluence of the monks, his father desired him to return home without delay. By this recall, Ulric, now fifteen years old, escaped the very dangerous snare of the monks. The eye of God had evidently watched over his life. The years were approaching in which he should emerge from the privacy of student life into publicity.

CHAPTER IV.

ZWINGLI AT THE UNIVERSITIES OF VIENNA AND BASEL.

ZWINGLI, having studied the languages sufficiently, was now to devote himself to philosophy. His father sent him under the name of Cogentius to the famous University of Vienna. Here the works of the Greeks and Romans were in high repute, and the professors knew how to familiarize their pupils with the beauties of these heathen compositions and to inspire with zeal in their behalf. Here a warm friendship soon sprang up between him and two fellow-students (upon whom Maximilian I. afterward conferred the poet's crown), countrymen of Joachim of Watt, called Vadianus, afterward mayor of St. Gall, and Henry Loritti, called Glareanus, of Mollis, Canton Glarus, who like Vadian became a devoted friend of the Reformation. He also formed friendship with the brothers Conrad and Leopold Grebel of Zürich, and became acquainted with the Swabians, Faber and Eck. In social intercourse with these four Confederates the two years at Vienna passed like so many days, and his efforts in all branches of study were crowned with the most satisfactory results. But he did not by any means allow the clear, sound views he had already acquired, to be dimmed by the study of heathen authors. He was often heard to complain to his friends that so many persons studied heathen poets rather than the Lord Jesus Christ and His apostle Paul!

He was now called home to Wildhaus, but was soon

convinced that the shepherd's every-day life no longer suited him, and therefore—not to be absent from his books too long—he returned to Basel in the year 1501. Though now only seventeen years old, he was clearly conscious of the fact that heathen wisdom could give to man nothing to help his immortal soul by leading, encouraging, strengthening, and comforting it in its efforts and strivings after truth, light, rest, and peace, in order that it might attain a blessed consummation after the countless troubles and toils of the present life. And he was conscious also that the Christian Church, in its then prevailing Roman character, had widely departed from its peculiar calling, and was no longer able to accomplish what it had accomplished for the salvation of men in the first few centuries after Christ. In this glorious knowledge and solemn experience, the youth Zwingli was destined to be led an important and very decisive step farther. In spite of his youth, he was, immediately after his arrival at Basel, appointed teacher in the Latin school of St. Martin.

With uncommon industry he instructed his pupils in Greek and Latin, prosecuting meanwhile the study of philosophy, and thus enjoying the opportunity of becoming the vigorous-minded man who soon rose above the mists of his age and shone as a star of the first magnitude among the Reformers. With rare skill, and supported by a happy humor and social talents, he combined his early studies with cheering pleasantries and musical recreation on the lute, harp, violin, flute, timbrel, clarionet and the hunter's horn — instruments which the lively, happy youth played with remarkable skill. Such invigorating recreations for body and mind he also recommended to his students. He often made his room and the houses of his friends echo with the airs and joy-

ful Alpine melodies of his beloved country. He found a faithful friend in Leo Juda, who shared with him, above all other friends, his love of the sciences and of music.

Meanwhile the fame of this young man's learning increased to such an extent that the degree of Doctor of the Liberal Sciences was conferred upon him by the University. His noble character at this early age of less than twenty-two years is shown by the manner in which he accepted the title, bestowed on him as a valuable, merited testimonial to his learning. Yielding to the earnest entreaties of his friends and the prejudices of his time, he accepted the title of Master of Arts, but never used it, always saying: "One is our Master, Jesus Christ."

Thoroughly prepared by philology and philosophy, he now devoted himself, according to his own peculiar design, to the study of scholastic theology. But he soon felt convinced that the time devoted to this confused study was lost, and that no benefit was to be derived from it for the sound doctrine of the Gospel. He nevertheless continued its study in order to make himself acquainted with the errors of this doctrinal system. It was a very fortunate occurrence for his further culture, that, in the midst of his labors here, Thomas Wyttensbach, a famous scholar, became his teacher. This pious man taught openly and boldly that purgatory, the mass, priestly rule, and the invocation of saints were in direct conflict with the Word of God; that the time was not far distant when scholastic theology would be abolished, and the ancient doctrine of the Church be restored on the foundation of the Bible; that absolution was a Romish fraud, and the death of Christ the only satisfaction for our sins.

The doctrine taught by Wyttenbach was just what the youthful Dr. Ulric Zwingli had been seeking for. His heart had been prepared for its reception. Neither the dignity of his doctorate nor his learning sufficed to calm his restless heart. It longed for that peace which the world cannot give, which was neither to be sought nor found in Rome, which surpasseth the wisdom of the wise, and which the God of peace and our Lord Jesus Christ only can put into the hearts, according to His Word: "Peace I leave with you; my peace I give unto you: not as the world giveth, give I unto you. Let not your heart be troubled, neither let it be afraid." His heart longed for the assurance of the forgiveness of sins—and found it.

Among the students who sat at the feet of Wyttenbach was the equally mild and fearless youth from Alsace, whose name—Leo Juda—is already known to us. A communion of spirit soon manifested itself between him and the youthful *Magister* Zwingli. Many precious hours they passed together in singing and playing on their instruments—Leo Juda singing with his fine treble voice and beating his drum, while Dr. Ulric Zwingli, with ready skill, accompanied him upon some one of his own instruments. At such times these two friends little thought that they were destined by Divine Providence to one and the same conflict—the same work of Reformation. They were separated for twelve years only to be again brought together afterward, when, in addition to their otherwise onerous official labors, they translated the Holy Scriptures from the original Hebrew text into Swiss German, producing the famous Zürich version of the Bible. It has since undergone but very slight revision, little more than to render the then prevalent Swiss dialect into Scripture German. It is to this day

regarded as one of the most excellent translations of the Bible, and has had a very extensive circulation in America. The complete translation was in the hands of the people in 1530.

CHAPTER V.

FROM BASEL TO GLARUS.

THE youthful Master of Arts had now finished his studies in Basel. The goal which he had so long desired to reach beckoned him onward. Sustained by the confession: "I confess indeed that I am a great sinner before God, but I am free from crime, so that no human being has ever found it necessary to call me to account for any sin;" and grateful for God's guidance hitherto: "From my boyhood the Lord has always kindly helped me in the investigation of human and divine things"—he could look to the future without fear or the least wavering. The treasure of knowledge which he had been uninterruptedly gathering during fourteen years from the writings of Greeks and Romans, but especially the doctrine taught by Wyttenbach of salvation on the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the chief Corner Stone, had cultivated in him such an independent manhood that, in his twenty-second year, he was already willing and ready to live and die for the common welfare of the Church and State of his Fatherland. Providence beckoned him. Before his consecration to the priesthood, almost before the completion of his studies, he received (by whose suggestion is not known; perhaps through the recommendation of Glareanus), a call to the pastorate of Glarus. The charge was vacant. Henry Goeldli, the Pope's groom, who already possessed the revenue of a parish, appeared

with a parchment in his hand, having been sent by the Pope, and claimed to be the duly appointed incumbent of the vacant charge. In a trice the Glareans remembered the struggles for freedom by which they had achieved their liberty, and turned the papal hanger-on back to Zürich, whence he had come. As the groom could not possibly serve the congregation, it was at once evident to the city church of Glarus that the only object of Henry Goeldli was money. To preserve the public peace, therefore, the kind-hearted Glareans gave him a purse of gold and silver coin, and thus hastened his departure.

The honorable call to the youth of Wildhaus, and especially the fact that he had risen to the dignity of Doctor of Philosophy, had long since been heralded as far as the Glarean Alps. Pride in their ancient pastoral race blazed up anew in the hearts of the Glareans. They were determined to have the young Doctor of the Arts and Sciences as their priest, and they elected and formally called him in the year 1506. Dr. Ulric Zwingli, Pastor of Glarus, was ordained priest in Constance, delivered his first sermon, on his return, in Rapperschwyl, on the shore of Lake Zurich, and soon thereafter read mass for the first time in Wildhaus, his birthplace, and entered upon the duties of his pastorate in Glarus toward the close of the year.

There, during an active life of ten years, he showed, without fear or favor to high and low, that forms may and do change, but that truth and justice are always the same, and that the whole of Switzerland should remain true to their ancient destiny—namely, the defence of the liberty achieved by the fathers against clerical and secular enemies. In him was clearly manifest the great friend and deliverer of the Church and the Fatherland.

The reconstruction of the Church in doctrine and *cultus* began while he, assured that the minister to be useful in his office ought himself to know much, applied himself with new zeal to his studies. He read the ancient classics, especially the historians. Among the Greeks he preferred Lucian.

The attainment of two things especially concerned him: a complete knowledge of Scripture doctrine, and the art of making his sermons understood by all. He succeeded in both these things in a remarkable degree. Learned and scientifically qualified men considered him a finished expounder of the Word of God.* With ever-increasing zeal he endeavored to master the original languages. With his own hand he transcribed the Epistles of St. Paul, and read them so industriously that he knew them literally by heart. He afterward familiarized himself in the same way with the other books of the New Testament. Meanwhile he continued to make less and less account of commentators, and more and more of the Scriptures themselves. He found that the Church Fathers were often led by the philosophical systems, which, from regard for the authors, had gained equal authority in the Church with the Bible itself. Not to fall into the same mistake, he compared passages with each other, endeavoring to determine the meaning of those that were dark and difficult by those that were easy and clear.

He soon perceived that Christian doctrine could not gain entrance as long as the fountains of moral disorder were not checked. He earnestly attacked in his sermons the prevailing vices, especially the annual pensions which foreign princes paid to prominent citizens to

* "Zwingli, the son of an humble peasant, but a profound and elegant scholar."—*Brownson's (Roman Catholic) Review*, 1856.—L.

secure their favor for the enlistment of troops for the foreign military service. His sermons against the prevalent vices, the pensions, and the mania for going to foreign wars, from the abolition of which he expected the restoration of the former prosperity of the Swiss, raised up against him, even in Glarus, some powerful enemies among the opposers of enlightenment. But when the hum of these bumblebees reached his ears, he comforted himself with the cordial friendship of all right-thinking persons, among whom were often the elderly men and those among the priests distinguished by irreproachable character. These respected and loved the zealous preacher of morals on this very account, and hoped from him the restoration of the prosperous times of primitive innocence and simplicity of manners. "Let us believe and obey what is revealed to us in the Word of God. Whatsoever is not found in it must be regarded as superfluous; and whatsoever is against it, as erroneous and untrue." This was the law of his preaching and of his other official acts. Here in Glarus he was already a truly evangelical preacher, but not as yet openly a Reformer of the Church. He proclaimed the doctrine of the Gospel pungently and plainly. The errors that had crept in he very briefly confuted, or passed by unnoticed, maintaining that the truth, when once perceived and understood, had power sufficient to beat down all errors. Under the circumstances, in the prevailing corruption of the entire Church, the only safe measure seemed to be to raise up the truth. Had he levelled his attack against the reigning errors and abuses, before the time had fully come for it, more harm than good would have resulted.

Zwingli learned to know Romish affairs still more intimately from his personal intercourse and correspond-

ence with the leading princes of the Church, especially Cardinal Schinner, bishop in Wallis (Vallais). This official observed the great influence which Zwingli was visibly gaining, and as he constantly endeavored by gold and other means to win the Swiss over to the Pope as food for hostile cannon in his unrighteous campaigns against the King of France and other princes, it was of vast account to him to win Zwingli also. He offered him therefore an annual pension of fifty florins to aid him in purchasing the books necessary for his studies, which were then so dear that Zwingli, being poor, could not have bought them without this aid. Zwingli believed that the Cardinal had no dishonest motive in the bestowment of this pension, and therefore directed the bishop's attention to existing abuses, and hopefully believed that the Roman See felt sincerely inclined to abolish them. But soon the Court at Rome sent him earnest admonitions, not by any means to preach against the Roman Church, but to confide implicitly in the Pope. Zwingli now became painfully conscious that the pension, ostensibly conferred upon him to aid him in his studies, was really designed to make him also subservient to the Pope. Boldly he declared that no money could induce him to depart a hair's breadth from the known truth, because he well knew that the blood of the lambs, perishing through any fault of his, would be required at his hands.

At this time the duties of his office called him far beyond the boundaries of his parish into the wild throng of the camp and to the battle-field. In 1512 and 1513, when 20,000 Confederates in the pay of Pope Julius II. marched to Italy, it was the duty of the young pastor of Glarus, according to the primitive custom of the Swiss, to accompany the troops of the Canton twice to the

field, in the capacity of chaplain. The Pope's campaign was against Louis XII. of France. Two years later Zwingli was present at the bloody battle of Marignano, to which the Swiss, in spite of his protest, had allowed themselves to be incited by Cardinal Schinner. In a two-days' battle with the French, September 13th and 14th, 1515, the Confederates lost several thousand men.* Zwingli had penetrated the cunning knavery of the Cardinal, and had seen that the Pope was less concerned for the salvation of souls than for earthly power and aggrandizement, for the attainment of which he allowed, without any scruples of conscience, the blood of his friends as well as of foes to be freely shed on the field of battle.

The Italian campaigns, which brought Zwingli reluctantly to Milan, were, in other respects, of great importance to him. He had previously been convinced by old liturgies that the manner in which things were done in ancient times differed from the present; that then, for instance, the Holy Communion was administered in both kinds. In Milan he soon saw that the customary form for the celebration of mass was very different from that used by Pope Gregory; and that formerly individual churches, like that of Milan under Ambrose, had maintained great freedom in opposition to the Pope.

These observations, in connection with his inner longings after consolation and truth, urged his mind more and more to the Holy Scriptures. He painfully experienced that "Out of the heart proceed evil thoughts," against which one's own will is wholly powerless. Though he could comfort himself with the forgiveness of his sins and imperfections, his mind was not yet fully

* More than 5000, says Hottinger.—L.

satisfied ; he desired not only forgiveness of sins, but to be fully cleansed. About this time he saw a composition by Erasmus, in which Jesus laments that men do not seek all good things in Him, who is the only Fountain of all good, yea the only comfort, defence, and Saviour of souls. This complaint from Jesus touched Zwingli deeply, and he resolved to lay aside all other writings of Erasmus in honor of the saints, and to seek all good in Jesus alone, his only Mediator.

These observations and experiences doubtless had great effect in causing Zwingli's liberty-loving heart to rebel against the leaders of the inoffensive people, whose greedy poverty was so incessantly allured by the promises of the rich that they allowed themselves to be bartered away by thousands like cattle for the slaughter. They also induced him more determinedly to wage the war that presented itself to his inmost soul—not to turn aside, but to take a decided stand for the Reformation in Switzerland, Germany, and France, which he so gloriously helped to accomplish.

The commendable zeal with which he interested himself on behalf of young men afforded him an opportunity not only to maintain but to constantly increase the love and respect of the people of Glarus. Whenever he discovered peculiar talents in young men, he endeavored, by friendly advances, by instruction and example, to lead them to become lovers of the sciences and friends of their Fatherland. Of his success, and the affection with which his friends and pupils clung to him, there are to this day many touching evidences in the archives of the Church at Zürich. Louis and Peter Tschudi, their brother Ægidius, the excellent historian, Valentine, their nephew, who succeeded Zwingli in the pastorate of Glarus ; Jacob Heer, Fridolin and Philip Brun-

ner; Francis Cervinus, Nicholas Baling, and a certain Taureolus, belong to the known friends of Zwingli, who in later years and from foreign lands manifested their love to him by word and deed.

The position of this bold preacher of the Truth, with his patriotic heart and honest purpose, began to become critical. He was moreover not to remain more than ten years in Glarus. Einsiedeln and Zürich were waiting for him. Besides, no one would have supposed that after only fifteen years this great man of the Church and the Fatherland would no longer be among the living. A powerful party insisted on a Swiss alliance with France. Zwingli cautioned his country against it. The Pope's party also sought adherents. In vain Zwingli called upon, admonished, and entreated his Glareans not to engage in foreign alliances. He could no longer contain himself. His oppressive grief embittered all his ministrations. He would fain leave Glarus. The Lord too had so ordered it, that His champion might come nearer the battle-field on which He designed to place him. A new charge beckoned him away. The Lord called His champion, and he followed.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM GLARUS TO EINSIEDELN.

TEN years passed by. While Zwingli's enemies in Glarus intended to do him harm, God employed friends to open a refuge in which he might rest from the fierce assaults of those who opposed him in Glarus. Dr. Diebold of Gerodseck, prior of the monastery and a lover of the sciences, offered him the subordinate living of the princely foundation at Einsiedeln (Canton Schwyz). Zwingli accepted the appointment with joy, and entered into a written contract with the prior at Pfäffikon, on Lake Zürich, April 14th, 1516, in reference to the duties and salary of his new office, while he declined the call of the Council of Winterthur to a charge there. The calling of Zwingli to the monastery at Einsiedeln happened doubtless with the knowledge and consent of the abbot, Conrad of Rechberg, a pious, upright man, possessing no great learning indeed, but holding firmly the truth as far as he understood it. Once, when his monastery was visited by his superiors, and he was told that he was suspected of undervaluing the mass, he innocently replied: "If Christ be in the bread, I, a poor monk, am not worthy to behold the eternal God, much less to offer Him. If Christ be not therein, woe to me if, instead of God, I offer bread, and let the people worship it." His prior, Diebold von Geroldseck, was also a pious man, a Swabian, who delighted in gathering around him men of genius and piety, and appointing

them to office in the monastery. He invited Zwingli to come to Einsiedeln, especially as the papal chaplain, Francis Zink, an influential man, advised this step. Einsiedeln, to which Zwingli removed in the summer of 1516, was the last station in the course of instruction by which God prepared him for the work of a Reformer. The causes which led him to locate at Einsiedeln were partly the intrigues of the French and the papal party, partly the design and hope of spreading evangelical truth more rapidly and widely in this most celebrated place of pilgrimage for Southern Germany, and to overthrow superstition in this its stronghold. That the people of Glarus regretted his departure is evident from the fact that his salary as priest of Glarus was paid to him for two years, in the hope that he might return. The old love of the Glareans to their pastor appears also from a letter, written by him a year after he entered on his pastorate at Einsiedeln, and directed to the Council of Winterthur, Canton Zürich, in reference to the charge offered to him in that place, in which he says he could not accept their call, "as it might displease his gracious lords in Glarus." He signed his name as priest of Glarus and minister at Einsiedeln.

In this latter place Zwingli soon became the intellectual centre of a circle of friends, embracing men like Franz Zink, John Oechslein, Dr. Michael Sander, and others, who gladly permitted him to lead them to a still deeper knowledge of the Gospel. But while leading others into the truth, he himself enjoyed such deep inner experience of the truth as it is in Jesus, the only Saviour, that he could no longer calmly permit its open denial. He desired not only to direct his friends in the monastery to the Holy Scriptures, and to tell them, "The time will soon be at hand, when neither Jerome

nor any other but the Scriptures will have much weight with Christians ;” but he also himself felt compelled to preach the Word of God purely and plainly to the immense multitudes that flocked together in this place of pilgrimage.

In golden letters above the door to the monastery stood these words : “*Hic est plena remissio omnium peccatorum a culpa et poena.*”^{*} This inscription was the more readily believed by thousands, as a number of the popes had promised absolution from the guilt and punishment of sin to all who here invoked the image of the Virgin Mary. The coarse superstition of the crowds streaming from Switzerland, Alsace, and Southern Germany soon reported miracle after miracle performed by this image of Mary. People prayed to the image, and bestowed upon it the most valuable gifts. The monastery grew richer and more famous. To these hosts of pilgrims it was Zwingli’s duty to preach. It was always considered a special duty of the vicar to confirm the people by his sermons in their faith in the miraculous power of the image of the Virgin and the reliability of absolution. Zwingli, however, did not preach what the superstitious hosts of pilgrims expected to hear, but he preached “the one thing needful.” He directed the people to Jesus, who might be found wherever He was sincerely sought ; that it was foolish and unchristian to confine the grace of God to particular localities ; that the Pope had indeed so ordered it, as the Saviour had foretold, Matt. 24 : 26—“Wherefore if they shall say unto you, Behold He is in the desert, go not forth ; behold He is in the secret chambers, believe it not.” Thus the Pope had done, and confined Christ and His

^{*} Here is full absolution from the guilt and punishment of all sins.—L.

grace to Rome and other places of pilgrimage. He who attributes full power to man to forgive sin, slanders God. He also showed the pilgrims that the invocation of Mary was offensive to the Law of God and to herself also.

Though he could not bring about a peculiar reformation here, as he afterward did in Zürich, he was nevertheless the Reformer who fearlessly and under the power of a divine call attacked the errors of the Church creed, as he invariably did during the great festivals, when from near and far thousands assembled in the abbey. He had now entered upon the thirty-third year of his life, enriched by the experience of ten years in Glarus, and could no longer be shaken in the position he so boldly assumed, that "Christ is our only salvation." On the great festival of the Holy Angels, A.D. 1517, a day when the abbey was usually filled to overflowing, he boldly proclaimed to all that remission of sins and everlasting life were not to be sought of the holy Virgin, but of Christ; that absolution, pilgrimages, and vows, and the presents made to the saints, have no value; that God's grace and help are everywhere within reach; and that He hears prayer at other places as well as at Einsiedeln; that the excessive veneration of the holy Virgin was prejudicial to God's glory; that, as there is no purgatory, the masses for the soul are useless; that the merit which some thought to gain by assuming monastic vows was pure imagination; that not Mary, but Christ, is our only salvation.

These faithful testimonies of the bold, youthful teacher penetrated the cities and villages of Switzerland, down into Alsace, over into Germany, where they everywhere prepared the hearts of those who heard and were moved by them, for the work of the German Reformation.

The results of the hitherto unheard-of doctrines which he preached at Einsiedeln soon followed. Hartman, the historian, states that these evangelical sermons had effected a visible diminution of pilgrimages, and that many of the pilgrims had taken home with them the gifts they had intended to bestow on the Virgin. Zwingli quieted the prior, who had become somewhat uneasy, by saying: "Once for all we must determine to cling inseparably to right, truth, and God, though with the loss of property and life. Once for all we must venture, and expose ourselves to the danger of death for the truth, and to confirm the mind against all the attacks of the flesh, the world, and the devil." These words perfectly calmed the aged Geroldseck. He was surprised at the magnanimity of Zwingli, who lost more than he by the diminution of superstition, for Zwingli's annual salary was only eighty florins, besides perquisites derived from altar presents and masses for the dead. Thereafter he allowed the youthful but inspired pastor to proceed unhindered in his labors. The image of Mary, hitherto so idolatrously worshipped, was removed and buried. The golden inscription concerning absolution was also taken away from the door of the abbey. In place of Latin hymns, the New Testament was read in the German language; an Order of Worship, which Zwingli, by direction of the prior, had already in 1516 introduced in the abbey Fahr, which belonged to Einsiedeln, was adopted and used. His bold festival sermon on the day of the Holy Angels, 1517, was followed by a similar one on Whitsunday, 1518, on the miraculous cure of the sick of the palsy, Luke 5 : 24. The effect of these festival sermons was great, and extended far beyond the boundaries of Switzerland. Such a bold, profoundly learned, and inspired preacher had not been seen in Einsiedeln

before. Many pilgrims heard the word of truth with dread, others received it with joy, and propagated it on their way home, saying : " People need no longer go to Einsiedeln for the forgiveness of sins ; God gives it through Christ, and without money, wherever they sincerely ask it of Him." Such surprising accounts sounding almost like a fable, induced other souls in search of salvation to come to Einsiedeln, desiring to hear more of such comforting doctrines. Even learned men travelled to Einsiedeln in order to hear the testimony concerning the Crucified One from the lips of Zwingli himself. Thus, at Whitsuntide, 1517, there appeared in the great congregation a minister by the name of Dr. Hedio, from Basel, who was so transported with joy that he most earnestly entreated Zwingli to receive him into the circle of his friends, or at least to allow him to be the shadow of a friend. Of the sermon he expressed this opinion : " It was beautiful, thorough, solemn, comprehensive, penetrating, evangelical in the power of its language and spirit, reminding one of the old Church fathers."

Zwingli not only endeavored to impress *the people* during his stay in Einsiedeln, but also, wherever possible, the *clergy and dignitaries* of the Church. When the Cardinal-bishop of Sitten in Vallais, Matthæus Schinner, once visited Zwingli, the latter led the conversation to the human ordinances and the great pomp in worship. He cautioned the Cardinal as to the results that would follow the evils that had been so long and vainly noticed, and admonished him to lay hold of the Reformation himself, as the papacy rested on a poor foundation, which he clearly and irrefutably proved to him from Holy Scripture. He also discussed the Reformation with the papal legate in Switzerland, Antonius Puccius. He

desired the free and unhindered preaching of the Gospel, saying that he, hitherto unmolested by human ordinances, would continue to preach the pure Gospel to the people, which would cause popery to totter.

Such well-meant, warning voices, however, remained unheeded, though both these dignitaries acknowledged the demoralized condition of the Church. True, an answer to such complaints reached Zwingli from Rome. Zwingli despised it. He esteemed the ignominy of Christ and His crown of thorns more highly than the honorable position of "an acolyte-chaplain to the Pope," which was offered him with the most flattering expressions of regard. Instead of allowing himself to be bribed by Rome, he now directed his attention to the Bishop of Constance, Hugo of Landenberg, who had addressed a pastoral letter to the clergy, solemnly deploring the increasing degeneracy of the Church. Nor from Constance could Zwingli obtain support in his struggles for Reformation. The high dignitaries of the Pope were evidently not the men whom God had destined for the reconstruction of His deeply corrupted Church. For a long time indeed Zwingli had been assured in his own mind that no help could be expected from Rome; that the papacy must fall; and he calmly and deliberately continued the work of Reformation.

At this time, when Zwingli still labored in Einsiedeln, Bernhardin Samson, a barefooted friar, entered Switzerland by way of Mount Gothard, August, 1518, bringing letters of indulgence from the Pope, and selling the forgiveness of sin for money. He had obtained power from Pope Leo X., not only to forgive past sins for pay, but also sins that were yet to be committed.* He es-

* *Indulgentiæ ante factum.*—L.

pecially claimed power to deliver souls from purgatory, and boasted :

“ When the money in my platter rings,
The soul from purgatory springs.”

As soon as Zwingli heard of Samson's imposture, he earnestly preached against indulgences, no one undertaking to hinder him. The result was that the papistical impostor fled hurriedly from the Cantons Uri and Schwyz. He came to Zug, where he carried on his trade for three days, receiving wagon-loads of money. The poor and the rich crowded around him. One day when the poor were more importunate than the rich, he turned them away with these words : “ Dear people, do not crowd yourselves forward so eagerly. Let those come first who have money ; I will afterward give good advice to those also who have no money.” From thence he visited the Cantons Unterwalden and Luzerne, and after first sending several loads of money to Christoph of Ferli, the Pope's general agent in Switzerland, he continued his very remunerative journey to Berne. At first the Bernese refused to receive him, but Samson was not easily frightened. Here too he succeeded in filling his bags with money, and then early in the year 1519 he moved down the Argau toward Zürich, where we shall meet him again.

Public esteem for the fearless preacher of Einsiedeln rose higher daily. At home and abroad his admirers increased, new friends daily joining his ranks, and the old becoming more intimately united to him. Entire cities also looked up to him. Winterthur sent him a call ; Glarus begged him to return ; Einsiedeln tried to keep him. All in vain. Zürich was waiting for him. Thither he should go, according to God's counsel and

will. There his appropriate and last field awaited him, for which Glarus and Einsiedeln had served as preparatory schools to qualify him by a twelve years' experience in the pastoral office, to be the man whom Zürich needed. A remarkable arrangement of God: When toward the close of the year 1518 the pastorate in the Great Minster of Zürich became vacant, many men immediately suggested that Zwingli be secured for it. Myconius, for several years dean in the Great Minster school, wrote to Zwingli and solemnly asked him to consider the matter. Zwingli manifested a willingness to accept the position, especially so as Myconius replied to him: "You have friends here, but also bitter fault-finders—a smaller number of these. I have visited many of the laity. They say that you will be the evangelist of their native city. I also know that some of the canons say the same thing, but secretly." Though Zwingli could call his situation at Einsiedeln a happy one, and the lord of Geroldseck had bound him by great promises, which he had not yet fulfilled, his resolve had been firmly made to accept, if elected, as he had good reasons to hope that in Zürich he could labor with yet better results than in Einsiedeln. For Zürich was not only the centre of all public affairs of Switzerland, which always drew thither numbers of distinguished statesmen, but it was also, on account of its many learned men, who lived in retirement there, the most convenient place for work on a grand scale, for scattering the seed of the Word over entire Helvetia. Here he also found a permanent audience, whereas at Einsiedeln his hearers consisted of pilgrims who had no abode there. On the 11th of December, 1518, the election was held. He was chosen by a large majority, seventeen canons voting for him, and only seven against him, which is a

matter of great wonder, as they all knew that there would be an end of the papacy and of the honors which they had received from Rome, if Zwingli's sermons should prevail, of which each felt already assured in advance. At Einsiedeln the people reluctantly gave him up. He was greatly beloved, not only by the prior, but by the people and the government of the Canton Schwyz. At home and abroad, wherever Zwingli's name was known, the people were delighted with the news of his election. Glareanus wrote from Paris, January 19th, 1519: "All the Swiss youth rejoice and huzza, especially the Zürichers." Before he left Einsiedeln, however, he took measures to secure for it a like-minded successor, who was found in the person of Leo Juda. On the strength of his recommendation the congregation in Glarus chose Valentine Tschudi. To the people of Winterthur he recommended his friend Dingauer, whom they accordingly elected. Though Einsiedeln has remained in the bosom of the Roman Church, his two years of evangelically reforming work were by no means in vain. Calmly and with good cheer he could now, toward the end of December, direct his steps toward Zürich.

CHAPTER VII.

ZWINGLI'S CONNECTION WITH ROME—SAD RESULTS.

By the successful issue of the Burgundian war and the war with the Emperor and the Swabian League of the Knights of St. George's Shield, Confederate Switzerland had not only saved and confirmed its freedom, and thereby secured a stronger self-consciousness, but was also elevated for a time to a political prominence which brought for the people of the Confederacy not only advantages, but also very painful losses. It is true, many old prejudices were lost by the war, and people learned how to judge more correctly of state and national wants. But the succeeding struggles and fortunes of this venerable Republic taught that many pious customs of the ancient fathers—who offered up everything to their faith in freedom, and felt themselves so strong in this that they esteemed friendship and right above everything—were lost by customs imported from abroad! For the present, the political freedom obtained strengthened the old indignation against the tyrannic rule of the priests and the intolerance which enchained the spirit of the free people. Four hundred years before, Hanrich in Western Helvetia and Arnold of Brescia, in the eastern part of the country, had risen against the Roman hierarchy, its *cultus*, teaching, and dogmatics. They had found many adherents, who in secret earnestly longed for more propitious times. In the beginning of the 16th century the Swiss entered into political connection with the

Pope, whose crafty representations they readily believed, and who knew well how to gain the first place among the princes that applied for their troops. Yet the individual cantons were not blind to the abuses and assumptions of the Papal Court, which, on account of its repeated perfidy toward inoffensive Switzerland, they could no longer esteem as formerly. The alliance, which had been too inconsiderately entered into with Rome, and the more intimate acquaintance with the Court resulting from it, opened the eyes of those whose perception had not been blinded by their ancient reverence. Though the Pope and his legates insidiously tried to induce them to obey him blindly also in political affairs as the infallible Head of Christendom, they never succeeded. In the year 1517 Leo X. conferred the position of chief of his guards, rendered vacant by the death of Casper of Silenen, on the distinguished burgomaster of Zürich, Marx Roust, through whom he designed to influence the Swiss in his favor; but throughout Switzerland the proffered position was looked upon as neither honorable to the Head of the Swiss League nor compatible with his office; and the burgomaster himself pleaded that his advanced age prevented the acceptance of it. But Ennius, the Pope's legate, knew well how craftily to meet all objections. He maintained "that the guarding of the Vicegerent of Christ was the highest possible honor for the Swiss. Many had tried to obtain the position, but the Pope would confer it upon no one except his most dearly beloved sons, the Zürichers. And not to deprive Switzerland too long of the services of this excellent man, the Pope would ere long honorably discharge him, and allow his son to succeed him. He would incur no risk as to his health, as God would not allow that one travelling in the service of His

vicegerent on earth should suffer injury while obeying the divine call." That sufficed. The burgomaster was allowed to depart. Meanwhile the Pope did not gain much by this step. For, as he called upon the Swiss to take part in the war against the Turks, but directed his attacks against the Duke of Albino, and through the Cardinal-bishop of Sitten, Matthæus Schinner, hired several thousand Swiss, the Confederate cantons prohibited the enlistment. Leo sent a second time. He asked for 6000 men. They were refused him. But he in other ways procured 7000, led them in seven divisions into Italy, and thus broke the treaty of alliance.

A third time Leo sent a legate, and asked for 12,000 for the Pope's expedition against the Turks. His legate was not now, as before, Ennius, but Antonius Puccius. He promised, in the name of his master, that the Pope would take the entire Swiss force, on account of their bravery and fidelity, as his body-guard, and command them in person. In vain. A few months later, in 1518, he again under a similar pretext asked for the same number of men. Switzerland promised him 10,000 as soon as all Christendom would take up arms. To make up the deficiency of 2000 men, they proposed to send him that number of priests! But the Pope could not be intimidated, and a year later he sent his legate Puccius to the Confederate Diet at Glarus, requesting Switzerland not to enter into an alliance with any nation, so that the Pope might, in case of necessity, use their troops against the Turks. Switzerland replied to him with a complaint: "The Pope pays the annual pensions very tardily, and even then in depreciated currency. The clerical offices were sold for money to the soldiers, who afterward resold them. The bishops defended and acquitted priests charged with murder, and convicted of

heresy and the grossest crimes." Puccius made all sorts of promises, but kept none. When the cantons saw that no abolition of existing abuses could be expected from the Roman Court, they unanimously resolved to rely upon themselves; that thereafter every one that bought a pastoral charge should be put in a bag and drowned. The Pope remained silent. In October of the same year he sent his legate, with increased powers, to the Confederates, and asked the Diet to defend the Holy See, exterminate the new doctrine, and burn all books on the subject. At this demand a fire hitherto smouldering under the ashes had well-nigh broken out into brilliant flames, for some approved, others rejected, the demand. First, the troops asked for the defence of the Holy See were refused. The Diet wished to know first against whom they were to be employed. After declining to tell for a long while, Puccius said: "Perhaps against the Duke of Ferrara; also against the French." To secure this dukedom for himself, the Pope had made an attempt to assassinate the Duke. In May of the same year he had also broken with the French, and formed an alliance with the Emperor. At last 6000 men were furnished him.

In the following year the King of France asked of the Diet, which met in Luzerne August 3d, a levy of troops, and to gain his end bribed the deputies of the cantons. He succeeded. Two months later the Pope again sent his legate Ennius, and demanded through him at least 6000 men to fight against France. They were refused, as Switzerland had lately formed an alliance with France. Ennius threatened that soldiers must be speedily furnished, or Rome would hire Confederates in and outside of Switzerland. In vain was the prohibition of enlistments more firmly insisted upon. During

harvest, in some localities, the reapers in crowds crossed the boundaries and joined the papal army. Money dazzled them. In vain the Diet, assembled at Zürich August 17th, forbade the taking of any money or pensions from foreign princes. However fervent the wish, it accomplished no good.

At this Diet also the Pope's legate, Ennius, appeared, and asked the question, Whether or not the Swiss would furnish the Pope with troops? In vain Zwingli preached and warned the Swiss against the enlistment. Zürich alone gave 2700 more men, and the Pope continued to flatter, thus securing 11,700 additional men. All the districts except Zürich forbade on pain of death this running to the Pope, but could not by such decrees hinder many citizens from secretly offering their services to the Cardinal, who promised them almost double pay. On learning that the Cardinal was leading the troops to France, Switzerland quickly checked him. The troops were required to take an oath not to fight against their brethren. The Pope was more powerful than the oath. Having reached Italy, the soldiers were released from the obligation of their oath, and the Pope succeeded in taking Milan without a battle. This, however, produced only temporary joy. Parma and Piacenza were occupied by the Zürichers. The Pope died. The two cities were transferred to the Zürichers as security for arrears of pay, and, in case of non-payment, the cities were to belong to them. The Zürich troops were called home. France obtained sympathy; the party of the Pope, opposition. During the vacancy of the papal chair, Ennius, in the name of the College of Cardinals, desired that Switzerland should dissolve its alliance with France, and join the alliance of the Pope and Emperor for the defence of Milan, and furnish 10,000 soldiers

for the purpose. Both requests were declined. On the contrary, France now received 16,000 men, of whom 3000 never returned, but were buried in Bicocca. This loss of life produced aversion to foreign pensions, and induced Zug to renounce foreign service for twenty-five years. In January, 1522, Adrian VI. was elevated to the papal throne, and his election was announced to the Swiss. He proposed an alliance to Zürich. In vain. Adrian died the same year, and was succeeded, in 1523, by Clemens VII. He at once began greatly to extol the Zürichers for the faithful services they had constantly rendered the Papal See, offered excuses for the non-payment of the pensions during several years past, and promised to cancel the debt if the Zürichers would conform to the religion of the other cantons. But the money was never forthcoming. In 1524, therefore, Zürich sent two distinguished men to Rome, Treasurer Jacob Werdmueller and John Rudolph Lavater. The former kissed the Pope's slipper. Lavater, on the contrary, refused to come nearer to the Pope, saying: "I am sorry that I must be so near you." Clemens received the two deputies very ungraciously, accused them of heresy, demanded that they should desist from it and exterminate it from their country. The request was not granted. Thereupon the Zürichers went to Constance, but here too they were refused.

In the same year, 1524, the Confederates granted four levies of troops to France, with which France recovered Milan without a battle. Zürich continued to demand the pension arrears, but in vain. Joachim am Grüt was sent to Rome in October, but was informed that no payment would be made unless Zürich returned to the bosom of the Church. Am Grüt proved a traitor.

He returned from Rome and showered a flood of accusations against the Reformation that had been begun. The Pope had himself sent a letter to the Zürichers, saying: "If you do not renounce your new, ungodly errors, how can we satisfy your demand for money, however just it may be, without violating the justice and fear of God, when we cannot even allow errorists to keep what they have inherited from their parents?" Zürich replied, but all its representations availed nothing. The Papal Court was pleased to see the enemies of the faith involved in perplexity. It did not wish to help them out of their embarrassment. To restore domestic peace, Zürich was compelled, after the unfortunate battle of Kappel, to appear so submissive as to seem to confirm the report, designedly circulated, that Zürich would again introduce the mass.

To deprive their enemies of this hope and the friends of the Gospel of their fear, the Council of Zürich published a declaration, in which the liberty heretofore accorded to go to mass was withdrawn. It gave the assurance that they would adhere to the received truth, in spite of the mishaps that had befallen them, and that they would no longer permit mass to be said in any part of their territory. This binding declaration, which the friends of the Gospel made known everywhere, even in the Diet assembled at Regensberg, so excited the legate Ennius, whom the Pope had again ordered to Switzerland, that he made every possible effort to bring Zwingli's faithful helpers, Leo Juda, and his successor in office, Bullinger, into discredit, and have them dismissed, because by their sermons they again kindled the failing courage and zeal of the people. He employed all means to incite the cantons that remained Catholic against those that had become Reformed.

In the succeeding year, 1533, Clemens VII. formed an alliance with the Catholic States—Luzerne, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Zug, and Freiberg—against the Reformed cantons. Zürich demanded the dissolution of this alliance because it was in conflict with the Confederate covenants, and because Zürich itself had recently declined an alliance with France prejudicial to the Pope. Ennius promised to pay the debts of the Pope if Zürich would come back. But Zürich preferred to let its demands on the Pope go, and to remain faithful to the Reformation. This forever divided Switzerland into Reformed and Catholic cantons. Such was the end and such were the sad results of the alliance of Zürich and the now Reformed cantons with Rome. At that time Rome had already adopted the principle, afterward loudly proclaimed, that “no faith is to be kept with heretics,” which assisted the Reformation far more than Rome itself suspected, and enkindled in all right-minded persons a holy indignation against this procedure. A reformation could no longer fail to come.

CHAPTER VIII.

OTHER PREPARATORY CIRCUMSTANCES.

IF the ancient Swiss had two hundred years before engaged in war, it was to maintain their freedom and independence. Now, on the contrary, wars were waged for money and glory. The unhappy results of the Italian wars contributed greatly to secure an entrance for the teachings of the Swiss Reformers. With undaunted courage they held up these results before the eyes of the Confederates. These representations made a deep impression upon all districts where self-interest had not yet blinded the mind of the great in regard to the welfare of the Fatherland. It was remarkable how the mania of the Swiss to enter foreign military service destroyed the foundations of all civil and moral order, the obedience of subjects to the command of the government, the obedience of children to parents, the peace of families, the general welfare, and private and public education, producing disagreement between citizens and members of the Confederacy, rebellion, depopulation, neglect of agriculture, luxury, poverty, and beggary. The violation by the great and rich of the prohibitions concerning pensions, presents, and foreign enlistments accustomed the common people to the disregard of the laws. If a son was not indulged in every whim, he at once ran off to war! How sadly this habit must have weakened the bond of love between parents and children, and brothers and sisters, and especially when such a runaway son re-

turned home as an old soldier, a good-for-nothing fellow unused to work, his only possessions some foreign curses—disease and shameless presumption. The dissolute husband and father, too lazy to work, too proud to beg, if his wife failed to please him in all things, or was no longer beautiful, deserted wife and children and went to war! People complained bitterly that the untrained children, deprived of their fathers, grew up without proper discipline, in filth and poverty, becoming a burden to their relatives; and even if the father was not killed in war, they received no support from him during his absence, as he needed all his earnings for himself; and when he returned home, they learned from his example only curses, scolding, idleness, carousing and gambling, stealing and begging.

The factions of the Pope and the French, who had their adherents in each canton, designedly disturbed the peace between the citizens as well as cantons, and occasioned frequently most saddening scenes in meetings of the Diet and Council. Such a sight occurred at Berne in 1520. When color-bearer Casper Wyler, who had obtained this honor in 1488, suddenly died of paralysis in the Council, the French party, led by color-bearer Benedict of Weingarten, attacked the honor of this upright man. He had remained unshaken in his fidelity to the imperial and papal party, and had frequently accused them of receiving French money; they now retaliated by charging that he had himself received 28,400 francs from the Pope. They insisted upon it that his remains should be removed from the minster and thrown on the carrion field! The dishonor was not committed, but his heirs were compelled to pay the sum named into the state treasury, until they could prove that he had not received the money for himself. Party spirit caused

still greater mischief at Freiburg, where in 1511 Mayor Franz Arsent was beheaded at the instigation of the Austrian party. Similar results appeared in Zug. Zürich itself, because it refused to join the other cantons in their alliance with France, but sided with the Pope, drew down upon itself the hatred of nearly all the other states.

It is indeed true that these wars brought vast sums of money into Switzerland. Milan atoned for its inconstancy, after the battle of Navarra, by paying 200,000 ducats. Francis I. sent 4,800,000 francs to Berne; at Freiburg his ambassador poured out a heap of golden crowns on the pavement to display the wealth and liberality of his king; his treasurer showed the Swiss that they had received, during nineteen years, exclusive of the pay of the troops, in pensions and presents alone, 23,110,840 francs. To this must be added the booty obtained. A single Swiss tailor-apprentice once seized two bags of money, each containing 6000 crowns, or 120,000 francs. In this way, however, but few became rich. "The rest are poor, ragged fellows; if some escape alive, they lounge around, bent, lame, and useless, a burden to their parents. The king cares nothing about it." Those who returned empty-handed hated their more fortunate brethren, and these provoked the anger of the poorer ones so much that harmony and feeling for the mutual good grew ever rarer. Some of those who had enriched themselves with this money were again reduced to poverty by the increasing luxury in clothing and display. The friends of primitive simplicity of manners complained loudly that the returned officers introduced into the cities and cantons foreign fashions in clothing, costly furniture, and expensive food and drink. The pomp of the Spanish, the changing

fashions of the French and Italian embroidery, prevailed more and more. People recognized the Swiss no longer. To check the evil Berne imposed a fine of five francs for the cutting of clothing in such a way as to show the silk lining through it. Jacob von Stein, surnamed "the Small," from the Canton Berne, a returned soldier, soon involved himself, by display of costly kneebands, in debts which he could not pay. Lombardy neck and shirt collars of finest quality, Spanish caps, hats, and other head-coverings of velvet; gay-colored shoes, such as barely concealed the toes, and yet costing twice as much as those usually worn in the country; long poniards, Italian swords, expensively gilded daggers, cut and frizzled hair and beards, constituted the dress and adornments of the men trained in foreign lands. The women too received from abroad cloaks with capes, Milanese embroidery on head-cloths, hoods, sleeves, and aprons, which were far more expensive than the material of which they were made. This love of splendor begot in the once proud Swiss people a despicable beggar-spirit, not only in the men but also in the women, and even in the maturer youth. The French commissioners especially stimulated it by presents. They provided meals at the hotels for the country people that came into the cities. In Luzerne they paid at one time for 800, and at Berne for 1100 guests. The ancient love of honor soon became lost, and many who in their youth would have been ashamed to allow others to feed them, crowded themselves, without hesitation, to these disreputable drinking banquets.

The loss of men, and indeed of the most vigorous youths, which the Italian wars occasioned, is almost incredible. Thus, of the 8000 Confederates who went on the Neapolitan expedition, only 1500 returned home,

but died soon after their arrival. About 5000 men in French pay were lost in the wars of Lombardy. The battle of Marignano alone cost 5000 men. The battle of Bicocca consumed 3000 men. Besides these, many thousands lost their lives by starvation and pestilence. This dread depopulation and the inclination to an idle life withdrew so many hands from agriculture that the once beautiful fields lay uncultivated and overgrown with weeds and forests. In the year 1513 there even arose rebellions in Berne, Solothurn, and Luzerne. The unhappy campaigns of foreign rulers, who drew their troops from the Swiss, and the factions which were incited among the people by the agents of these rulers, brought the country to the verge of ruin. The adherents of France opposed the party of the Pope and Emperor. These latter opposed the former. Between the two lay poor Switzerland, plucked and impoverished by both. On all hands arose disturbances and insurrections. In Canton Berne 300 farmers arose, went to the city of Berne, and challenged the French instigators, who ceased not in their own interest to scatter money among the people. They were especially exasperated against Conrad Glaser, the treasurer, who used to throw the money to the people. Not finding him, as he had escaped, they seized the cellar and took by storm the house of the veteran color-bearer, Casper Hetzel, of Lindach. But he was absent. One may imagine how the enraged farmers acted in going from the cellar through the house. The whole city was thrown into fear on account of these country assailants. Peter Dettlinger, the color-bearer, whose duty it was to hinder their entrance, narrowly escaped with his life. The old Mayor, Wilhelm von Dieszbach, only prevented the plundering of his house by the use of wine and kind words. The Oberlanders

(*i.e.* those from the uplands) also had come as far as Wabern, a mile and a half from the city, where messengers from the Hasli valley pacified them. The Mayor of Wattenwyl ordered the gates to be closed and the alarm bell to be rung. The insurrection subsided here, but in other places it again broke out. In the Cantons Luzerne and Solothurn it continued an entire year, and demanded many victims. Foreign and domestic traitors alarmed the country and disturbed the national prosperity. Critical junctures and popular circumstances of this sort called loudly for a man who, by his trust in God, by his courage and perseverance, was qualified to guide country and people, State and Church, into a new path. This man, by the providence of God, was given to Switzerland, and with it to all Christendom. And although, after leaving Einsiedeln, he was permitted to labor but thirteen years as the distinguished Reformer of his Fatherland, yet the condition of the people and times shed a clear light upon his reformatory efforts, both civil and religious, so that his work in the Swiss Reformation appears to have been truly marvellous and divine.

CHAPTER IX.

QUIET BEGINNINGS.

IN connection with the discords previously noticed, caused by papal and French intrigues, there was a grievous disintegration in the clerical rank. At one time, shortly before 1516, when all the deans of the Swiss rural chapter were assembled, scarcely three could be found among them who were versed in the Bible. The rest frankly admitted that they had not even read the whole of the New Testament. From this we can infer the character of the remaining priesthood. It was in a still worse condition. Of study there was nothing said. Playing and feasting were their principal employments. He who outwardly appeared to be more earnest was guilty of hypocrisy. Scholastic theology and papal law were perhaps read by a few. The greater part read only the *Sermoiogos* or spiritual Talkers, memorized the printed or written sermons of the monks, and rehearsed them to the people. Others, who were considered distinguished preachers, mingled their theology with that of Aristotle, and preached from Thomas Aquinas, the celebrated preacher of the Dominican order in the fifteenth century, who was called Doctor Angelicus.

The bishops did not concern themselves about the morals and studies of the common priests. They were better pleased if priests and people were often punishable, because that increased their revenues. They were concerned only to collect their contributions from the

lower clergy, and if possible increase them. It is true the Confederates and their priests often opposed these usurpations of the bishops, but in vain. When the Confederates curbed the immorality of the higher and lower clergy, the Pope, because he wished neither to renounce his supremacy as chief shepherd nor lose the friendship of the Swiss, granted, in the year 1522, the demanded power to punish clerical as well as lay criminals by civil authority. Scarcely three weeks after the arrival of the papal permission and its publication in Baden, the people of Berne beheaded a criminal belonging to the priests, named Schuffelhauser. This public punishment of the hitherto unrebuked vices of the priests gave those Swiss who differed from the Romish Church in articles of faith, the strong hope of a speedy change, and aroused their courage to overthrow the hated priesthood at an early day. Among these, the people of Zürich were not the last. The vicar-general Faber, in a letter written to a friend, calls them a people who will not allow themselves to be trifled with. Faber had experienced this. The canons, in common with the Council, in the Christian order which they adopted September 29th, 1523, openly acknowledged: "They felt and found that the common man, rich and poor, who supported the clergy with his bitter toil, with rentals and tithes, was not pleased, but greatly displeased by the abuses." And further on: "When all kinds of disturbances arose, and the common man complained of being overburdened by the priests with tithes, fees, and other charges, the Provost and Chapter resolved to release their fellow church-members from these grievances. The press also rose up against this disorder. In the city library of Zürich there may still be found a wood engraving, in which Moses, Paul, Peter, and the

four Evangelists are represented as hunters, who chase into a net different animals, clothed in mitres and sheepskins. Among these sits Isaiah. This is the inscription :

“ That there is so much treachery in the land,
Is owing to the wolves in clerical dress.
And the sheep also run wild ;
Therefore follows a divine punishment.”

The prosperous printing-press in Switzerland now began to work for the good cause, and by colporteurs vigorously spread its publications abroad. In 1519, Christopher Froschauer, a Bavarian, appeared in Zürich and founded a publication house which afterward printed all the writings of the Swiss reformers. The same was done in Basel, and later in Geneva. With incredible rapidity, Zwingli's writings, and therewith the Reformed doctrine, appeared in Italy, France, Spain, Southern Germany, even in Saxony and England. The people everywhere eagerly bought and read them—a proof that the reformation of the Church was not the work of several men, but that the people desired it. Without this, our fathers would have preached in vain, and the publishers could not have scattered the writings of the Reformation so successfully.

Certainly there must have been men in Switzerland who, by education and good character, were competent to maintain the light of illumination, to lead the people, and procure for its dissatisfaction a hearing. When Providence has determined to confer upon the world a benefit, the incidental circumstances are found as though they had been prepared. Rome had boasted that Switzerland had no man who could resist her. But Switzerland's Romish enemies soon and very disagreeably discovered that it ensnared itself in its preconceived

opinion. Switzerland had excellent men who in quiet seclusion received their first culture, whom God trained up and then called to appear in public. Besides Ulric Zwingli, who, on account of his learning, had as a mere youth received the degree of Doctor of Divinity, the following appear to advantage : Henry Loristi or Glarean, four years younger than Zwingli ; Michael Rubellus ; John Zimmermann, canon of the Chapter of Leodogarius at Luzerne and at Munster, in Argau ; Rudolph Collin or Am Bruehl, of Grundelfingen, in the Canton of Luzerne ; Oswald Myconius, four years younger, also from Luzerne ; John Mueller, of Rellikon, Canton of Zürich, near Greifensee ; Jacob Wiesendanger ; Melchior Makrinus, of Solothurn ; George Staehli, of Golganen, Canton of Schwyz ; Werner Steiner, of Zug ; Henry Luetti, of Wadenschwyl, Canton of Zürich ; Benediet Burgauer ; John Dorfmann, who labored especially in Rhætia ; Erasmus Schmid, of Stein on the Rhine ; Sebastian Wagner, of Schaffhausen ; John Haller, of Wyl, in Canton Thurgau.

Foreign young men immediately united with these Swiss, who co-operated in the work of the Swiss Reformation. Among the many, only the following are enumerated : John Oekolampadius, of Weinsberg, in France ; W. F. Capito, of Hagenau, Alsace ; Casper Hedio, of Ettlingen, in Baden ; Conrad Pellican, of Alsace ; Leo Juda ; Sebastian Muenster, of Ingelheim, in the Palatinate ; Simon Grynaus, of Vehringen, in the Palatinate ; Martin Keller, of Stuttgart ; Beat Rhemaus, of Schlettstadt ; Ambrose Blarer, of Constance ; Berthold Haller, of Aldingen, in the Province of Rothweel ; Sebastian Meier, of Neuenburg ; William Farrell, of Gap, France.

To add more and equally prominent names to these Swiss and foreign ones is unnecessary, because those

already mentioned abundantly prove that a general desire for a better state of affairs had arisen in eastern and northern Switzerland and in the adjoining French and German provinces, which could not possibly fail to produce great consequences. That western and southern Switzerland took so little interest in it is owing to the fact that these parts of the country had no schools of a high grade, like the universities at Basel, Tübingen, Freiberg in Breisgau, and Heidelberg, and did not stand in connection with them, like Zürich, which became the focus of the Reformation in Switzerland, because here for years a greater freedom of thought had prepared the people to receive the truth.

But why did this greater freedom of thought among the people of Zürich, which they had already manifested in former times, produce hitherto no Reformation? Why did this newly enkindled love for the sciences arouse neither in Zürich, nor in Basel, nor in any other city of Switzerland, a man who would undertake and finish what thousands had long since thought, wished, and foretold? Why did all stop with thinking, wishing, and foretelling? Because no one had the spirit, courage, and firmness to begin and complete the immense work. None of those enumerated, though they were otherwise excellent men, had the power which alone produces the call, and the will to live for a great and noble work. This power will not allow him who is conscious of it to turn back in his path, but, regardless of everything, he looks simply to the goal, and presses incessantly toward it—and, though he fall this side of it, yet he closes his eyes with the firm assurance that the work can and must be completed. Not one of them was calculated to stand at the head; but as associates of the man whose heart and courage placed him there, they were all indispensa-

ble. Without a leader they would not have commenced, or being weary would have desisted; without them he could not have completed it. In the Swiss Reformation they constitute a large circle, with Zwingli in the centre.

CHAPTER X.

FROM EINSIEDELN TO ZÜRICH.

AFTER laboring two years in Einsiedeln, Dr. Ulric Zwingli came to Zürich December 27th, 1518. He was immediately ordered to appear before the Provost and Chapter. After greeting them, he stated that he formed a resolution, and would carry it out, not to preach on the Pericopes, but explain the Gospel of St. Matthew in order, and in so doing confine himself to the Holy Scriptures and not to human doctrines. Some of the canons present expressed their joy at this; others censured it as an innovation. But Zwingli proved to them, from the sermons of Augustine and Chrysostom, that this was the old custom, and that the discourses on the evangelical Pericopes had been first introduced by Charlemagne.

This satisfied them for the present. Before, however, publicly entering on his office, he, on Friday, December 31st, wrote to the Council of Glarus that as the time of two years which they had granted him for his return to his pastorate in Glarus, had now expired, he would return the offer, with thanks for their kind intention, into the hands of his lords. On that Friday he also closed the thirty-fifth year of his life. Next morning, Saturday, January 1st, 1519, he publicly entered on his duties in Zürich, and preached a sermon in which he announced that the next day, Sunday, January 2d, he would begin to explain the Gospel of St. Matthew.

This was attended by a large concourse of people—praising God and referring to Christ as the only source of salvation.

At the same time he admonished them to cultivate Christian love and lead a godly life, to avoid superstition in doctrine and public worship, idleness, intemperance, pride of dress, and by a true amendment of life to become worthy of the grace of God. He also spoke earnestly against the oppression of the poor, against warlike expeditions, and pensions. He recommended to the Council the administration of justice, the care of widows and orphans, the maintenance of Swiss liberty, and that they should refuse the demands of foreign princes. This was a good and timely introductory sermon. In the most honorable light it shows us the entire man, who had come to make Zürich great. This inaugural sermon did not please some persons, who said that by such sermons Zwingli would create great disturbance in Zürich; others praised God that He had given them such a fearless preacher.

Two respected men—Henry Rauchli, the president and treasurer of the Council, a diligent reader of the Bible, an enemy of superstition and of the disorderly clergy, who once declared that the most pious man in attendance was burned during a meeting of the Council in Constance; and Henry Fuessli, the inspector of the armory, compiler of a Confederate record which reaches to the year 1519—had heretofore declared that they did not wish to hear another sermon from a priest. But when they learned Zwingli's intention, they were anxious to hear him. Soon after this introductory sermon they praised God and said, "This is a preacher of the truth, who is not afraid to speak—who will be our Moses and lead us out of Egypt."

The greater the crowd to hear Zwingli's sermons, and

the greater the approval which they found, especially among the common people, the less did those who were originally dissatisfied trust to express their disapprobation beyond their own circle. When, however, they gradually discovered that not every one who heard Zwingli agreed with him, they hesitated no longer to speak frankly, at least to these people, and emboldened by their approval to come forward with complaints and charges. Zwingli had expected this, and did not allow himself to be misled, while his friends admonished him to be firm, as though he needed such admonitions. Scarcely an hour passed that was not improved by wordly and religious men to lay snares to hold secret meetings and arouse enemies against the defender of right and truth.

But he came to Zürich with the settled conviction that tribulations awaited him there. Among the monks he found his first and bitterest opponents. Glarean wrote to Zwingli from Paris, June 7th, 1519: "I hear that you have trouble—I know not of what sort—with the monks: persons of whom you must be more afraid than of the poison of snakes. They can injure you, and will benefit but little. I am concerned for you." Rhenan wrote to him, May 7th, 1519, from Basel: "Our Simon told me verbally that you still continue to preach true Christianity, which, partly by open wickedness and partly by seductive superstition, was misrepresented in the most unworthy manner, not only here, but in all places. Notwithstanding that some oppose—because the good always excites envy—still hitherto nothing could move you to lose sight of the goal toward which you incessantly press. I admire your determination, which presents to us a man of the times of the apostles. Some contradict, ridicule, threaten, and

slander you ; but you bear all with true Christian composure. Continue, dear Zwingli, to pursue a right course ; he who would win corrupt men for Christ must allow a great deal to pass unnoticed. Our Lord also drew the Jews to Himself by blessings, not by reproaches." "I praise you," he wrote on the 24th of the same month, "that you have commenced such a good work with prudence ; but you deserve still more praise that you proceed steadily, and do not allow yourself to be detained a moment by those who are grieved that piety revives again, and that the pure doctrine of Jesus is preached to the people."

These good testimonies show how earnestly Zwingli labored to lead souls to Jesus, and be for every one what he needed, and thus strengthen a later declaration : "In the storms of winter no field is ploughed or sowed. Spring is the proper time. In the beginning I made great concessions to the weak ; nevertheless all I proclaimed and all I withheld was done unto edification. I did not wish to impart strong food at the wrong time, nor cast pearls before swine. I plainly proclaimed and steadfastly taught that Jesus Christ is the true salvation, and that we must expect all from Him, and look to Him in time of trouble. I announced to men the kindly grace of God, and made it lovely for them, since I knew what God will accomplish by His word. Many who in the beginning were opposed to me, thereby gradually discovered how good the Lord is, and that every one who rightly learns to know Him can exclaim with the disciples : 'Lord, to whom shall we go ? Thou hast the words of life ! I have apprehended thee, I will never more leave thee.'"

After Zwingli, according to his previous announcement, had explained St. Matthew's Gospel and acquaint-

ed his hearers with the doctrine, works, and life of Jesus, he showed them, from the Acts of the Apostles, how Christianity was planted. Afterward he taught them, from the first Epistle to Timothy, their duties ; from the Epistle to the Galatians, the pure, genuine faith of the early Christians ; from the Second Epistle to Timothy, the duty of Christian ministers to resist false doctrines, to preserve and extend the Gospel in its purity. Inasmuch, however, as some of his opponents highly exalted Peter above Paul, and contended against the worthiness of Paul with all kinds of sophisms, he proved, from the Epistles of Peter, their mutual agreement ; and finally, from the Epistle to the Hebrews, that Christ, by the sacrifice of His life, had rendered all other sacrifices superfluous and abolished them. He finished the exposition of these books of the New Testament in the sermons he preached on the Sundays of the first four years.

Besides this, he began, in December, 1520, to explain the Psalms to the farmers who attended the weekly market in the city on Fridays, and prepared himself for this by diligently studying the Hebrew language. He was of the opinion that a fundamental knowledge of the Christian doctrines, derived from the Holy Scriptures, must precede the removal of abuses in religion, then they would disappear of their own accord ; and the result unexpectedly showed that he had not been deceived in this expectation. The simple and yet earnest manner in which Zwingli was accustomed to explain the Word of God appears instructively from the following lines taken from a sermon in the year 1519 : “ If we consider all men, we will certainly find that in the whole multitude no one is so completely righteous that he could satisfy the justice of God in Himself. Since we are all

affected by the same infirmities and the same disease, we can never satisfy God, because we are all debtors and criminals, and therefore punishable. Out of the depths of His wisdom God regarded our misery and determined to repair our loss. When He found none among us who could satisfy His justice for Himself and others, He ordained His Son to be a propitiation for our sins, that He, since He is true man and our brother, may be our righteousness, and the procuring cause of our pardon before God forever ; because He, being just, took upon Him all our guilt and expiated it before God. Behold, what a merciful act of God—a friendly, joyful message—a sure guidance of the disconsolate soul, that it has found Him by whom it was reconciled to God, by whom it could at all times have access to God.

CHAPTER XI.

GREAT REPUTATION IN SWITZERLAND AND ABROAD.

HITHERTO Zwingli had not openly assailed the Pope. But the certain prospect that Berhard Sampson would soon come to Zürich with his indulgences, compelled him, after he had entered upon his office, earnestly to warn the people of the city from the pulpit, and to show them that salvation was obtained for us by the death of Christ, and that faith in Him, not money, is the means to obtain it. Sampson had gathered great treasures in Berne. Poor and rich crowded around him. The former bought the cheaper indulgences on paper for two "batzen" (about twenty cents), the latter the dearer, on parchment, for a "crown" (about five dollars). An indulgence for a whole city and district was sold still dearer. Jacob von Stein, Lord of Belp and Utzingen, who was captain of a company of 500 men in the papal service, bought with a dapple-gray stallion full forgiveness of sins for himself and his ancestors, for his soldiers, and for the people under his authority at Belp. The inhabitants of the village of Aarberg, who for several years had suffered losses by fire and water, and who ascribed them to the anathema of a papal messenger, whom they had insulted, obtained through the mediation of the government, for cash, absolution for the dead and the living, which, however, did not produce the desired effect.

On the way to Zürich, Sampson had reached Lenz-

burg, but was not received, and hastened on to Baden. That he might not also be repulsed here, he boasted to the resident clergyman of the honors which he had received from the authorities at Baden, at Luzerne, at Berne, and at other places. This so moved the good man that, contrary to the command of the bishop, he allowed the monk to sell the indulgences. Sampson, by the audacity with which he promised the foolish people the deliverance of souls from purgatory, gave occasion for a jest, which was calculated to rob the indulgences of their credit. He exposed his wares in the church-yard, exclaiming, with the sale of every piece of paper, *Ecce volant!* (See how the souls fly!). A wag who was present hastened into the church steeple, and through a window in the belfry emptied the feathers out of a pillow upon the people, exclaiming likewise, *Ecce volant! Ecce volant!* Sampson took this jest, which created great laughter, very much amiss, and came near avenging it. From here he went to Bremgarten. But Henry Bullinger, the pastor and dean, resisted him courageously. "And should it cost me my life, I will not open my church for you," was Bullinger's answer. In the most violent passion the monk called him a brute, placed him under the heaviest ban and swore not to release him again till he paid three hundred ducats for his unheard-of impudence in refusing to allow the sale of indulgences. Bullinger received the anathema very coolly. Sampson, however, took the matter more seriously. "I will soon get to Zürich, you insolent brute," cried the monk to Bullinger, "and will accuse you before the Confederates. Such an insult was nowhere offered to me in all Switzerland." The dean replied: "I can appear before the Confederates as well as you, and will certainly not remain away."

The reputation of Zwingli meanwhile continually increased. His sermons had already accomplished so much that the people everywhere began to see the Romish knavery practised with these indulgences. With hearty thanks to God, he was allowed to see and hear how the work of the Lord prospered in his hands. His sermons touched the people in city and country. His name resounded far and wide. He laid great stress upon pastoral work. That great multitudes heard his sermons did not satisfy him. He endeavored, by the help of God, to establish the assurance also in individuals, whenever he could reach them, that the doctrine of the cross was specially designed for every one of them. His particular care appears from a letter written to Myconius, at the end of 1519, in which he says he had already more than 2000 souls, who were so far nourished and strengthened by the milk of the Gospel that they now desired stronger food, which he with good confidence could give them. So much the more courageously could he proceed and expose the traffic in indulgences, because just at that time, when Sampson* was nearing Zürich, the deputies of the Bishop of Constance, who should bring charges against Sampson before the Diet, were sojourning in the city.

At the end of February Sampson arrived at Zürich. Bullinger had preceded Sampson, and had already entered complaint against him before the Confederate Diet. The deputies of the bishop, to whom he related the whole matter, and his numerous friends among the great men at Zürich, as well as the delegates of the remaining cantons, supported him powerfully.

The Council resolved to deny Sampson permission to enter the city. In the suburbs, where he had alighted at an inn, a messenger of the Diet handed him

the resolution of the Council. Under the pretence that he had something to say to the Diet in the name of his Lord, he was nevertheless allowed to enter. He was compelled to remove the ban from the dean (Bullinger) gratuitously, and then allowed to depart in peace, after having been strictly forbidden to sell his wares. Full of indignation, he departed with the money which he had hastily gathered. The Pope himself was compelled to recall him to Rome. Zwingli's influence was known even in Rome, and previously had been quietly tolerated. It is true Sampson, even before he had come to Zürich, openly declared that Zwingli would oppose him, but he (Sampson) would shut his mouth. Consequently it might have been expected to see him mentioned in the papal index as a deceiver of the people. But it contained not even the least reference to his name. Evidently the resolutions of the Diet had startled the Pope. He could not as yet calculate upon the assistance of the upper classes in Switzerland, who, it is true, soon united with the monks to suppress Zwingli and his doctrine, in case he should succeed with his far-reaching propositions of reform.

Zwingli's influence, which had already been acquired, must have been certainly known in Rome, since he had the courage to discuss the sale of indulgences with the papal legate, Anton Pucci. In vain the legate endeavored to persuade him to be silent; in vain were the brilliant promises he gave Zwingli. He told the prelate boldly, if he and other superiors of the Pope would not do their duty, nothing should deter him from working with all the strength which God would grant, for the removal of superstition and imposition, till light should have triumphed over darkness. He also sent by the deputies of the Pope a letter to the Bishop of Con-

stance, in which he exhorted him courageously to oppose the impositions of the Pope, and assured him that the Word of God and the truth of the Gospel would certainly maintain the mastery ; he requested him to procure for the noble house of Laudenberg the honor that he would be the first among the bishops who accepted and promoted the purified doctrine of Christ. Bullinger says truthfully that Zwingli did not proceed inconsiderately and against good order, but had properly warned, and first tested every other means before he began in full earnestness.

These courageous steps increased the renown and respect which he had already gained to such a great degree in Einsiedeln, and carried them far beyond the borders of Switzerland. In Southern Germany, in Nuremberg, in Swabia, especially in Augsburg, he had a large circle of friends, who were united to him ; even from the interior of France the preachers of the Gospel turned to him and asked for advice and comfort. The friends of the Reformation in Constance were so devoted to him that they regarded those in Zürich in many respects as their model. In Mayence, Hedio remembered their old friendship. Zwingli had gained many friends there by his writings, who eagerly read what he published, and hoped that the example of the friends in Zürich would kindle the zeal of the German cities. After a perusal of the first discussion at Zürich, it became evident to Hedio and many others that truth is invincible, and falsehood weak. The deluded, who will not see the bright light of the Gospel, deserve either pity or scorn. There are also in his vicinity people who hate the Gospel, because it combats their passions. He encouraged Zwingli to labor on cheerfully, to raise the standard, to preach, to conceal

nothing. The time has come when the mask must be pulled off from the ignorant and hypocritical. The lawyer, Nicholas Gerbellius, in Strasburg, had such great confidence in Zwingli's friendship and in the protection of the Zürichers, that he commended to him a persecuted friend who had renounced the Romish superstition and sought a safe abode, that he might support himself, wife, and children. Likewise John Sapidus requested Zwingli to receive a young scholar, whose love for evangelical truth constrained him to leave the Order of St. John. "Receive him in such a manner," Sapidus wrote, "that he will feel that he has been recommended as a Christian by a Christian to a Christian friend."

Unknown persons also declared to Zwingli their great respect. Moved by his constantly increasing reputation, and very desirous speedily to obtain the explanation of the 67 Articles, Adam Weiss, clergyman at Ereilsheim, in France, who was very much pleased with the manner in which Zwingli had conquered Faber, wrote: "Happy are you, to live in such a country and among such people." William Nesenus, in Wittenberg, gives us the best testimony of Zwingli's great learning and excellent character. Among those who encouraged him to continue his course boldly and confidently, we find his former teacher, Dr. Wyttenbach, who was pastor in Biel since 1515. The favorable testimonies of a Capito, Hedio, Rhenan, Glarean, and many others, are generally known. Even in those parts of Switzerland where he was soon afterward proscribed and execrated he enjoyed, in the first year of his ministry in Zürich, a respectful confidence. The clerk of the court at Uri, Jost Schmid, in a letter written August, 1519, thanked him most heartily for the great pains and labor and

earnest diligence which he had bestowed upon him years ago at Basel, and commended his brother to him.

Even in the temporal affairs of the city his public reputation asserted itself. When the Confederates, after the death of the Emperor Maximilian, in the beginning of the year 1519, allowed themselves to be persuaded by the Cardinal-bishop of Sitten, M. Schinner, to write in favor of the grandson of the deceased, to the Pope, who favored the King of France, Charles's competitor for the royal crown, and to the electors admonishing them not to disgrace and bring into danger the German nation, to which also the Swiss belonged, by the election of a foreign sovereign, Zwingli was of the opinion that Switzerland should not meddle with the election for an Emperor. They should favor neither of the two princes, but care simply for their freedom, and not meddle too much with the empire. Charles, the Spaniard, was a young man, and might be inclined to govern the Germans despotically. Charles the Fifth, as Emperor, would only aim to oppress the German nation and rob them of the divine word. He thought the Germans were not necessitated to bring an emperor from a distance and burden themselves with foreign authority. On this account he was also opposed to the King of France, whom many wished to make Emperor of Germany. And long after his death the result showed how correct his judgment was. The people of Zürich resolved henceforth to resist foreign lords, and more and more withdrew their support from the Pope. Zwingli clearly convinced them that the Pope did not need their armies to defend the Church or the papal territory, but to make conquests. It was acknowledged to be true, what Zwingli said of the cardinals, who like plunderers bribed the people, bought them for popish purposes, and

then had them slaughtered in bloody conflicts. "The cardinals," he said, "justly wear red hats and cloaks; if you shake them, ducats fall out; but if you wring them, the blood of the sons, the brothers, friends, and fathers runs out."

In Schwyz the great respect which Zwingli everywhere enjoyed asserted itself in the most honorable manner in the resolution of the National Assembly, by which the canton for twenty-five years abstained from all foreign leagues and pensions. He was not less concerned for the deliverance of the Swiss from foreign military service, than the deliverance of the Church from the yoke of the Pope, because, according to his conviction, the salvation of the Fatherland depended upon these two things. On the 21st of May, 1522, he sent the authorities of Canton Schwyz a letter, with the urgent request to beware of the foreign lords, and finally to free themselves from all obligations to them. In his writing which precedes this exhortation, Zwingli says: the great love which he had for them from childhood compelled him to take this step, particularly since he, as a son of Toggenburg, was in duty bound to be attentive to them. He reminded them in the exhortation, that their forefathers had carried on war only for freedom, and not killed Christians for wages. Therefore God gave them the victory at Morgarten 1315, at Laupen 1339, at Sempach 1386, at Nafels 1388, and at other places. Afterward they became arrogant and allowed themselves to be deluded by the gold and flatteries of princes, to do and to care more for them than for home, wife, and children. They were misled by people who were concerned more for their possessions than for their Fatherland. But the greatest loss and the greatest dangers fell upon the public estate. These dangers he

describes in detail, and enumerates among them the divine punishments with which the avarice and the inhumanity of the warrior are threatened in the Holy Scriptures (Micah 2, Isa. 5, Matt. 18, Ezek. 29, Jer. 51). Furthermore, the prevalence of injustice and deeds of violence, love of pomp and banqueting, of immorality and effeminacy, of envy and unfaithfulness toward the Fatherland finally; the danger of losing freedom either by enemies or friends among the foreign princes. In the same way he controverts what was said in favor of foreign military service, and gives them a solemn description of the calamities of war, and puts the question of conscience to the Confederates: what we would say if a foreign people rioted among us, like the Swiss did in the enemy's country. The great loss which the Confederates, especially the Canton of Schwyz, had suffered in the battle of Bicocca, impelled the great benefactor of the Fatherland to compose this letter. This noble deed bore immediate fruit.

CHAPTER XII.

DANGEROUS ILLNESS.

IN the summer of 1519 a plague broke out in Zürich, of which 2500 persons died in less than six months. Zwingli escaped in the beginning, though he daily visited those who were sick with the plague. Conrad Brunner, a friend, wrote to him from Basel in September: "However laudable his fidelity to his office might be, he should not forget that he must also take care of his own life." Alas, this warning came too late. Zwingli took sick in September, and was brought to the verge of the grave. Dr. Hedio, of Basel, wrote to him: "We were very sorrowful when that murderous pestilence seized you, for who would not mourn when the prosperity of his Fatherland sinks down, when the trumpet of the Gospel, the courageous proclaimer of the truth in the most flourishing, yea, the most hopeful age, is silenced?" The danger which threatened his life was so great that all hope was relinquished, and the report of his death spread in Switzerland and Germany. The monks rejoiced that the devil had fetched the heretic; yet their rejoicing was soon silenced.

During his sickness he composed three hymns, which are an evidence of his sincere piety, his childlike confidence, that, even if he should die, God would not let the work perish which he had commenced, and of humble submission to His will. The language of his heart is excellent. Bullinger has preserved them in the history of

the Reformation. In the first hymn, which he composed in the beginning of his sickness, he asks God for His deliverance, if it be His will ; if, however, He would let him die in the middle of life, he was resigned ; he was His creature, whom He could preserve or destroy. The second hymn he wrote in the middle of his sickness, when it was most violent. The third hymn he wrote when he was convalescent. He rejoiced that he would hereafter be able to labor in the service of God.

BEGINNING.*

Lo ! at my door
Gaunt death I spy ,
Hear, Lord of life,
Thy creature's cry.

The arm that hung
Upon the tree,
Jesus, uplift,
And rescue me.

Yet, if to quench
My sun at noon
Be Thy behest,
Thy will be done !

In faith and hope,
Earth I resign,
Secure of heaven,
For I am Thine.

MIDDLE.

Fierce grow my pains ;
Help, Lord, in haste !
For flesh and heart
Are failing fast.

Clouds wrap my sight,
My tongue is dumb ;
Lord, tarry not,
The hour is come !

In Satan's grasp,
On hell's dark brink,
My spirit reels :
Ah ! must I sink ?

No, Jesus, no !
Him I defy,
While here beneath
Thy cross I lie.

END.

My father, God,
Behold me whole !
Again on earth,
A living soul !

Let sin no more
My breast annoy,
But fill it, Lord,
With holy joy.

Though now delayed,
My hour must come,
Involved, perchance,
In deeper gloom.

It matters not :
Rejoicing yet,
I'll bear my yoke
To heaven's bright gate.

* From the English translation of Merle D'Aubigné's "History of the Reformation." The German of Zwingli has there been followed, and the original form and spirit of the poems well preserved.

Before the breaking out of the plague, Zwingli was at the mountain ravine, called Pfeffer's baths, near his home, and therefore familiar to him, where he sought to strengthen himself for the conflict with the plague, which was advancing from the east. When he heard that the plague had advanced to Zürich, he hastened to his post in August, without calling to see his relative, Christopher, the Abbot of St. John, in Toggenberg, who had expected him. According to the example of the Good Shepherd, who giveth His life for the sheep, he, true to his preaching, appeared in the midst of his parishioners, and exposed himself daily to the danger of infection, by fearlessly visiting those sick of the plague and bringing them the consolations of the Gospel. This powerful man, who confided in God, was allowed to do his duty many weeks.

While the plague raged still more frightfully in Zürich, and reached its highest stage of development about the middle of September, his friends from far and near looked with sympathy and astonishment upon the brave champion of God, warning and pleading that He would spare his precious life. He could and would not think of his own preservation, so the plague seized him too. Near unto death, he lifted his heart to God, and found comfort and peace in his Saviour. The three hymns quoted suffice to show us a Christian fully ripe, enlightened, and sustained by the spirit of the Gospel. He recovered, though very slowly. At the end of the year his health was so fully restored that on December 31st he could write: "Yesterday I finally laid aside the last plaster of the plague-ulcer." By the grace of God he had been preserved from death; therefore he was now the more determined to risk his life for the cause of the Lord. He kept his word.

CHAPTER XIII.

TWO HOSTILE SCHEMES.

ZWINGLI had scarcely recovered from his sickness when his enemies began to work against him openly. A monk journeyed to Basel to have four sermons printed against him for the suppression and refutation of the new doctrine. As heretofore, Zwingli desired to carry forward the work of the Reformation quietly and avoid an utterly useless controversy. Therefore he applied to Hedio, and requested him, in his name, to entreat Cardinal-bishop Schinner, of Sitten, who chanced to be just then at Basel with the Provost, Felix Frei, that he might prevent this publication. Upon the representations of the provost, the cardinal obtained the desired interdiction from the bishop and Council at Basel. "The cardinal loves you," Hedio wrote to Zwingli, "and indeed honestly, for many reasons, but particularly because you preach the Gospel, and have the courage to tell the truth to people whose tender ears do not like to hear it. He remembered you on this occasion with great praise. Let therefore the outrageous conduct of this monk not disturb you; proceed boldly, heed not this shameless fellow; he himself has prepared the rod which will punish him. I know a painter who will depict this ravenous animal in lively colors. Capito will take care at Strasburg that the press there is not stained with the poison of his mouth."

The Vicar-general, Faber, who could not remain ignorant of all this, still continued to be Zwingli's friend.

December 18th, he declared to him in a letter his great joy for his recovery: "I love you so heartily and honestly that no greater sorrow could befall me than to be obliged to hear, which may God prevent, a misfortune happening unto you; and on the other hand I can have no greater joy than when I hear you are well and happy. I think these sentiments toward you are in accordance with justice. For you labor so unweariedly upon the work of the Lord that I am convinced the cause of Christianity would suffer no small loss if you should get into danger."

From Luzerne Myconius wrote, December 28th, 1519, to Zwingli: "Our friends here say that both of us alone are not able to support the religion of Christ; we should therefore be quiet, because our work will be for the most part in vain. Again, our enemies say our doctrine is of the devil, not of God." Zwingli answered him: "You must learn more and more to respect yourself, that you do not become excited by such objections. How much such displeasure will injure you, I know from my own experience. Your answer receives my approval. Still I wish that these wilful people might be attracted more by kindness and yielding complaisance than carried away by violent strife. At Zürich there are many people, more than 2000, to whom indeed I still give milk, but who, because they have a craving appetite, can soon bear strong food. I must continually contend with malicious men, not because my character comes into contact with theirs, but because they are bent upon persecuting Christ and the Gospel. I am very much concerned for the peace and the Fatherland, although my hope is constantly strengthened that the present disorder will once give place to a far better state of affairs."

When the calculation of the monk failed, to have a refutation of the new doctrine which Zwingli preached printed in four sermons, his opponents sought to approach him from another direction. The Church archives at Zürich contain an original document, without date, which in the name of several canons was handed to Zwingli, and in which twenty-one points were censured, which he was said to have taught from the pulpit, and for which he deserved a reprimand. It is composed in true monkish Latin, and abounds in lies and misrepresentations.

They charge him that he suppresses customs of the Church, instituted for the honor of God and the saints ; that he does not, like his predecessors in office, diligently exhort the people to the payment of tithes ; that he falsely affirms the festival of John, of Paul, and of the 10,000 martyrs, to be an invention of the priests ; that he despises Corpus Christi day, the processions on that day, and changes of dress after the mass ; the indulgences at this festival, and the celebration of the mass itself ; that, contrary to the opinion of the lawyers, he affirms the Pope, who alone besides the emperor is regarded as sovereign, to be no sovereign. Secrets intrusted to him he reveals in the pulpit, disclosing names ; therefore he must be commanded to stop preaching. At the same time Provost Felix Frei sent him a document of similar import, only, as it appears, more comprehensive, and supported by proofs. It can easily be imagined what Zwingli thought and felt while reading these two documents. In a letter to Myconius, February 20th, 1520, he says concerning them : “ The Provost expressed a part of his displeasure against him, and indeed in writing, that it might not be forgotten, by a letter, wherein he asserts the tithes were appointed

by God for the priests, which assertion Zwingli publicly refuted in Latin ; he further instructs him that it is not always best to speak the truth, because he is of the opinion that the priests must not be slandered ; afterward he touches on questions of law, and admonishes him not to place weapons against the clergy in the hands of the laity. And all this the sly little man writes, he says, as a friendly warning. Since Utinger, who advised peace, could effect nothing, I went to him and explained the whole matter, and the causes of my dissatisfaction, and asked him hereafter not to transmit in writing what he could tell me verbally, particularly such weak reasons, which would certainly not win me to his side. These were principally taken from the papal law, and he had so perverted the Holy Scriptures that the authors would not have recognized them.”

It was natural that the papists began to consider Zwingli as their enemy, who was in earnest about his separation from Rome. Likewise they believed that they must hinder their enemy in his efforts against the Romish priesthood, and if necessary, not only oppress but render him harmless forever. Yet, considering the powerful city, and Switzerland in general, a sudden attack was not allowable at present. The calumination of his person and the new doctrines he preached was at present all that could be done against him, in part verbally, and with the assistance of the press. Besides, they secretly brought it to pass that the Council, to a previous resolution allowing common priests and preachers in city and country everywhere to preach the Holy Gospels and Epistles, added a decree that nothing dare be preached against the monks. Then the Council had Zwingli brought into the house of the provost, where the burgomaster, in the presence of the officers of the mon-

astery, commanded that hereafter nothing should be preached that would disturb the public peace. Nevertheless Zwingli arose and said: "I cannot receive this command; I will preach the Gospel free and unrestrained, as it had been formerly resolved." Then the Council was compelled to yield, in spite of the monks, since it was bound by its own resolution. So much the more did the monks rage, and the monasteries were the meeting-places of all who hated Zwingli and the Gospel. Yet Zwingli continued bravely but prudently on the way of his calling unto the end.

CHAPTER XIV.

FIRST FRUITS OF HIS LABOR.

SINCE Zwingli found the pastor's assistants, who were in Zürich at the beginning of his ministry, to be very unskilful persons, who refused to assist him, he took as helpers two vigilant young men, George Stacheli and Henry Lueti. This was a proof of the zeal with which he endeavored to promote the cause of the Gospel, of the certainty with which he strove constantly to press toward the appointed goal, and of the courage which filled his soul for the welfare of the Fatherland. These two assistants he took into his house and to his table, that he could at all times employ them in the service of the Gospel.

During the first two years he read mass; and all the remaining duties of his office, according to the prevailing custom, were incumbent on him. They assisted him to perform the laborious duties of the large parish, which embraced the greater half of the city and the surrounding villages, whereby he gained more time to prepare his sermons, which were so indispensably necessary, because until the year 1521 he was the only preacher in Zürich and Switzerland who proclaimed the pure doctrine. In all his sermons he insisted that his hearers should confine themselves entirely to the written Word of God, believe what accorded with it, and reject the remainder. He said this with such power, plainness, and persuasion that the Council commanded the pastors of its

district to preach from the New Testament in like manner, and prove their doctrine only from the Bible, but omit innovations and human inventions. Zwingli, with increased courage, with deep gratitude toward God, and with uninterrupted faithfulness, clung to the literal meaning of the resolution. He believed that errors will disappear of their own accord, when the necessary knowledge of the Word of God is attained, and avoided every violent interference. Such a course could produce only the best results for himself, the Church, and the Fatherland, since his conduct hitherto, under the most unfavorable circumstances, showed in him the man who had come to Zürich for this undertaking, not of his own accord, but as sent by the Lord. With this resolution of the Council, which had been secured through the influence of Zwingli, Zürich, upon which the eyes of all the Swiss who honored the Word of God were turned, had taken not only an important but the chief step in the reconstruction of the Church, her doctrine and customs.

There was joy far and wide on account of this resolution of the Council, and the rapid, fearless progress of Zwingli. The example which Zürich thereby gave to the rest of Switzerland had a blessed effect even beyond its borders. From Paris Glarean wrote, July 7th : " I surmise that Zürich will soon be equal to many a university ; for this it is indebted to you and your unwearied industry." From Constance, Sebastian Hofmeister wrote to Zwingli, September 17th : " I understand that you continue to preach the truth. I praise your steadfastness and incorruptibility. Would to God I could be your assistant, especially in Zürich, that when that part of our blessed Fatherland will have been healed, the same good-fortune may befall the remainder."

Scarcely was that far-reaching order of the Council issued to the preachers and common priests in city and country, when a second resolution followed, June 17th, which would have been adopted as little there, without Zwingli's blessed influence, as at strange places, where he was not known. The Chapter of Canons unanimously resolved that the old register of festivals, completed in the year 1260 (which, as the record says, on account of the multitude of festival and fast days introduced and adopted by our ancestors and ourselves, could by no means be completely followed), be exchanged for an improved one—a resolution which is another glorious evidence that Zwingli was not rash, but sought only gradually to introduce the desired improvements. An important step was gained, since the canons not only saw, but also admitted, that by the enormous multitude of holidays an intolerable burden had been imposed upon the people; and it was still more important that, without consulting the spiritual authorities, they took courage, on their own responsibility, to lessen the burden, whose entire removal would have been premature.

Still it must have been very encouraging to Zwingli that the clergy had fallen in with his ideas; among whom Henry Ulinger was the most prominent and courageous, who also, in letters to their mutual friends, praised Zwingli's firmness and determination. Such first-fruits are so much the more precious, since he had two parties as enemies, which attacked him with equal zeal—the pensioners of foreign princes and the higher and lower clergy, whose intentions became daily more evident. Naturally Zwingli wished to be surrounded by men united to him by equal courage and similar sentiments, who would help him to bear the burden

which was constantly growing heavier, and to contend with the daily accumulating hindrances, as well as to preserve what had already been acquired.

In whatever direction he turned his eyes, he could nowhere find a man so fully qualified as his youthful friend and follower in Einsiedeln, Leo Juda. Without informing him of his purpose, he wrote to him about two years later, May 22d, 1522: "Next Sunday a monk of Rüti will read the first mass at St. Peter's. It seems advisable that you preach the sermon. Therefore come to me on Saturday, that you can preach to the people the following morning. This will serve our purpose excellently. We must occasionally do something that is by no means agreeable, in order afterward to reach what we earnestly desire. When you come, we will have much to talk about." Leo came, preached several times, and pleased the congregation, which, according to its unlimited right of election, chose him as its pastor on Sunday before Whitsuntide. What Zwingli expected from this new assistant, he says, in a letter to Myconius, dated August 26th: "Soon the lion, with his powerful voice and heart inflamed for the right, will be here, who indeed is small of stature, but full of undaunted courage."

About eight months later Leo Juda settled in Zürich, and so fully met the expectations of Zwingli that a large part of the success in the preservation and extension of the Reformation may be ascribed to his faithful zeal and constant activity. What Zwingli endeavored to secure for the Lord he obtained. The fear of the Lord animated him, therefore the blessing of the Lord followed him everywhere. The purpose of the Lord prospered in his hands. All who, far and near, longed for the blessings of Zürich looked and

listened to him, and received courage and strength, counsel and consolation from him. Wherever the Reformation penetrated after protracted conflicts, or was suppressed by the united efforts of the priests and pensioners, Zwingli was regarded by friends and enemies as the head and principal supporter of the Reformation.

CHAPTER XV.

GREAT DISCUSSIONS AT ZÜRICH, AND THEIR CONSEQUENCES.

THE constantly growing respect which accompanied the reformatory labors of Zwingli disturbed the multitude of rude monks. They sought that they might find. But when Zwingli, in a sermon on 1 Tim. 4 : 1-5, proved that the Lenten rules, as they were prescribed by the Church, had no foundation in the Holy Scriptures, and some without consulting Zwingli ate meat during Lent, 1522, the monks thought they had at last found the long-sought-for opportunity to destroy Zwingli's influence. Zwingli's sermon on the institutions of men and the eating of meat were reported to the bishop at Constance, who thereupon sent three ambassadors to the Council of Zürich. Zwingli's enemies rejoiced greatly when they arrived, and many friends of the courageous witness were apprehensive.

The Council received the embassy with great solemnity. Only with difficulty did the citizens of Zürich succeed in obtaining permission that Zwingli with two colleagues might be present during the proceedings. The suffragan bishop stated his charges in general terms, without naming Zwingli, and wished to depart immediately. But Zwingli compelled him to listen to his defence, and proved clearly from the authority of the Holy Scriptures that there was no Divine law to be honored in the Lenten rules, that the relinquishing of this statute was absolutely no rebellion against the government, as the

bishop had asserted, and that Zürich, since the adoption of the new doctrine, was the most peaceable city in Switzerland. "I am also justly astonished," said Zwingli, "that though I have been a preacher in the Diocese of Constance for sixteen years, the bishop never sent an embassy to ascertain the condition of faith and godliness in my congregations. But when the external order is violated only a trifle, they fill the world with charges and cries that Zürich has departed from the Church of the faithful."

In conclusion, he declared he did not wish fasting to be forbidden, but eating to be allowed; if any one really fasted in faith, he would rather that such a one do it during the whole year than not at all. This bold language and fearless bearing of the faithful witness impressed the embassy of the Bishop of Constance so powerfully that it silently withdrew. Wanner, the cathedral preacher, one of the three sent by the bishop, was so convinced of the truth that he afterward became a true servant of the Gospel. Concerning these three ambassadors, Zwingli, at the end of May, wrote as follows to Myconius: "The bishop sent his substitute, Melchior Vattli, Doctor of Theology; John Wanner, and Doctor Brendli, to Zürich. Here also the best was in the middle, for both ends were worm-eaten." Zwingli himself prepared a detailed report of the happy result of this embassy in a letter to his friend, Erasmus Fabrizius, who was then in his native city, Stein on the Rhine. This report proves that the coadjutor bishop, Vattli, who played the principal part, sought to overthrow Zwingli deceitfully, because he was afraid to risk an open attack.

The three ambassadors of the bishop arrived in Zürich in the afternoon of April 7th. Only late in the evening Zwingli, who knew they were coming and was

curious to hear what they proposed to do, learned from his assistant, Lueti, that a notary had invited all the priests to assemble in the chapter-room of the prebendaries early the next morning. Here the vice-bishop, Vattli, April 8th, delivered a discourse, whose contents can easily be inferred from Zwingli's reply. He spoke very violently, arrogantly, and provokingly, but without mentioning Zwingli's name, although the whole address applied only to him.

When he had finished, Zwingli arose, because he considered it disgraceful to allow this address, which could do so much mischief, to remain unanswered, especially since he saw by the pale faces and sighs of several priests, whom he had lately gained for the Gospel, that they were greatly terrified. The ambassadors of the bishop, who discovered that they could accomplish nothing here, turned immediately to the Lower Council, where the bishop delivered the same discourse, without mentioning Zwingli's name. In the beginning it had been determined that the matter should be postponed without citing Zwingli, because they had nothing to do with him. In all the other cantons Zwingli's bitterest enemies were among the members of the Lower Council, and so it seemed to have been here. The friends of Zwingli in the Lower Council brought it to pass that the matter was laid before the Upper Council the following day, but Zwingli and his two assistant priests were not cited. He exerted himself to the utmost to gain admission for himself and his two colleagues, but in vain. He was resigned, and committed all to God.

The Upper Council met April 9th, but immediately expressed its dissatisfaction that the pastors could not be heard. The Lower Council wished to maintain its resolution adopted on the previous day, but was necessitated

to allow an investigation. Then it was decided that three city pastors, who in regard to the question of Lent were of a different opinion, should be present! Zwingli, Engelhardt, and Röschli entered the council-chamber. The vice-bishop began to speak. Zwingli had his tablets in his hand, and noted the principal points, that he might be able to answer them. Zwingli, as already observed, was victorious. The bishop and the old faith lost more than they gained by this discussion. It was generally remarked at Zürich that the deputies would never more collect their defeated forces or engage in a conflict with success; true, it was also said, on the other hand, that Zwingli wrote to Myconius, "They arm themselves a new; but I do not fear them." Since the matter of fasting was now publicly disposed of, he issued, April 16th, the first printed work with his name attached about fasting, in which he shows that no person will be saved by the deeds of the law. "God Himself gave the law only that we might thereby learn our sinfulness and seek grace alone in Christ, and after Christ has delivered us from all sin by His death, we are also in baptism delivered from all human institutions. In short, do you wish to fast, do it, but leave Christians free, for the eating of flesh is not forbidden by any Divine law. If, however, your neighbor is injured or offended by your eating, you should not do it, unless compelled, till the weak in the faith are strengthened." Notwithstanding the rapidity with which he composed this as well as the most of his pamphlets, it is written with such eloquence and precision of expression, with such moderation and prudence, that it could not miss its aim, to satisfy and convince the minds that a moderate use of freedom could not be condemned either by God or reasonable men.

This excellent pamphlet of Zwingli was most favorably received in the whole province of Zürich and in other places. The sensation which it produced must have been powerful, for the Bishop of Constance was compelled to issue a pastoral letter to all the priests and laity of his diocese. It is dated May 2d, and contains twenty theses, written in a venomous tone and with odious insinuations concerning the new doctrine, which he had better not have written. Toward the close of the year Zwingli published for the people a printed refutation of this pastoral letter, containing the bishop's twenty theses together with comments. Meanwhile the delegation had returned to Constance from Zürich and handed the reply of the Council to the bishop; but it did not meet his approbation. The bishop directed a new Latin letter to the Provost and Chapter at Zürich, in which he calls upon them to beware of the poison of the new doctrine, and expressed the hope that the scabby sheep in Zürich would finally be thrust out.

When this letter was read in the meeting of the Chapter, the canons all silently looked at Zwingli, who immediately arose and said: "I see from your countenances that you all believe this letter is directed against me. I am of the same opinion; therefore I desire that it be delivered to me. With the help of God I will answer it, that every one may see the deceit of these people and the exact truth." The letter was given to him, and he answered it likewise in Latin, in a long publication, which bears the title "Archeteles," because he hoped, as he expressed himself in the dedication to the bishop, that as this was his first rejoinder, it would also be his last, and terminate all strife with his opponents. But he was disappointed.

About the same time that he wrote *Archeteles* he also composed other pamphlets, in which he praised the reconciliation by the blood of Christ. In one of these pamphlets he thus prays: "O dear Jesus, Thou seest how the ears of Thy people are closed by wicked traitors and selfish men. Thou knowest also that I from my childhood have avoided every strife, and that Thou art He who dost always lead me again into strife. Upon Thee I confidently call, that Thou wilt finish what Thou hast begun. Have I built anything that is wrong, overthrow it by Thy Almighty hand. Have I laid any other foundation than Thee, destroy it. O precious Jesus, forsake me not. Thou hast promised to be with us to the end of the world."

The bishop, provoked by his hitherto unsuccessful efforts, turned to the Diet, in which the majority were friends of the Pope and people who took pay from foreign princes. Here the resolution was easily passed, that in the name of the Confederation, preachers who caused disturbances should be forbidden to preach. Likewise the new sermons should be forbidden. In all things the old customs should be upheld. The Diet, which was in session in Baden, immediately wrote to Zürich and Basel exhorting them to prohibit the publication of the new books. Everything was in a state of fermentation; a final decision of these matters was everywhere desired. Zwingli resolved in the name of God to bring about this decision by desiring the Council to allow a public discussion, in which he would justify himself and vindicate the cause of the Gospel.

After a protracted consideration the Upper Council resolved on Saturday after the circumcision of Christ, the first week in the year 1523, that all preachers and the remaining clergy in its province should appear in

the council-hall at Zürich January 29th, and every one should express, in the German language, his opinions concerning the disputed points by quotations from the Holy Scriptures. In pursuance of the resolution, not only the Bishop of Constance was invited, but also the deputies of the Confederation assembled at Baden were requested to send their learned men and priests to Zürich. The Bishop of Constance sent a delegation, but the Confederates were indifferent and even prohibited their delegates from going to Zürich. Schaffhausen sent Dr. Sebastian Hofmeister ; Dr. Sebastian Meyer came from Berne ; no person appeared from Basel. Before the discussion Zwingli had sixty-seven theses, on account of which he had been declared a heretic, printed on a quarto sheet. Every one should know what points were to be discussed. The size of this book does not allow the enumeration of all the sixty-seven articles, but several are given :

1. All who say the Gospel is naught, without the approval of the Church, err and slander God.
2. Briefly, the Gospel is that our Lord Jesus Christ, true Son of God, revealed to us the will of our heavenly Father, and redeemed us from death and reconciled us to God.
3. Therefore Christ is the only way of salvation for all who ever lived, now live, or will hereafter live.
4. He who seeks or shows any other door, errs ; yea, is a murderer of souls and a thief.
6. For Christ is the guide and captain, promised and given by God to the whole human race.
7. That He is the eternal salvation and head of all believers, who are His body, which is dead, and can do nothing without Him.
16. In the Gospel we learn that human doctrines and institutions are useless for salvation.
17. That Christ is the only, eternal high priest ; wherefore we conclude that they who have pretended to

be high priests resist the honor and power of Christ, yea, reject them. 18. That Christ, who offered Himself once, is forever a perfect and satisfactory sacrifice for the sins of all believers ; from which we conclude that the mass is no sacrifice. 19. That Christ is the only mediator between God and man. 50. God forgives sins only for the sake of Jesus Christ, His Son, our Lord. 51. He who ascribes this to a creature robs God of His honor and gives it to Him who is not God : this is real idolatry. 57. The genuine Holy Scriptures know of no purgatory after this life. 58. The judgment as touching the departed is known only to God. 61. The Holy Scriptures know nothing of the ordination, which the priests have lately invented. 62. They also recognize no priests, except those who proclaim the Word of God.

Zwingli's introduction was as follows : " I, Ulric Zwingli, acknowledge to have preached in the estimable city of Zürich the following sixty-seven articles upon the authority of the Scriptures, which is Theopneustos, *i. e.* inspired, and offer to defend and prove these articles by the same ; if, however, I have not rightly understood said Scriptures, to learn a better interpretation, but only from the Holy Scriptures mentioned." At the end of it he said : " Let no one undertake to contend with sophistry or idle talk, but come, allowing the Scriptures to be the judge (the Scriptures breathe the Spirit of God), that he may either find the truth, or if he, as I hope, has already found it, may retain it. Amen. God grant it."

On Thursday, January 29th, 1523, early in the morning, more than 600 citizens and strangers were assembled in the large council-hall at Zürich, among whom was also the deputation of the bishop, consisting of the Knight Fritz Jacob von Anwyl, the bishop's steward ;

the vicar-general, John Faber ; Doctor Vengerhans and Doctor Martin Blansch, of Tübingen, besides other learned and prominent men. Even from foreign lands and universities ecclesiastical and civil lords had come to hear the discussion. The burgomaster, Marx Roust, arose first and stated the reason why this discussion had been announced, and that Dr. Ulric Zwingli was ready to give an account of his doctrine. Whoever wished to complain could speak frankly and without fear of punishment. He thanked the friends present, particularly the delegation of the Bishop of Constance, that they had accepted the invitation of the Council. Hereupon Anwyl answered : “ The bishop knows and feels the various dissensions that exist in his whole diocese ; he and his colleagues had been sent to speak kindly of these matters, and if possible to make peace.” In the centre of the hall Zwingli sat alone at a table, on which lay the Bible, in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages. It was his beloved book, with which he was remarkably well acquainted. He arose and delivered a short address to the assembly : “ For a long time,” he said, “ the Word of God has been so arbitrarily suppressed by human institutions that salvation was sought in these things, although our salvation, our comfort, and happiness exist not in our merit, nor in external works, but in Jesus Christ our only Saviour, concerning whom our heavenly Father bore witness that we should hear him as His beloved Son. When this doctrine is again brought forward, it is condemned by many as heretical. This also happens to me. I am violently accused, throughout the whole Confederation, of being a deceiver and a heretic. Of this I complained to the honorable Council at Zürich, and desired that it would grant me the privilege of holding a discussion before learned and unlearned

men, also before the Bishop of Constance, or his deputies ; yes, I am even ready, with a letter of safe-conduct, to appear in the city of Constance. I thank the honorable Council meanwhile for the arrangement of this discussion, for which I have brought my doctrine in sixty-seven articles, that every one may see what I have taught, and if I err, may correct me. Whoever imagines that my doctrine and sermons are heretical, I promise to answer him kindly and without any ill-will. Now, in the name of God proceed. Here I am."

Then the bishop's vicar-general arose and endeavored to frustrate the object of the discussion in the very beginning, by declaring that as a deputy and servant of his gracious lord of Constance he would not undertake to debate here. He thought such matters should be brought before a council, and if anything would be determined here what would other nations, France, Spain, and Italy, say. Therefore he repeated: "I am not here to debate."

Zwingli interrupted: "The honorable lord deputy uses all kinds of arts to dissuade you from your purpose. He says he is not willing to debate about old and laudable customs of the Church. We do not ask how long they have existed, but whether they be the truth ; for the papal law itself says usage must give way to truth. He says further, such matters should be brought before a council or settled by a large assembly. I ask him whether this present assembly is not also a large Christian assembly, in which there are many godly pastors, many doctors, and many friends of God. Formerly the bishops were only pastors, not mighty ruling prelates. Christ says : ' Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.' It matters not what other nations will say ;

if they hear the truth, they will be satisfied. . . . We do not need the universities and people in general for our judges ; we have the Holy Scriptures, which cannot lie or deceive, in three languages : this is the only true judge. Therefore let no one delay nor draw back. Especially you gracious lords of the Council, proceed confidently to protect the truth of the Word of God.”

A long silence ensued : not a sound was heard. Then the burgomaster said : “ Is there any person here who has anything to say ? Let him speak.” But no one replied.

Then Zwingli arose again and said : “ I ask you, for the sake of Christian love and truth, that you come forward and refute me, if I am wrong. If you do it not, I will mention the names of those who have accused me of heresy. But I warn you beforehand, for it is more honorable to appear unchallenged.” This he repeated a second and a third time.

The Abbot of Kappel, Wolfgang Joner, then asked : “ Where are the persons who intend to burn us at the stake ? Let them come forward.” All were silent.

Then Jacob Wegner, the pastor of Nestenbach, said : “ Less than a year ago our gracious lord of Constance issued a mandate that the traditions of the Church should be observed, whereupon Urban Weiss, the pastor of Fislispach, was seized. Since no one will speak in opposition to Dr. Ulric’s sixty-seven articles, which are against tradition, I hope we are now exempt from the bishop’s mandate, so that we may freely preach the pure Word of God. It may also be inferred that too much severity was used toward the pastor of Fislispach. I say this simply that I may receive good advice concerning this mandate.”

The vicar-general was in a dilemma. Now he must speak ; but he spoke very unadvisedly. God so ordered

it that he suggested a question for discussion, by boasting that he convinced an evangelical pastor, who had been brought to Constance a prisoner, that according to the testimony of the Holy Scriptures, the saints had already been invoked under the old covenant. Zwingli quickly seized the Bible: "Without doubt God so ordered it," he said, "that the vicar-general touched the article concerning the invocation and intercession of the saints. This article is not the least important among those with which I am reproached. I know that what I preach is the true doctrine of the Holy Scriptures, that Christ Jesus is our only Saviour, and mediator between us and His heavenly Father. Since the vicar-general publicly boasted that he convinced the pastor of Fislispach of error, with passages from Genesis and Exodus, Ezekiel and Baruch, I ask him, and I demand nothing more, than that he mention the chapters and passages of the Holy Scriptures with which he convinced the said pastor. If I have erred, I am willing to be convinced of my ignorance."

The matter now depended upon verses of the Holy Scriptures, referring to this subject. Faber was painfully embarrassed. He could mention none. "I see very well, dear sirs, that I have the worst of the argument. I am reminded of what the wise man says: 'The fool is easily caught in his words.' I am to blame for my folly, in attempting to speak, although I had distinctly said I did not wish to debate. Since, however, Dr. Ulric has challenged me, I answer in reply: Many hundred years ago, heretics appeared, who also said the invocation and intercession of the saints, purgatory, and the like things, were nothing. These were brought before the councils of the fathers and then condemned.'

Zwingli answered : “ Sir Vicar, further digression is unnecessary. Show us, I beg you, the passages of the Holy Scriptures with which you convinced the pastor of Fislispach of error. Answer in simple and plain language : there and there it is recorded ; then we will refer to the passages, and see whether it is so ; such a long speech is unnecessary. We no longer respect the fathers and councils unless they prove their matters from the Holy Scriptures. Everybody knows that councils have contradicted one another.” Faber sought to use artifice. Zwingli, however, held him to the question, by again demanding the specification of those passages which allow the intercession of saints. “ These you must show us in the Holy Scriptures ; all else is idle talk.”

Faber finally answered : “ Since then all my words are unprofitable and trifling, I will gladly be still.” Doctor Blansch of Tübingen arose, but only to repeat what Faber had said. Then Sebastian Hofmeister exhorted the Council to proceed valiantly with the Word of God, because there was no one present who could advance anything better. The burgomaster again challenged any one who felt so disposed to advance his opinion. All were silent. The assembly was dismissed.

The Council tarried, and adopted the following resolution, which was read in the afternoon session : “ The sword with which the pastor of Fislispach was slain will not make its appearance. Since Dr. Ulric Zwingli, canon and preacher in the cathedral at Zürich, has often been secretly calumniated and abused on account of his doctrine ; and since upon his offer and the publication of his sixty-seven articles no one confronted him or ventured to convince him of error from the Divine Word, although he thrice challenged those who up-

braided him with being a heretic ; since no one convinced him of heresy in his doctrine, the above-mentioned burgomaster's Lower and Upper Council of the city of Zürich, to remove disturbance and discord, after mature consideration, resolved, and it is their earnest opinion, that Dr. Ulric Zwingli shall continue to preach according to the Spirit of God and the best of his ability, the Holy Gospel and the pure Divine Word. We also command all other common priests, pastors, and preachers in our city and province to teach and preach, publicly nothing but what they find to agree with the Holy Gospel and what can be proved from it. They shall also in no manner in the future abuse, accuse of heresy, or reproach one another. Whoever disobeys shall be made to see and feel that he did wrong. Done in the city of Zürich, January 29th, 1523."

After this resolution of the Councils had been read in the afternoon session, Zwingli arose at his table, visibly affected and full of divine joy, and spoke of the glorious victory of the Word of God : " God be praised, who will have His holy Word reign in heaven and on earth. He, the almighty, eternal God, will, I doubt not, grant you, my lords, the power on other occasions to maintain the Word of God, the Holy Gospel, in your canton, and promote the preaching of the same. Do not doubt that the almighty and the eternal God will in other ways reward you for this. Amen."

After Zwingli had openly preached the pure Word of God since 1506 in Glarus, still plainer and more fearlessly since 1516 in Einsiedeln, and labored especially upon the Reformation of the Church since 1519, so by the issue of this great discussion in Zürich a new and highly important foundation-stone was laid in the vigorous and constantly extending work of the Swiss

Reformation. In Zürich and in the province a free and unobstructed path was opened for the Gospel, and other cantons were encouraged to honor the Gospel more decidedly. For in external matters not even the smallest changes had yet been made. In Zürich the mass was still read, they confessed and baptized according to the old custom, and the churches were adorned with the pictures of the saints. In the public service the Latin language, though unintelligible to the people, was still used. Since, according to Zwingli's well-considered plan, all improvements in religious matters among the people and the learned should proceed from a conviction produced by proofs, so he by his teaching aimed at the removal of the still existing abuses. The removal itself must follow, although proceeding slowly and prudently.

In the same year, 1523, the German language was introduced in the public service, the Latin being removed. Zwingli prepared a baptismal formula in German, wherein he omitted the exorcism, the salt, the sign of the cross, and other additions; and on the 10th of August the first child was baptized in the cathedral according to the new form. This new form produced such surprise and joy that soon an entirely German liturgy was introduced.

Zwingli was fully convinced that the existing external forms of public service should be changed. To this he was impelled by the inconsiderate conduct of a fanatical young man, Ludwig Hetzer, whose sentiments agreed with Carlstadt and Münzer, also in many respects with the Anabaptists, and who became Zwingli's bitterest enemy. He, in his premature zeal and full of wild fire, printed in September, 1523, a pamphlet against the images, which was eagerly read by the people. An

otherwise pious citizen, named Hottinger, became so excited by this pamphlet that he overthrew a crucifix standing in Stadelhof, a suburb of Zürich, and with the permission of the owner gave the wood to the poor. The government arrested him; the people became excited, and took Hottinger's part. It was high time to interpose with instruction and order. Zwingli next printed a pamphlet on images, in which he first of all declared that no one had a right to remove the images except the government, and that it was ill-advised to remove them forcibly, without previous instruction. "The child will not leave the bench," he wrote, "till you have given him a chair to support himself, before he is able to walk. So you must not be too much in haste to remove the images and idols from those who are not instructed in the Gospel, until faith in the one true God has been impressed upon their hearts." He proved clearly that images in general are not forbidden, and that beautiful pictures and statues, which no one admired more than he, are not to be rejected; only the superstitious adoration of them is absolutely forbidden. Then he showed that the arts of painting and sculpture are noble gifts of God, and that God Himself ordered the tabernacle to be adorned with beautiful pictures. He especially defended the paintings on glass in the churches, because no one ever thought of adoring them. But that the images are to be regarded as books for the laity in the church he refuted with the question: "Why is it that, although the cross has confronted us everywhere for so many years, we never sought salvation in Christ?"

Before the pamphlet on images appeared, Zwingli had issued two pamphlets about the doctrine of the mass, which caused a great sensation among the clergy, and

raised the question among the people why the mass was not abolished, since it was proved from the Word of God to be something entirely different from what they had hitherto believed. Zwingli did not wish to be hasty, hoping that those who on account of old prejudices still clung to the mass, would be convinced of their error by being kindly instructed.

After these pamphlets concerning the images and the mass were widely distributed, the Council arranged a second discussion, October 26th, 1523. All the bishops and the governments of the cantons of Switzerland were invited. Schaffhausen and St. Gallen alone accepted the invitation, all the other cantons declined. When on Monday, October 26th, early in the morning, the discussion was opened in the hall of the council-house, although ten cantons had declined, more than 900 persons of all stations in life were present. In the centre of the hall Zwingli and Leo Juda sat at a little round table, upon which lay the Old and the New Testaments, in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages. Conrad Hoffman opened the discussion, commencing with the images. As a violent enemy of Zwingli he spoke very insolently. Since Zwingli and Leo Juda waited in vain for a refutation, because none of those present ventured to make any objections which accorded with the Holy Scriptures, and since on the second day, when the discussion about the mass took place, no one ventured to contend for it, the pastors from the country, who had called Zwingli's doctrine heretical from the pulpit, were challenged several times to confute it by the Holy Scriptures.

Finally, when all were quiet, the president called upon them, one after another, by name. The first two called upon, Henry Hurliman, pastor of Wädens-

schweil, and the pastor of Horgen, were not present. Of the first it was reported, "He is asleep;" the second sent a substitute, who would not answer for him. Next in order was Pastor Alexander Schyterberg, of Laufen, who was a great fighter in the pulpit against Zwingli. When he hesitated to prove that the new doctrine was heretical, he was again called upon, either to vindicate his doctrine here or to desist from abuse at home. Then he answered: "I will give you a short answer; I know nothing against the article." Next to him came the pastor of Glattfelden, Casper Schüchysen, who was called upon to give an account why those whom he always rebuked from the pulpit as heretics deserved the name. Since he could give no explanation, he promised to speak the truth in the future. At the request of the Council, President Badian arose and continued the questioning. But all those who were questioned admitted that they were caught, and the last one thought he could not fight, since his sword was broken off at the hilt.

On Tuesday, when the mass was discussed, Zwingli, Badian, the Abbot of Kappel, the Abbot of Stein, the Provost at Embrach, and the Commander at Küssnacht spoke in turn. Zwingli showed that the Lord's Supper is no sacrifice which one man can offer for others. The longer the discussion lasted the more earnest and solemn it became, so that at last it seemed as if they were assembled in a church. When Zwingli at the close exhorted the Council to allow God to rule in spiritual matters, and said to them: "Dear, gracious lords, be not terrified! God is on our side. He knows how to protect His cause. I see well that you will encounter many things. But for the sake of the pure Word of God, disregard it. Now, in God's name! We will

commit all to the Lord ; He will never forsake us in time of need. I heard that last night people walked hither and thither and said that the body and blood of Christ were to be rendered of none effect. But no one intends to do this'—then he himself and others were deeply affected, and many a man had tears in his eyes. Zwingli, on account of weeping, could say no more. Leo Juda added a short, appropriate address, whereupon the assembly dispersed ; the discussion was ended.

The two articles concerning the images and the mass were argued so thoroughly from the Word of God by Zwingli and Leo Juda that their argument, by its perfect conformity to the Scriptures, triumphed over all doubt. The Council now appointed a committee of four members of each Council, who should consult with the Abbot of Kappel, the Provost of Embach, Commander Schmid and the three pastors, Engelhardt, Leo Juda, and Ulric Zwingli, how the Christian doctrine concerning images and the mass could best be promulgated. Zwingli was unanimously requested to write a short introduction, by which the pastors who did not as yet know the Gospel, and those who had shown themselves to be averse to it, could be induced to preach Christ. Zwingli quickly complied with this request. The Christian introduction was read to the Council and approved. The removal of the images and the mass was postponed till the people were further informed by this introduction. Without delay this truly glorious production of Zwingli was printed and sent to all the pastors by order of the Council—a new mandate preceding, composed, like the introduction, by order of the Council, which in its opinion was firmly grounded upon the Divine Evangelical Scriptures of the Old and the New Testaments.

In this document Zwingli admirably shows how beauti-

fully and preciously the Law has been abolished by the Gospel, because Christ has rendered satisfaction for our sins, whereby we are not only redeemed from punishment, but for the pious believer the law has been removed (Galatians 2 : 19), for he lives in Christ, and Christ in him. Where the Spirit of God is, there is liberty. Therefore a man who lives in God is free from the laws which concern the inner man, and does freely and cheerfully all things which become a Christian. We judge them by their fruits, who are thus free. Are they humble? it is owing to the Divine Spirit which dwells within : Christ too was humble. Are they concerned for the salvation of other men? so was Christ. Are they patient? Christ too was patient. Are they peaceable? this too is from God. Are they brave when the honor of God is concerned? so too was Christ. Thus Zwingli taught true Christian liberty, which is the same as obedience toward the Word and command of God.

As the Council felt the importance of this step which it took by the publication of this mandate and the Christian introduction, so Zwingli also perceived the importance of his commission ; therefore he with the greatest prudence went not a step further than the people had come, and spoke of the adherents of the old usages with a forbearance which merits great respect. The whole tenor of his pamphlet shows that he wrote for the uneducated, since no learned arguments appear, and the doctrine is as simple as the language ; but even the educated he did not overlook. The joy at this splendid production of Zwingli was so general that the people of Zürich undertook to send it to the Pope. Yet the Pope was not pleased, either with the little book or its large circulation.

Nevertheless nearly all the chaplains and vicars

in the province did not wish to read mass any more. When Henry Widmer continued to read mass, he was reproached by his colleagues. In this perplexity the Provost with the Chapter appeared before the Council and stated in the presence of the chaplains their refusal to read mass. The Council examined the common priests, the chaplains, and assistants, and declared that the mandate concerning the images and the mass should be read again in the three churches of the city. The committee appointed on these articles should consult once more how the clergy must act in reference to the mass. The three common priests, according to the request of the Council, framed an expression of their opinion. They dared not violate their own conscience, nor did they wish to violate the consciences of those who still clung to the old doctrines and customs. "The advice and opinion of the common priests, Engelhardt, Zwingli, and Leo, concerning the mass and the images," was the following :

1. The Lord's Supper and the mass are different customs. The word mass is never mentioned in the Holy Scriptures. The body and blood of Christ shall not be diminished, but used according to the institution.

2. The assertion that the mass is a sacrifice is a denial of the all-sufficient sacrifice of Jesus Christ ; therefore every good Christian must insist upon abolishing the mass.

3. We must abide by the explicit Word of God, and leave the consequences to God. Every alteration which does not accord with the Word of God must again be removed ; this change will cause fresh disturbances.

4. According to its institution, the Lord's Supper shall be administered to Christian people in both forms.

5. Since they could not deny the people the proper

use of the Lord's Supper any longer, they offer to administer it on the approaching Christmas festival entirely according to the command of Jesus. If not allowed to do this, they must, according to their conviction, give body and blood, bread and wine, to those who desire it, or stand convicted of falsehood by the Word of God.

6. Daily sinners need daily strengthening by the Word of God; therefore they offer to preach a short sermon every day instead of reading mass, and to administer the Lord's Supper according to the institution of Christ, to every one who desires it.

7. Whosoever is offended at the multitude of idlers belonging to the priesthood should remember that it is always better to let them die off in peace than compel them to act contrary to the order of God. He who begins to break solemn promises and obligations will soon not hesitate to attack other things also, which would produce great distractions. The great number will be diminished as soon as no new ones are admitted and the parishes are supplied with canons and chaplains.

If the Council did not accept these propositions, they could offer no others which would agree with the Word of God. They ask that none of the clergy be compelled to read mass. No one compels a layman to commune so and so often, therefore it is also proper that a clergyman should be free from such compulsion. The Word of God compels them to use this sacrament and others according to their divine institution. Fearlessly the Council shall adhere to the Word of God. God will not forsake it. The opponents have only man's word; the Council the clear Word of God, upon which, like a firm foundation, it can base its resolutions. Like obedient sons, the councils shall let God manage His servant,

and do what He commands ; then they will neither err nor be overcome.

Zwingli coincided with this opinion, because it accorded with the Word of God, and he constantly advised them to undertake nothing which would not accord with the spirit of the age and the directions of the Bible. Since the hearts and the faith of people were different, and he knew many weak and timid ones who needed forbearance, he yielded to the weak till they would be able to bear strong food. He sought an expedient which would not injure the strong, neither strengthen the weak in their error, nor offend them, hoping that God would regard his heart, which desired only to build up and not to tear down.

In his opinion, the mass and the Lord's Supper could exist together, since some would not forsake the mass, others not observe it. The common priest should administer the Lord's Supper in both forms to every one who desired it, and mass should be read for some time, at least on Sunday, in all the churches, without any one attempting to reproach the mass-priests, of whom a great many well know that the mass is no sacrifice. Instead of offensive language, it becometh every one to pray for a general illumination, that all may be favorable to pure, simple Christian customs. When several priests differ in their opinions, they should adhere to the Word of God : " Love bear-eth all things." The Word of God makes all things easy, and the grievances of both parties will be thereby so diminished that hope revives nothing but the seeds of peace, and reconciliation will be sown. What shall be read or omitted in the mass is left to each one's conscience. This proposed moderation would attain the desired object slowly but surely. Zwingli sought to make

provision for the wants of all, although the impetuous advocates of the old and new faith might not be satisfied with it.

In reference to images, it was the unanimous opinion of the common priests that the tablets should be locked and not opened again. The silver, gold, and other images should not be brought out and carried around, neither at the great festivals nor on other occasions. The Council should abide by its mandate, that no one shall place images in the churches or remove them, unless he had placed them there before, or unless it had been determined by the majority of the whole congregation.

This advice of the three common priests was first submitted to the committee appointed by the Council, which carefully considered it. It found the resolutions on the images complete, and further action concerning them unnecessary. In love, without offence and dissension, they may be taken away. The mass shall be freed from abuses, and such parts retained as agree with the Holy Scriptures. No one shall be forced to attend mass. The committee will not discuss at present the new proposition, to administer the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ according to the original institution. This article was neither transcribed nor debated, and no advice concerning it imposed upon the common priests. This matter needs a closer discussion, since it concerns the faith, and not abuses. Finally it was recommended that everything which did not agree with the Holy Scriptures and serve to promote the glory of God, should be removed from the canon of the mass.

The Council could now adopt a resolution according to the advice of the three common priests, or according to the opinion of the committee. Both views had their ad-

vantages. Concerning the images the Council agreed with the advice that the tablets should be locked and that the images should not be carried about. The removal of idols was something suspicious, repugnant, and a heavy burden to Marx Roessen.

The mass was the principal subject of consultation. It was retained for the present, but every one was at liberty to read mass or not. Brotherly love and unity were recommended to both parties. To instruct the clergy still further, the whole priesthood was invited to appear before the Council. Meanwhile the Council would not take further action concerning the Reformation. The faith was too highly esteemed to precipitate a change ; the Council would not listen to any harsh measures. A decisive resolution was postponed until Pentecost.

Evidently better information was sought ; therefore it was resolved to send the Christian introduction to the Bishops of Chur, Constance, and Basel, the University at Basel, and all the Confederates, with the request kindly to communicate their objections founded on the Holy Scriptures. After hearing them, the matter shall be taken up again in a half year, to determine what is pleasing to God and profitable to His word. In the same session of the Council a certain resolution was adopted, which had immense influence upon the future course of events. Hitherto the Lower Council alone transacted all business which concerned the clergy, received complaints against them, and determined punishments. Hereafter this business was brought before the Upper Council, whereby the reformed party gained a decided majority, while their opponents belonged principally to the Lower Council. Many of them were respected on account of their age and services and too much accustomed

to seek pensions or support from princes and lords for themselves or their children. This mania, destructive to the Fatherland still secretly lingered in Zürich.

The people of Zürich, earnestly meditating upon the extirpation of this state-poison, in order to deal with every one as free men, won the grandest victory over themselves and decreed the abolition of pensions. On the evening of St. Thomas's day, December 21st, Zwingli, who never lost sight of his object to deliver the Confederates from all injurious alliances with foreign princes, preached in the small cathedral earnestly and decidedly against pensions. Immediately after the sermon all the secular priests, canons, assistants, and chaplains of the city took an oath not to receive pensions either from the Pope, the Emperor, nor from kings, princes, and lords. The burgomaster and the Councils took a similar oath on the following day in the choir of the large cathedral. In the evening all priests were likewise assembled in the choir of the cathedral, and bound themselves by a like oath. Whoever transgressed forfeited his life. So the truth, which the great Reformer proclaimed, celebrated one victory after another.

It can easily be imagined that the work of the iconoclasts caused many an unpleasant scene. Although the images were more and more despised, yet the hour appointed for their removal had not yet come. Rashness in regard to them could not remain unpunished. The iconoclasts, headed by Hottinger, the shoemaker, had acted contrary to earnest mandates, and by their vehemence caused the government to be slandered. Shoemaker Hottinger was exiled for two years, and even then not allowed to return without being pardoned. Lorenz Hochruetiner, the weaver, was also compelled to leave the Canton of Zürich. Henry Ockenfuss was ar-

raigned before the two Councils and censured. All were required to pay the costs.

The images had lost their claims to respect. Ten years after it had happened, Thomas Platter artlessly relates how he, as the servant of the school-teacher Myconius, was required to kindle fire, and having no wood, sneaked into the church and took from the altar the image of the Evangelist St. John and threw it into the stove with the words: "Jæggli, now stoop; you must go into the stove, although you are said to be St. John." The image blazed up. Myconius, who did not know what had been done, praised his servant for the good fire, but became uneasy and apprehensive when he heard two priests quarrel and one harshly assail the other, "You Lutheran villain, you stole my John." Fortunately no one saw the young church robber; and it would have cost him his life had he not kept it a secret ten years. Others were not always deterred from similar attempts by Hottinger's punishment.

In St. Peter's Church the palm-mule was kept. Annually the butchers took it to the linden-yard on Palm Sunday. It was a little festival for them. It was incumbent on the common priest to treat them to cakes. In defiance of the butchers, or induced by the contempt for this annual procession, several malicious persons stole the keys of the church at twilight. With great difficulty the mule, adorned with the image of Christ, was taken out over the railing and into the churchyard to frighten those passing by, or otherwise create a disturbance. They accomplished their purpose, since the right persons came. Two citizens, armed according to the custom at that time, with side-arms, were the first to meet this monster. Quickly they drew their swords, attacked the mule, and stoned him, with-

out knowing against whom they were fighting. The inconsiderate jokers were near by to await the result. One of the citizens who fought against the mule thought he knew the enemy, and when he found the men together, promised them a drink if they would go with him and see whether it really was the palm-mule. They accompanied him. The proposition to throw the mule into the lake pleased them. He was dragged to the bank near by, cast into the water, and sunk with stones. Conrad Bauman had taken the keys. Henry Dachsman gave the advice to cast the mule into the sea. Both of them, together with five others, were imprisoned. The wise and prudent Council would not allow such mischief. The images' last hour had not yet come. No new images dared be made, and processions must be omitted.

One reform evidently followed another. They were willing to do what could no longer be prevented. The chapter of the canons was now so changed that divine services were held every morning in the choir of the cathedral, consisting of a prayer, the reading of a selection of the Holy Scriptures in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages, and the so-called matins in German for the congregation. Soon afterward, singing was also added. Village-schools flourished in the country, the farmers read the New Testament, which was translated into the German language by Zwingli and Leo Juda. The cloisters, at the request of their occupants, were used for the sick and the poor. The nuns and monks who laid aside the dress of their orders could remain. The peaceful, just, and decided procedure of the Council prevented all unpleasant scenes.

The work of the Lord prospered and showed plainly the wisdom and prudence with which Zwingli conducted the Reformation of the Church. The former discourses of the

mendicant friars, St. Jacob's brethren, hermits, and others, concerning the heights of heaven and the joys therein, the depths of hell and the torments therein, the souls in purgatory and indulgences, had lost their power, because the people fathomed the basis of such sermons. The preachers could not help themselves any longer with Seneca, Aristotle, and Scotus. Even the edicts of the Popes were futile. The people demanded proofs from the Holy Scriptures, and the doctrines of St. Paul were valued only so much the higher as his opponents undervalued him. In the homes of the people, in city and country, were to be found those books of the Old and the New Testaments which Zwingli had hitherto translated, to which were added those finished in 1530, so that at the end of this year many thousands possessed the whole Bible in Swiss-German, according to Zwingli's translation.

The houses of the country people were made Christian schools by the reading of the Holy Scriptures, and this pious custom in their native language rendered the Latin services unendurable. Zwingli's work had taken root, deeply and extensively.

In the year 1525 the Lord's Supper was celebrated for the first time in the manner offered by Zwingli, based upon the old churchly custom. It was Thursday in Passion-week. The great cathedral was not able to contain all who wished to commune in the new way. After the sermon, Zwingli with two deacons stepped to the altar, covered with a white cloth, which stood in the nave of the church. They stood behind it, Zwingli in the middle, facing the congregation. After a short prayer, during which the whole congregation knelt, one of the deacons read 1 Cor. 11 : 20-29, whereupon both, with the whole congregation said : " God be praised." Then Zwingli,

with the two deacons and the congregation repeated alternately the Gloria in Excelsis: "Glory be to God on high. And on earth peace. . . ." After the salutation: "The Lord be with you," to which the congregation responded, "And with thy spirit," one of the deacons read John 6: 47-53. After he had finished reading, he said: "God be thanked and praised for this, who will forgive us all our sins according to His Holy Word," closed the book and kissed it. The congregation answered solemnly, "Amen." Then, the deacons having repeated responsively the Apostles' Creed, Zwingli exhorted to self-examination, and the people kneeling repeated the Lord's Prayer. After the solemn Amen of the people, Zwingli prayed again, when, amid the breathless silence of the congregation, the words of the institution were repeated in a loud solemn voice, Zwingli held up the bread, brake it, and handed it to the two deacons, and then also held up the cup and presented it. The two deacons took the bread and the cup and carried them to the congregation still kneeling in the pews. Because there were so many people, and the golden vessels were not sufficient, they took wooden plates and wooden cups, as was often done in the early Christian Church. When all had received the consecrated bread and wine, while the last words of Jesus according to John 13, 14, 15, 16, were read from the pulpit, Zwingli offered a prayer of praise and thanksgiving, similar to the 103d Psalm, when the celebration was closed with a short exhortation and the benediction.

Indescribably great was the impression made by this first celebration according to the new mode. All were most deeply affected. Aged men and women, while receiving the bread and wine with thankful emotions, wept aloud. After the celebration many embraced each other

as redeemed brethren. People who had long been enemies extended their hands sincerely to one another ; a spirit of brotherly love as in the early Christian Church could be felt everywhere. Zwingli could not thank the Lord sufficiently for the rich blessing of this first celebration of the Lord's Supper. As in the city, so also in the country, the Lord's Supper was celebrated hereafter in the same manner.

Since this celebration three hundred and sixty years have passed away, yet the manner of the celebration remains substantially the same. The reforms which gradually prepared a path for themselves, in Zürich and in the country ; the growing conviction in the Council and among the people of the magnitude of the abuses and their necessary removal ; the hatred of the power and dissolute life of the priesthood, allowed no cessation in the onward movement. The innovations which had been introduced proved themselves to be so salutary beyond expectation that Zwingli immediately planned a Christian order of service in the Church, that the life of a Christian should agree as much as possible with his new confession. The ties which had bound the wardens, the clergy, and the people to the Pope and the Bishop of Constance were already as good as broken.

The Synod, which consisted of all the clergy and several members of the Great Council, took the place of the bishop. At the head of the Synod was an Antistes who through deans and elders administered order and had the oversight. In the congregation several pious, honorable men elected by the congregation were added to the pastor, who should take care of the congregation. They cared for the sacred observance of the Sabbath, besides which, as long as Zwingli lived, not only the

chief festival days, but also several other days, were celebrated. They were concerned for the sacredness of the marriage tie. If any one led an unchristian life, they cited him, and admonished him kindly and earnestly. But if he would not listen to them, and continued in his perverseness, they excluded him from the holy communion. If he transgressed those commandments of God which come within the sphere of the government, they informed the authorities, that wickedness might be punished in good time. Zwingli experienced the joy of being able to write concerning the church at Zürich: "The apostolic, true, holy Church of God has the real, pure doctrine, prayer, the breaking of bread, holy baptism, confession, repentance, amendment, and forgiveness of sins. This the church at Zürich has also. What the early Church considered to be necessary customs, those the Church at Zürich has too. Marriage she confirms in good order and with prayer to God. The saints are remembered with honor, whose love and faith are to be imitated. The dead are buried decently, but without observing ceremonies, which are not taken from the Word of God. Fasting and almsgiving, which were highly honored by the early Christians, have also in Zürich their honorable Christian order. The beloved youth are diligently instructed in the fundamental doctrines of the true Christian religion. That it has no external ornaments of gold and silver, pictures, carved and engraved images, is owing to the fact that the early Church did not have them, and even rejected them. Therefore the Church at Zürich laid aside the ceremonies and returned to ancient simplicity. God will be honored not with outward show, but with faith, love, innocency of spirit, and in truth. To Him be praise and honor through Jesus Christ forever. Amen."

Thus we see the glorious results of the two discussions at Zürich reaching their highest point in 1525 : the improvement in doctrine and faith, as it was already called in Zwingli's time, is in substance finished. The onward course of the great Reformer was systematic, tranquil, but firm and decided. He followed his conscious aim with steady consistency, only step by step, sparing the consciences of the weak and the strong, because he wished not to tear down, but build up. He was perfectly successful in introducing and grounding the reformation of the Church and of the Fatherland by an uninterrupted vindication of the divine authority of the Holy Scriptures. The glorious results of his labors in the short period of about six years were : A German sermon as the centre of every divine service ; Baptism and the Lord's Supper according to the command of the Holy Gospel ; instruction of the youth and examination before their first communion ; morning and afternoon services on Sunday, with singing, prayer, reading a selection of the Holy Scriptures, and a sermon ; weekly meetings to study the Bible instead of matins and vespers ; a daily biblical discourse, with the exception of Friday, in the chapter-house ; mass and choir singing are silent ; synods, classes, etc., instead of the supervision of the bishop ; the deliverance of the Fatherland from the dreadful plague of receiving pensions from popes and princes ; the great corruption of morals among all classes powerfully restricted ; a prosperous theological seminary for Christian young men, according to his plan and under his guidance, having as teachers, Ceperin, Pellican, Myconius, Collin, Megander, and others. His friends in his own country justly named him "the trumpet of the Gospel." In Southern Germany he was called "the eye and true bishop of the Fatherland." Even in papal Italy he

labored, by pamphlets and letters, for the pure Gospel, while his scholars transformed entire churches. The Reformer of the Grand Duchy of Hesse had been his scholar; also Lasko, the Reformer of East Frisia. The Evangelical Church of Italy, the Waldenses, accepted his doctrine. To the people of Muehlhausen he could write: "God, who watches our conflict, rules over all countries. He will not overlook you, who contend for His name's sake; He will, when the time has come, regard also your enemies and put them to flight. God increase your faith."

CHAPTER XVI.

ZWINGLI'S STANDPOINT OVER AGAINST LUTHER.

AT the early age of twenty-two years Zwingli was honored by learned and experienced men of science far and wide "as a perfect expounder of the Scriptures." His scientific knowledge bordered on the marvellous, and caused in his Fatherland the greater surprise, since he never used the title of Doctor of Divinity which the University at Basel had bestowed upon him on account of his great knowledge. His constant communion with God, who since the days of his childhood had become his staff and support in happy and sorrowful hours, and continued to be until death, did not allow him to use such honors and dignities to increase his reputation. "One is our Master, Christ," he was generally accustomed to say to those who advised a public use of the justly merited title of honor.

It must have been very painful to Zwingli that Luther, without knowing him, was accustomed to reproach him verbally and in writing that he (Zwingli) was a mere repeater of his (Luther's) doctrine. This grieved Zwingli, who was otherwise modest, not because his deserved renown was thereby diminished, but because this calumny, which was spread among the people to ruin his great reputation in Switzerland and in Germany, weakened a strong proof of the truth of their common doctrine, that two men, so widely separated, standing in no connection, even unknown to each other by name,

taught as harmoniously as if they had agreed upon it. "I commenced to preach the Gospel of Christ in 1516, before a single person in our country knew anything of Luther's name. When Luther's exposition of the Lord's Prayer was issued, and I shortly before had preached on this prayer in Matthew, many good people who found my thoughts everywhere in it could not be dissuaded from the opinion that I was the author of the little book, and had prefixed Luther's name because I was afraid to own my work. Who could reproach me with being a Lutheran? Why did the Roman cardinals and legates, who then lived in our city, Zürich, not accuse me of being a Lutheran until they had declared Luther a heretic, although that did not make him a heretic. After that they said that I was a Lutheran. Luther's name was not known to me for two years after I had adhered only to the Bible. But it is only through craftiness that papists give me and others this name. If they say, You must certainly be a Lutheran; you preach as Luther writes, my answer is, 'I preach also as Paul writes; why do you not rather call me a Paulinian? Yes, I preach the Word of Christ; why do you not rather call me a Christian?' Therefore this is only a trick. In my opinion, Luther is an excellent champion of God. What does it concern me that the papists accuse me and him of being heretics? In the manly spirit with which he attacked the Pope of Rome, none has equalled him. But whose is the deed—God's, or Luther's? Ask Luther himself; he will certainly tell you it is God's doings. Why do you ascribe the doctrines of other persons to Luther, when he himself ascribes them to God, and produces nothing but what is contained in the Word of God? Nevertheless, I will not bear Luther's name, because I have read little of his doctrine, and carefully

avoided his books, only to satisfy the papists. What I have read of his writings, so far as it concerns the doctrines and opinions of Scripture, is generally well examined. I know also that in several things he concedes much to the weak ; for instance, in his little book concerning the ten lepers (as I have been told, for I have not read it), he concedes something to confession, that you shall present yourself to the priest, which cannot be drawn from this narrative of the Evangelist. Devout Christians do not allow the honorable name of Christ to be exchanged for the name of Luther ; for Luther did not die for us. Does Luther preach Christ ? he does what I do ; although, God be praised ! by him a greater number will be led to God, since God makes the measure greater or smaller, as He pleases. I will bear no name but that of my captain, Jesus Christ, whose soldier I am. No one respects Luther more highly than I do. But I testify before God and men that I never wrote a syllable to him, nor caused one to be written, nor he to me. I refrained from this, not that I feared any one, but because I wished to show all men how uniform the Spirit of God is, since we who are so widely separated are so harmonious without any consultation."

Before the ban pronounced against Luther, June 15th, 1520, was published, Zwingli, hearing that the letter of excommunication had been despatched, resolved to go to his friend, William de Falconibus, the secretary of the legate Ennius, who in the absence of the legate managed the affairs of the Roman Court, and remonstrate against the publication of the papal edict of excommunication. In this connection the fact is worthy of mention that Zwingli, in a letter to Myconius, already expressed a presentiment of his violent death, which happened eleven years later, and stated that he would shortly in-

tercede in behalf of Luther. "As for me, a victim devoted to death, I expect only evil from all, clergy and laymen, and beg of Christ only the grace to hear all with manly courage, and that He, according to His good pleasure, destroy or preserve his vessel. And if the anathema falls upon me, I will remember the holy Hilarious, who was exiled from Gaul to Africa, and Pope Lucius, who was expelled, but reinstated with great honor. True, I do not consider myself equal to them, but the wholly undeserved fate of these excellent men will comfort me. Yea, I will rejoice to suffer ignominy for the sake of Christ. But let him that standeth take heed lest he fall."

Since Zwingli's generous intercession for Luther was in vain, he sought by other means to prevent the Pope's thunder of excommunication against him. He issued a pamphlet, without prefixing the name of the author, the place of publication, or publisher (which was Zwingli's first printed pamphlet, and deserves to be mentioned on this account, but more for its contents), which shows the author's great wisdom, love of peace, impartiality, and love of truth. This beautiful proof of faith closes thus: "I desire that evangelical truth may triumph, and all things subserve the honor of Christ." The secret of its authorship was so well preserved that Zwingli's name was not mentioned then nor since, and the pamphlet appears to have been quite forgotten. But alas, with this pamphlet Zwingli did not succeed in convincing the Pope of his error. Yet this noble deed which Zwingli performed in behalf of Luther, who knew nothing about it, is narrated from generation to generation. May the Church which Zwingli founded never lose his spirit!

CHAPTER XVII.

ATTEMPTS AT MURDER.

As early as 1520 Zwingli was visited by friendly, honorable citizens, who inquired whether the doors of his dwelling were secured by strong fastenings. Receiving an affirmative answer, they remarked: "Then be watchful to-night. Your friends will also be on the watch; but they might arrive too late. If attacked, hold out at least a little while."

"Such evenings," relates George Stäheli, "we passed many. Yet we had the support of good friends, who often stood guard about the house at night. Many a time we surely expected to be attacked. But we were well prepared. At one time we received a letter from an unknown person at a distance, so that we greatly marvelled and regarded it as a manifest dispensation of Providence. On the following day I chanced to pass over the upper bridge on my way to church. Here I met a chaplain, who invited me to a walk about the moat of the city walls. He besought me most earnestly to remove my effects from Zwingli's residence, and also to leave it myself. Should I refuse to heed this warning, I would repent of it hereafter, for something great was about to happen. Then he read to me an extract from a letter: 'Let Zwingli take good care from whom he purchases bread and meat.' From this I perceived that the chaplain had heard of the attempt against which the first-named letter had warned us, and that this information

had been sent to Constance. But I did not pursue the matter any farther." More light is thrown upon this occurrence by an anonymous communication, which, as it afterward appeared, was written by Michael Hummelberg, and by its date determines the year to have been 1522. It is apparently the same letter to which Stäheli refers, and it seemed to him of necessity to have been a providential means of saving Zwingli, since the writer, by reason of his youthful timidity, had been hitherto restrained from honoring Zwingli and beseeching his friendship; but now, for the first time, he would do so, because his heart impelled him to warn the Reformer. And thus he writes :

“ If you (Zwingli) ever cared for your life, you must do it especially at this time, because you are menaced by secret traps and snares. Deadly poison is prepared to put you out of the way. Since the godless fellows dare not attack you openly, they desire to remove you from the earth as they did Claudius Cæsar, by secretly mixing a poisonous mushroom with your food. Therefore, be on your guard. If you are hungry, eat at home of the food that your own cook has prepared, for outside of your own house you can nowhere eat without danger. There are people living within the walls of Zürich who would do everything in their power to destroy you. Take care, dearest Ulrich, beloved of God, take the best care of yourself; and again I say, beware of these murderous eunuchs, and believe me that all victuals not prepared in your own house are poisoned; for you are nowhere safe; danger threatens you from every side. And now as to the sources whence I have derived this knowledge, and as to the oracle that has revealed it to me, it is not necessary for you to know; it speaks more truly than did the oracle of Delphos. Yet its priest

dare not publicly reveal it. Your plain understanding will naturally lead you to suspect whence that comes which I have not been willing to conceal from you, because of the regard and the fraternal love I entertain for you. In great haste from Swabia. Whoever I am, I am yours. You will learn to know me in due course of time."

A letter similar to the above was also received from Constance. Zwingli referred the matter to the Council of Zürich, which body immediately applied to the authorities of the former city for an investigation. But the conspirators were never discovered. Myconius relates: "Not an hour passed but that priests and laymen concocted conspiracies of the worst kind against this defender of virtue and truth." And again he narrates: "When priests and monks had been overthrown and the resolution of the legislative Grand Council (of Zürich) had been enforced against the pensioners, recourse was had to intrigues to do away, if possible, with this hated man. I pass over those conspiracies that remained concealed to the world, but which I shall never forget; I will mention only those that are well known. At one time a person called at midnight at Zwingli's residence to call him to the bed of a dying man. Zwingli's vicar replied that his master, fatigued by the labors of the day, could not be aroused at this time, and offered to go in his stead. The caller would not accept of this, and by reason of his obstinate refusal excited the suspicion of a secret conspiracy. Under the pretext of informing Zwingli, the vicar locked the doors, leaving the inquirer standing on the outside. On the following morning it was reported that it was intended to gag Zwingli, place him in a boat, and thus secretly abduct him. A few weeks later a horse was held in readiness with a similar

aim in view. Still later there was seen openly walking about the city of Zürich an assassin—reported to have been a native of Zug—who intended to slay Zwingli in the streets. He was betrayed, apprehended, but escaped from confinement. Two natives of Zürich, whose names I conceal, attacked Zwingli's house by night, demolished the windows with stones, and by their cursing and stone-throwing occasioned such a fearful, scandalous, and inhuman noise that the neighbors did not dare open their windows. Nor did they cease their tumult until their supply of stones, voice, and strength had been exhausted. Complaint was made to the burgomaster of the city. In the morning the gates were locked. Armed men vainly sought the disturbers of the peace in every corner of the city. At last some women, through their loquacity, betrayed one of the offenders; the other had fled. The former was pulled out of the wine-barrel of a certain priest and carried to jail. After long-continued deliberations he was condemned to imprisonment for life, but in the course of a few weeks he was released from jail, at the request of the authorities of Berne. Zwingli often of an evening supped at the house of a trusty friend, or at an inn. On his return home he was nearly always accompanied by trustworthy citizens, in order that no evil might befall him. And the Council of the city ordered his house to be guarded at night during these dangerous times.”

Another attempt to murder Zwingli is mentioned by Jodocus Kilchmeier, of Luzerne, in a letter to Zwingli, written the same year, 1522: “It is reported that, not long ago, two monks, pretending to interrogate you concerning certain religious questions, demanded very boisterously that you should visit Luzerne. Your readiness to serve everybody inclined you to promise it, but your

vicar is said to have reminded you that you ought not, especially at night, to leave your dwelling at the importunate demand of every one ; but that he would first reconnoitre, so that you might not, during these troublous times, fall into any life-imperilling snare. You are reported to have followed this advice, and to have remained at home. As soon as your vicar left the house he was seized, under the impression that it was yourself (Zwingli), and, threatened with death, carried off. But his voice betrayed him, and perceiving their error, his assailants hurriedly fled, in order not to be apprehended, and thus themselves to fall into the pit prepared for you.''

Since the time of the two disputations of Zürich, the friends of the Reformation in Switzerland looked more than ever to this city for support, so beneficial were the results of these conferences. Yet, on the other hand, the more energetically did the enemies of the cause labor, and but awaited the secret alliances which were being formed among the Swiss Confederates. In some way Zwingli must be removed ; until this were accomplished they would not rest content. To this end another disputation should be held, yet not indeed at any place friendly to the cause of the Reformation, but rather in some purely Roman Catholic city, in order that their end might be gained. The general vicar of the Bishop of Constance, John Faber, and the notorious Dr. Eck, a valiant defender of the Pope, Archduke Ferdinand of Austria, as well as the higher clergy, labored to create among the people a desire for a public disputation concerning the doctrines as held by the Roman Church. Zwingli and the Council of Zürich, to whom the murderous designs as connected with this proposed disputation were unknown, were at first greatly inclined to favor this plan. Indeed the Council sent Dr. Eck a letter of

safe-conduct, and invited him in a very friendly manner to choose Zürich as the place of disputation. But since the murderous plans of Faber and Eck could not well have succeeded in the Reformed city of Zürich, Eck declined the extended invitation, well knowing that the Swiss Diet would appoint the papal city of Baden, in Aargau, as the place of meeting. Accordingly the Swiss Diet, which well knew that the five Roman Catholic cantons—Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Zug, and Luzerne—held the controlling influence in Baden, to the astonishment of all Switzerland, appointed the disputation to take place on the 16th of May, 1526, at Baden, in Aargau, where long before this Zwingli's teachings had been persecuted by fire and sword! In Luzerne, before this conference was held, pictures of Zwingli were burned. In Freiburg his writings were destroyed by fire. Everywhere within the jurisdiction of the canton to which Baden belonged it was publicly declared that Zwingli would be arrested should he set foot upon the territory. One of their prominent leaders, named Ueberlinger, boasted that he would be willing to be called a hangman the remainder of his days could he but have the wished-for opportunity of hanging Zwingli!

All this reached the ears of Zwingli and of the Council of Zürich in due time. From different quarters faithful warnings were received. Dr. Eck, who for many years had made the extermination of heretics with fire and sword the subject of public and private addresses, sent Zwingli a letter of safe-conduct, but which was so cunningly worded that Zwingli could have been lawfully arrested upon his arrival in Baden. For a clause in this letter declared that protection should only then be afforded him if he were found worthy of it! No doubt the confession of evangelical truth would have

been regarded as unworthy behavior, and—Zwingli would have been put to death. In fact, bloody sacrifices already proclaimed the fate that awaited Zwingli should he appear in Baden! A consistory, with Faber at the head, a week before the appointed disputation, condemned an evangelical minister, named John Hügler, to be executed as a heretic. On his way to the place of execution he sang the first verse of one of Luther's hymns :

“ Lord God, thy praise we sing ; Lord God, our thanks we bring ;
Father in eternity, all the world worships Thee.
Angels all and heavenly host of thy glory loudly boast ;
Both cherubim and seraphim sing ever with loud voice this hymn :
Holy art thou, our God, the Lord of Sabaoth.”

Peter Sprugler, pastor at Freiburg, was drowned at the command of the Bishop of Constance. Everywhere murmurings were heard : Zwingli would be seized and carried off should he appear in Baden. Upon hearing such reports Zwingli arose in the Council of Zürich and said : “ Ye know how the brave men of Stammheim were treated in Baden, and how their blood flowed upon the scaffold. To this place of execution they invite us to assemble. Let them choose Zürich, Berne, St. Gall, Basel, Constance, or Schaffhausen ! Let none but important questions be discussed ; let nothing but the Word of God be acknowledged as the supreme judicatory ; and then I will be inclined to appear at the disputation.” The Council thereupon decided that Zwingli should not go to Baden, and thus the cunningly devised plan of Zwingli's assassination was brought to naught.

The opening of the appointed disputation was deferred until the 21st of May, when, it being Whitsunday, it was opened with great pomp and splendor. During the disputation messengers informed Zwingli of its prog-

ress, and the representatives of the cause of the Reformation were enabled to give a good account of their faith and mightily to refute the errors of the enemy. Zwingli's teachings triumphed. Schaffhausen, Basel, Berne, St. Gall, and Appenzell received the new doctrines with favor. In vain did Thomas Murner, monk at Luzerne, prepare himself solemnly to declare Zwingli the heretic to be a conquered perjurer, liar, adulterer, unbeliever, thief, etc. ; in vain did he picture him as already hanging upon the gallows ! The whole progress of the conference plainly showed that the Roman Catholics had prepared to celebrate a great victory. But in this they were disappointed. This the papal party perceived, and indulged their wrath in verbal and written denunciations ; and since they could not apprehend Zwingli, they excluded Zürich, Basel, and St. Gall from the confederation.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE MARBURG CONFERENCE.

AT the Diet of Spire, on the 19th of April, 1529, the fundamental doctrines of Protestantism received a definite form and a final acknowledgment. This victory of the Word of God, which alone was at stake, excited the Roman Catholic party to devise some counter movement to overthrow Protestantism. An alliance among all Protestants seemed to be necessary, and would have been accomplished but for the opposition of Luther. Philip of Hesse was greatly annoyed at this, and said: "On account of the Zwinglians, no union is desired by some; let us then remove the differences between the two parties." Such an alliance seemed to be indispensable to the growth of Protestantism. "It is necessary," writes Landgrave Philip, of Hesse, in the year 1529, to the Elector John, of Saxony, "that we do not permit ourselves to be so shamefully divided, although our learned theologians are not agreed upon some points that are either unimportant or else debatable, and upon which our faith and salvation do not depend." In these beautiful words the noble Landgrave pointed out the way which he was inclined to pursue in the reformatory regeneration of his principality. It was owing to him that, at the imperial Diet of Spire, all the cities which were friends and adherents of Zwingli were not sacrificed to the demands of the Roman Catholic majority.

Moreover, since at that time the civil polity was under

the control of the prevailing theology, there was but one course for the Landgrave of Hesse to pursue : to effect a reconciliation by bringing together the Lutheran and the Reformed representatives. If existing circumstances had not been so unfavorable, Landgrave Philip would have appointed a meeting for the year 1528, but he postponed it until 1529. Melanchthon had already been won over to Philip's views to such an extent that he declared the differences between the two churches to be of no great consequence. This encouraged the Landgrave, who now turned to Zwingli and requested him to accept the invitation to a mutual conference with the Lutheran party. Zwingli, whose heart longed for peace between the churches, thanked the Landgrave for his exertions on behalf of the Church's welfare, and promised to come. Luther did not favor the conference, nor was Melanchthon much inclined to go. But since the Elector of Saxony desired them to attend, they consented and went, sending him the following declaration : " If the Swiss do not yield, then all your trouble is in vain."

Zwingli, on the other hand, would not avoid a discussion concerning the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. He desired to see and to meet Luther. And the progress of the disputation showed that he was well furnished with arguments out of the Holy Scriptures, well-grounded in dogmatic theology, and well acquainted with the writings of the old Church fathers. He was never at loss for an answer. He stood completely upon the immovable foundation of the Divine Word.

Zwingli sought permission from the Council of Zürich to undertake the journey to Marburg. " I am convinced," said he, " when we doctors shall meet, the light of truth will enlighten our eyes." But the Council would not give its consent, for it did not wish to see its

beloved pastor go on so remote a journey. Zwingli, however, who had entertained great expectations from the results of this conference in the interests of the peace of the Church, could not and would not remain at home. Fastening his gaze upon the spiritual welfare of all Christendom, he lifted up his eyes, filled with scalding tears, and prayed: "O God, Thou that hast never forsaken me, Thy will be done, to Thine own honor and glory." He then prepared himself for the journey. But because of his enemies, who still sought his ruin, he was obliged to keep his departure a secret. Not even his wife knew whither he was going. Rudolph Collin, professor of the Greek language, accompanied him. On the night of the 31st of August they mounted their horses and set out for Basel. When his enemies heard of his departure they rejoiced. Some said the devil had visited him and carried him off. Others said that he left the city in company with several rogues. To the Councils of the city he wrote: "If I depart without notifying you beforehand, this will happen not because I do not respect and honor you, but because I know your love to me, and that your concern on my account would hinder my departure."

On Tuesday, September 6th, Zwingli, accompanied by Oekolampad and other friends of the Reformation, left Basel on board of a boat, descended the Rhine and reached Strassburg in thirteen hours. Here they sojourned at the house of the dean of the cathedral, Pastor Matthias Zell, whose wife, after attending to their wants, seated herself at the feet of the two Reformers, to hear the Word of Salvation. Zwingli found her to be so intelligent a woman that he ranked her higher than many of the learned doctors.

From Strassburg Zwingli and Oekolampad continued

their journey in all quietness, accompanied by forty Hessian horsemen, and reached Marburg on Wednesday, September 29th. The next day Luther arrived. In order that the Reformers might become more intimately acquainted with one another, the Landgrave had arranged that Luther and Oekolampad, Zwingli and Melancthon, should hold a private conference concerning the questions in controversy before beginning the public discussion. Accordingly on the 1st of October, after the morning service had been held, these four men met in pairs and conferred in separate rooms. After the lapse of three hours they were called to dinner. That finished, Zwingli and Melancthon continued their conference, but not Luther and Oekolampad. The latter complained of the treatment he had received from Luther, and entertained no hope of union because of this.

Zwingli demanded that the conference should be open to every one. Luther opposed this, and would not consent to the presence of representatives from Frankfort, Strassburg, Basel, and from other Swiss cities, as well as from the Rhine region. As Zwingli relates, there were but twenty-four persons present. On Saturday, the 2d of October, at six o'clock in the morning, the conference was opened in the great hall of the Knights of the Castle, at Marburg. The Hessian Chancellor, Feige, opened and conducted the proceedings, and in the name of the Landgrave reminded every one again "to seek every possible way and means through which this burdensome and injurious division may be speedily ended, and they all brought together again to steadfast unity." Luther was not altogether inclined to comply with this wish, and in reply to the above reminder he wrote with chalk, in large letters, upon the table at which he, Melancthon, Zwingli, and Oekolampad were seated, these words:

“This is my body.” All were astonished at this action.

The Hessian chancellor once more requested all present not to overlook the wish of the Landgrave. But Luther replied: “I solemnly declare that I differ from my opponents on the doctrine of the Lord’s Supper, and that I will continue to differ!” And to this declaration he practically adhered. Before touching upon the Lord’s Supper, Luther sought to include all the other Christian doctrines within the range of the discussion; but Zwingli insisted that the conference should be confined to the doctrine concerning the Holy Sacrament. Luther then began the discussion by declaring that it was necessary to abide by the very letter of the words of institution. Oekolampad replied that it would be impossible to receive all the declarations of Christ literally; thus, for example: “I am the true vine, and my father is the husbandman,” “I am the door of the sheep,” “John is Elias,” “The seven good- and the seven ill-favored kine are each seven years,” “Christ is the rock,” “This is my body.” Luther conceded that many passages of Scripture are to be taken spiritually, but not so the passage touching the Lord’s Supper. Oekolampad reminded him of John 6: 63: “It is the Spirit that quickeneth: the flesh profiteth nothing,” and added: “What Christ here rejects he cannot approve in the Holy Sacrament.” Luther refused to continue the consideration of this passage, pointed to his chalk writing, and maintained that when God speaks man must believe and not criticise. Oekolampad desired to know, since man received a spiritual benefit by partaking of the Lord’s Supper, what further special benefit the oral reception would impart? Luther declined a direct answer, but replied: “If God should command me to eat dung,

I would do it ; it would certainly be wholesome to me ! We must believe, and do it. We must do it.''

At this point Zwingli took up the discussion with Luther, and emphasized the statement that Scripture must be explained by Scripture, and hence Christ's words of institution of the Sacrament must be interpreted according to John 6 : 63. Luther again pointed to his writing, and simply said : "This is my body." Zwingli enjoined him to cease repeating this same remark. Landgrave Philip, perceiving that his attempts at union were in danger, intimated his approval of Zwingli's explanation. The whole party then proceeded to dinner.

At the afternoon session Zwingli read Luther's and Melanchthon's published spiritual interpretation of John 6 : 63, to show that both agreed with him in teaching a spiritual reception or benefit. Straightway Luther and Melanchthon disavowed this explanation, and maintained : "As soon as the words of institution have been spoken, the body is present, no matter how bad the priest may be that utters the words." It was evening, and the conference adjourned—without result.

On the following day, Sunday, October 3d, the discussion was resumed at the point where it was broken off on the previous day. Zwingli called upon Luther to prove how a body could be in different places at the same time, for the latter had made this statement. Luther continued to repeat : "This is my body." Zwingli grew weary of this repetition. He had sought to prove the spiritual benefit of the Sacrament, according to exegetical rules, from the scriptures, and from Natural Philosophy. He now adduced the Church fathers in evidence. He quoted the declarations of Fulgentius about the natures of Christ ; then also a citation from Augustine. Luther responded : "The

body of Christ is present in the Lord's Supper, but not as in a place," *i.e.* locally. It was now noon. Oekolampad summed up the result of the morning's conference, claiming that, if the body of Christ were not locally present in the Sacrament, then it is not a real body, and that thus Luther had refuted his own previous statements.

After dinner the conference was continued. Oekolampad began the discussion with the remark that, since Luther had conceded that the body of Christ is not locally present in the Sacrament, they would now in all kindness proceed to investigate the manner of the presence of Christ's body. To this Luther replied: "You will not drive me a step further. If you have Fulgentius and Augustine with you, then we have all the other Church fathers with us." Luther was asked to name them. "We shall not name them," was his reply; and, lifting the table-cover, he pointed to his writing and exclaimed: "Behold, thus reads the passage; you have not driven us from it, as you have boasted; we care nothing for other evidence." It was in vain to continue the conference; the discussion was at an end. The frightened chancellor implored them to come to an agreement before separating. Luther replied: "I know of but one means to secure this: let our opponents believe as we believe." "That we cannot do," returned Oekolampad. "Then I will leave you to the judgment of God, and pray that He may enlighten you," responded Luther. "We shall do likewise," answered Oekolampad. During this time Zwingli stood silent, deeply moved, and shed tears in the presence of all. Landgrave Philip accepted the teachings of Zwingli. At the close of the conference he desired that they should recognize one another as brethren. Thereupon

Zwingli, bathed in tears, extended to Luther the hand of peace. To the surprise of every one, Luther refused to accept the proffered hand, remarking : “ You have a different spirit.” “ We are conscious of having acted from pure motives ; posterity will testify to this,” replied the Swiss representatives. On the 5th of October they left Marburg. Luther also returned home.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE FIRST WAR OF KAPPEL.

THE cause of the Reformation now controlled the cantons of Zürich, Berne, Basel, St. Gall, Schaffhausen, Glarus, Appenzell, and the free districts. These formed an alliance, to the chagrin of the Pope, the bishops, and the Roman Catholic element of the population. In fact, the Roman Catholic party now exerted itself to the utmost to suppress the Gospel in the territory under their jurisdiction. The Bishop of Constance issued a pastoral letter enjoining them to remain good Catholics, and to defend themselves bravely, otherwise all Switzerland would soon become Reformed. On the other hand, the Reformed cantons were all the more zealous on behalf of the Evangelical cause. Canton Zürich, alternately with the five Roman Catholic cantons of Zug, Uri, Schwyz and Luzerne, administered the government for a period of two years in Thurgau and in the valley of the Rhine. Under the Reformed governors appointed by Zürich these districts enjoyed the free exercise of religion, whereas under the Roman Catholic governors they were badly oppressed. Thus, under Joseph am Berg, of Schwyz, and Jacob Strack, of Zug, the Reformed allies were greatly abused. They were fined, imprisoned, and tortured. One of the Reformed preachers had his tongue cut off, some were beheaded, and others burned at the stake. All copies of the Bible, wherever found, were thrown into the fire. In the old treaties, concluded before the Reforma-

tion, no mention was made of religion. Hence the people of Zürich demanded that the civil governors should discharge the functions of the secular government, but should not concern themselves about matters of religious belief. The Catholics maintained, on the other hand, that during the two years of their administration they could do as they pleased. Hence dangerous controversies ensued which must lead to war. Fraternal hatred was carried so far that the four forest cantons completely ignored the battles of Murten, Laupen, Morgarten, Sempach, Näfels, etc., in forming an alliance with their ancient enemies, the Austrians, who were defeated in the above-named battles and thereby expelled from Switzerland. Even the imperial party were astounded at this act, which was regarded by some as infamous treason to the Fatherland. Universal sorrow filled the land. The Reformed assembled in Zürich and sent ambassadors to the Catholic cantons offering reconciliation. But they were everywhere badly received, especially in Unterwalden, and returned to Zürich. The treaty with Austria contained this clause: "Whoever originates new sects shall be punished by death. If it be necessary, Austria will assist in executing the law." Carried away by this condition of the treaty, the people of the four forest cantons wantonly broke the Federal peace.

On the 22d of May, 1529, Pastor Jacob Kaiser went to Oberkirchen, intending to preach. In passing through a forest he was beset by six Roman Catholics, dragged away to Schwyz, and on the 26th of May condemned to death at the stake. In vain did Zürich and Glarus interpose on his behalf. He died the death of a martyr, joyfully confessing his Lord at the stake. That was the signal to a premeditated war, which soon broke out. A cry of anger rang out through all Switzerland. Zwin-

gli foresaw that peace could no longer be maintained. He regarded it to be an imperative duty to put an end to the uncertain condition of affairs on account of which so many innocent persons were obliged to suffer. Hence he declared himself publicly in Zürich, and also wrote to his friends in Berne: "The existing peace which many continue to favor is really war; the war that I desire is peace. There is no security for the truth, nor any safety for its confessors, unless the very pillars of tyrannical government are overthrown. Undoubtedly we are called upon to trust in God alone, but we are also called upon to defend our righteous cause, and, like Gideon and Joshua, pour out our blood for God and Fatherland."

Upon Zwingli lay the burden of the welfare of Church and Fatherland. His highest aim was to secure the freedom of the preaching of the Gospel throughout all Switzerland. A few days after the death of Pastor Kaiser throngs of refugees arrived in Zürich from the oppressed districts. Canton Unterwalden, supported by Austria, had declared war against the free provinces and despatched an armed force against them under the command of Ahaber, of Unterwalden. Whereupon Canton Zürich declared war against Schwyz. In this declaration of war the following causes were assigned: That the Reformed had been persecuted without right or reason; that the Confederate treaties of peace were no longer respected; and that Pastor Kaiser had been burned at the stake. A force of 500 men with four guns was sent from Zürich to meet Ahaber at Bremgarten, and to protect the free provinces in their religious liberties. Zürich's banner waved over cloister Muri. The war had begun. Roman Catholics confronted Reformed in battle array.

A force of 600 men from Zürich marched upon Rapperschwyl, and another of 400, commanded by Captain George Berger, and accompanied by Chaplain Conrad Schmidt, of Küssnacht, advanced upon Kappel. Upon this Zwingli declared: "Since my brethren risk their own lives in the conflict, I shall not remain seated alone at the hearthstone;" and, seizing his halberd he mounted his horse and rode to the seat of war. Zürich appealed to Berne for assistance. But envy at Zürich's growing influence inspired this reply: "Alone ye began the conflict; see ye to it how ye shall end it." The Roman Catholics, on the contrary, proceeded differently. As soon as Canton Zug issued its appeal for assistance, Schwyz, Luzerne, Uri, and Unterwalden responded and hastened to extend the required aid. The army of Zürich, about 1000 strong, stood in battle array before Zug. A messenger was sent to the army of the latter to notify them that they (Zürich) were ready for the conflict. But the forces of Zug were dismayed because they were not yet ready for battle. By subterfuge Zug sought to gain time in order to strengthen its forces. A messenger is sent to Kappel. The army of Zürich is on the point of advancing into the territory of Zug. At that moment they behold a horseman riding in great haste from the direction of Baar. It was Aebli, the chief magistrate of Glarus. He had returned to ask for a truce, with a view to peace negotiations, on behalf of his own enemies! The latter had impressed him with their expressed sorrow at the prospect of bloodshed when there was really nothing in the way to hinder their living together in peace. The kind-hearted Aebli did not perceive that their object was to gain time to secure reinforcements. But his intercession for the enemy met with a favorable response. Zwingli, however, penetrated

their designs, and in the presence of the officers of the army said to Aebli : " Father Magistrate, God will call you to account for this proposed intercession. Our enemies are in a dilemma, hence they favor us with kind words. A little later on, when they are fully prepared, they will suddenly surprise us with an attack, and then no one will intercede for them." To this Aebli replied : " Dear Father, I trust in God that all will go well. Let us do our best." Saying this he rode away, and the attack upon the enemy did not take place. The army of Zürich encamped close to the outposts of the five forest cantons. But Zwingli was filled with forebodings. Seated in his tent, in fear and silence, he momentarily expected danger. " In moments of real danger Zwingli was certainly fearless, but he had a horror of shedding blood, even that of his deadliest enemy. His heart was alone concerned about the liberty of his Fatherland, the virtues of our fathers, and the honor of Christ. I speak the truth as in God's presence." Thus intimately was Myconius acquainted with his beloved Zwingli.

In the mean while Canton Berne offered to raise 5000 men to chastise Zürich in case of necessity ! The Swiss Diet was assembled in Aarau. This was the swift message that Aebli carried from the Council at Zürich to the army in the field. Zwingli's fears were being realized. Yet he comforted both himself and the army when he said : " Our future destiny depends upon our courage."

While the hostile forces thus confronted each other, Zürich, Thurgau, and St. Gall on the one side, Zug and Vallis on the other, a scene transpired between the outposts of the two armies which recalled the glory of ancient Switzerland, worthy to be remembered forever. A few hungry soldiers of the army of Zug were captured

by the forces of Zürich, and after being well supplied with provisions they were sent back with the fraternal assurance that they were associates and brothers of a common Fatherland. At another time the Catholic outposts placed a pail of milk outside of the line, and cried out to the Reformed: "We have milk, but no bread." Thereupon the men of Zürich brought the needed bread to their enemies, who crumbled it into the milk, and joyfully ate it, although the Catholics had been ordered by their priests never to eat with heretics.

The Swiss Diet adjourned from Aarau to Steinhausen, a Catholic village in the vicinity of both armies, and resolved that the claims of both parties should be heard. Zürich demanded that the Word of God might be preached without hindrance in the entire Confederacy, yet that no one should be compelled to renounce the mass, nor even pictures. Also that no one should be permitted to enter the military service of the Pope, the Emperor, or the King of France, or of any other foreign potentate. And finally that Canton Schwyz should be obliged to pay the sum of one thousand florins to the children of the martyred Pastor Kaiser. At the same time Zwingli admonished the Council of Zürich to conclude naught but an honorable peace. But such a peace was only then attainable when it would be impossible for foreign princes, by the use of money, to buy up men all over Switzerland.

On the 26th of June, 1529, the treaty of peace was signed. The principal feature or condition of the treaty was this: That neither party should attack the other because of any article of religion, and that the districts hitherto under the common government of both parties might decide by a majority vote for or against the Reformation. The forest cantons were called upon to give

up their alliance with Austria, and to surrender the written documents containing the terms of the said treaty. Canton Berne added the proviso that if these writings were not immediately surrendered they would be sent for! Early in the morning of the 26th of June the documents arrived, and were read in the presence of the assembled forces.

In concluding this treaty of peace between the contending parties Zwingli's warning voice was not heeded. His heart was uneasy over the result. And indeed it was a worthless peace. It lasted but two years three months and fourteen days. Full of gloomy thoughts, he looked forward into the future. He was conscious of having done his duty before God and man in having warned his Fatherland in the hour of danger. Before leaving Kappel and the glorious mountain scenery of Albis, he composed a hymn, which was afterward sung on the battle-fields of Switzerland, as well as in the palaces of kings and in the dwellings of the people, for Zwingli's hymns were popular among all classes.

Now mount the chariot, O Lord,
 We know not where to go.
 Thy hand must now uplift the sword
 And smite the haughty foe.

God, for Thy honor and our land
 Blast Satan's progeny,
 And teach Thy faithful flock to stand
 Ever more firm in Thee.

To bitter strife, O put an end!
 And waken love anew;
 Kind hearts to parted brethren send,
 Old feelings warm and true.

Soon indeed it was seen that peace thus established was a deceptive one. In the course of a few months it

appeared, that the Papists interpreted the conditions of the treaty in a different sense from that in which they were understood. They continued to persecute the Reformed, and to drive them into exile. Zwingli and the Reformation were derided. It was now publicly conceded that the peace of Kappel was premature—indeed that it would yet be necessary to regain the ancient liberties by force of arms.

In the mean while the Emperor Charles V., having formed a more intimate union with the Pope, arrived in Germany and opened the Diet of Augsburg. On account of Protestant dissensions the papal party expected the best results. The Swiss Romanists sent an embassy to the Diet, which was graciously received by the Emperor, and which served the more to increase their boldness. Zwingli sent a confession of faith from the Reformed party, which awakened a feeling of opposition, if not of hatred. The Saxon theologians declined all union with the Swiss Reformed. Bucer proposed a compromise formula, which, however, was rejected by Luther and Zwingli. Melanchthon, on the other hand, was conferring with Dr. Eck, the Romanist, with a view to reunion. For all these reasons the enemies of Zwingli in Switzerland believed that they would soon gain their object, and hence they used every opportunity to break the conditions of the treaty of Kappel. A second war was impending. Zwingli, the powerful friend of the Fatherland, vainly endeavored to prevent it.

CHAPTER XX.

ZWINGLI AT HOME.

WHILE Zwingli was born at Wildhaus, in Toggenburg, in 1484, Anna Reinhard was born in the same year in Zürich. At the age of twenty she was married to John Meier, son of Councillor Gerald Meier, of Knonau, in Canton Zürich. Councillor Meier sent his son to Constance to be educated at the Episcopal court, and had also planned to provide him with a wife. But John, without his father's knowledge, espoused Anna Reinhard. This marriage caused an irreconcilable separation between father and son, and induced John Meier to enter the foreign military service. In the year 1517 he returned from an Italian campaign sick and disabled, and soon after died. His widow, Anna Meier, retired from the world and devoted herself to the education of her three children, two girls and a boy. The latter, named Gerald, received his education at the church seminary in Zürich. He soon developed distinguished talents united with piety and a retired disposition. Zwingli inferred that the quiet and pious disposition of the boy implied a good home training, and that this signified a good mother.

Zwingli was not mistaken. He was publicly married to the widow, Anna Meier, on the 2d of April, 1524. Four children were born to them—two sons and two daughters. The oldest child, Regula, was married in 1541 to Rudolph Gwalther, the second successor of

Zwingli and the first editor of his writings. She died in the year 1565, of the plague. Zwingli's youngest child, Anna, died in youth. His oldest son, William, was born in 1526, and died at the age of fifteen years, being at the time a student of theology in Strasburg. Ulric, Zwingli's second son, was born in 1528, and afterward became pastor and Professor of Theology in Zürich. He died at the age of forty-three, in the year 1571. He also had a son named Ulric, who likewise became Professor of Theology, and died at the age of twenty-nine, in the year 1600. With his death the male line of the family of Zwingli became extinct. The flourishing family at present living in Canton Zürich are descendants of one of Zwingli's brothers, who established himself at Elly.

Zwingli was found at home in plain attire, in a comfortable clerical gown and hat. He was always of a cheerful countenance, revealing the manly courage of a hero, and friendly to every one that called upon him. At times he would be stirred by a righteous indignation at some exhibition of hypocrisy, obstinacy, or ignorance. But the storm-clouds of anger soon passed away before the beams of that truth which he remembered, that we all sin frequently.

In his manner of living Zwingli preferred the greatest simplicity. His wife Anna, who possessed many costly garments, as Zwingli writes, "no longer touched the plunder, much less wore it for display. As it becomes a good housewife, she dresses like the wives of the common citizen, simply and well, that no one will notice her former rank."

The early morning hours were spent in devotion, in prayer, and in meditation upon the Word of God. Thus he prepared himself, by personal communion with

God, for the many arduous labors of the day, that he, owing to his extraordinary spiritual gifts, attended to with marvellous rapidity. But there were times when he labored not only till midnight, but indeed through the entire night. For in addition to his daily sermons and scholastic work, to his care for Church and school, to the labor of answering letters from at home and abroad, there was added special care for the poor, the sick, and the exiled refugees that flocked to Zürich. Besides all this, he wrote many large volumes in German, Latin, and Greek, which he bequeathed to his Church and Fatherland. Who does not behold in all this the iron constitution of this great man and his wise division of time into periods of work, rest, and recreation! If Zwingli himself could not spare the time, his wife entertained his guests. She took an active interest in all that concerned Church and Fatherland. Zwingli could not cause her greater joy than to read to her from his latest writings, or when he translated to her beautiful passages from the old Greek and Latin poets. She valued as a precious gift the first proof-sheets of the Zürich Bible which Zwingli and Leo Juda translated into Swiss-German, and which was completed in the year 1530. As soon as the proof-sheets of a form were at hand, she would have Zwingli read the same to her, if she had been obliged to wait until after midnight. And as they both revered God, so they induced the inmates of their household to follow their example, to the effect that visitors joyfully remembered the hours spent in their home. The Silesian Chancellor, Nicholas Arator, long after Zwingli's death, writes as follows: "In Zwingli's household, among these dear friends, I was so well pleased with their Christian family life that I can never forget it as long as I live, and that I shall

always commend it to my own. More especially did he recommend the habit of prayer to all who visited him. For, said he, if we grow wiser and more learned in our intercourse with wise and learned persons, how much more will we gain in our inner life by communing with God in prayer.’’

But besides such serious moments, Zwingli spent many a happy hour at the cradle of his children, singing with them their youthful songs, or accompanying them upon some musical instrument. Among the many instruments which he could play, the lute was his favorite. For his own comfort and joy he composed many a song and hymn, both music and words. Rome found fault with, and even Faber criticised his music. Yet he was not pained by this reproach. To Faber he wrote: “I make good use of my musical knowledge, which I steadily practised from my youth, both to cheer my children and to put them to sleep.” Even Socrates in his old age grew young again after he had begun to play the harp. And as at the cradle and in the family circle, so did he make good use of his musical knowledge in the circle of his friends that were accustomed to assemble at his house on Sunday afternoons. Many of his personal clerical friends and many of the town Council, accompanied by their wives, spent the afternoon at his home. But all centred about God’s Word, which his own soul found so precious in times of sorrow that he could not refrain from recommending it most heartily to his confidential friends. After reading the Scriptures and edifying conversation upon the same, the time was spent in friendly talk, interspersed with cheering song, usually conducted by Leo Juda.

These afternoon meetings of song and praise gave rise in later times to the popular songs and sacred hymns as

they are still sung, after the lapse of three centuries, in four voices or parts, all over Switzerland. In both the high and the common schools of the Canton of Zürich the singing of church chorals and patriotic songs in four voices is obligatory. The hymns of all the hymn-books of the Reformed Cantons of Switzerland are set to four parts or voices.

In the pulpit or before the Council, among the people or with the students and in his study, in his family or among his friends, wherever Zwingli was, he was sincere and true. His highest aim was to reconstruct the badly degenerated Church and to save the Fatherland from the brink of ruin. "According to my judgment, truth is for the human soul what the sun is for the world. Wherever the sun arises it is joyfully greeted, and men prepare themselves cheerfully for work. In like manner the soul rejoices in the light of truth from whatsoever source it comes. It looks up and congratulates itself that the darkness of ignorance disappears before the splendor of truth. As there is nothing more welcome to the world than the sun, so there can be nothing lovelier, more precious, and higher to the human soul than the truth. Whoever brings the truth to light, becomes my friend, even if he disparage my name; he enriches, blesses my soul, and fulfils its higher destiny."

When Vadiau, burgomaster of St. Gall, in company with many riflemen, visited Zürich to participate in a national festival, which the authorities had instituted in honor of his helpful services, Zwingli was among the number that welcomed their honored guests. He sat at the festive board and rejoiced that everything unworthy had been removed from such festivities, and that because of the purifying and sanctifying influence of the Gospel a faithful Christian could also participate in them. As

at the meetings of the guilds of citizens and laborers in their halls, so at the popular festivals, Zwingli showed by his presence that among the best fruits of Swiss liberty this is to be prized : that men in Church and State, of high and low degree, in public and private life, in the circle of friends and on national festival days, can be sincere—thoroughly sincere and true.

CHAPTER XXI.

ZWINGLI'S TEACHINGS AND WRITINGS.

IN all the doctrines that Zwingli formulated he was accustomed to ascribe all salvation unto God as the absolute determining power. Nowhere does he permit salvation to be conditioned by human resolves or actions, things, or ceremonies ; nor does he admit that any creature could influence the decrees of God. " In God man rests and confides ; God is the Sabbath of his soul, his one and all ; God is the incomparable highest good, the only exclusive Author and Giver of all Salvation ; it is impossible for him to do without God ; hence he surrenders himself entirely to God, whose instrument he is. God is therefore the real object of faith, especially since faith really means to trust in God alone ; and all else that belongs to faith, including Christ and His salvation, the Word of God and the means of grace of the Christian Church—all are included in this dependent and exclusive relation of the subject to God. The security of the soul is that intimate dependence upon God, and this is real faith that everything exists alone in and through God. Our salvation is founded alone upon God, upon the grace of God, whose Mediator and Advocate is Jesus Christ, upon the operations of divine grace, in and for man, but not upon anything human, external, or finite. All confidence that does not rest in God is founded on unbelief, is idolatry ; whereas the greater the faith in

the all-controlling God, the greater is God in thee as the eternal, unchangeable power of all goodness."

Such beautiful thoughts as these Zwingli expresses in numerous passages of his writings. They originated in his untiring study of the Holy Scriptures, as well as in his intimate communion with God in prayer. He felt perfectly assured of his possession of personal salvation. Reconciled, united with God in Christ, possessed and impelled by His Spirit, he deserted neither the Church nor the Fatherland in trials. In times of need and public tribulation he was their firmest support, and continued to be the same until death; although, had he yielded to the inclinations of the flesh, he would rather have avoided the conflicts.

"It happens to us," said Zwingli, "as it happens to those at sea. In the beginning of their voyage the land seems to them to be of far greater extent than the sea. But the farther they sail upon the sea, the more and better they perceive how small a part of the whole earth the land really is. Thus it is with us: as long as we depend upon our own understandings, we know nothing of the works and ways of God. But when we remove our gaze from the earthly and fasten it upon the Divine, then we begin to learn of things that fill our minds with great amazement. But what is the sea of which I have been speaking, other than the Divine Providence and government over all things, the immeasurable and inexhaustible power and activity of God? Let us then leave the shores of earth and contemplate the works of God, and we shall behold glorious things. Let us consider the wonderful acts of God until we shall have become capable of appreciating still greater things."

These precious passages of Zwingli's concerning man's absolute dependence upon God show that such senti-

ments, as in Zwingli himself, are not calculated to render men careless and secure, but rather humble and obedient to the Divine Word. "He that is filled with God's Spirit," says Zwingli, "he advises, assists, is always busy about the welfare of his neighbor, always desires to do something good and useful, never ceases his benevolent activity, is untiring in every good work, and is anxiously concerned lest he do less than he should. God's Spirit works in the hearts of the pious; they resemble a mill upon a hill, that is rendered active by the blowing of the wind. Let us remember that we are instruments of the Divine activity, whom God employs to execute that which He has in mind. With zeal and diligence we are to undertake our work, never grow weary over it, not forsake the Divine work, nor merely celebrate holy day, but rather lay hold upon and help in all things.

"Religion had its origin," continues Zwingli, "at the time when God recalled fugitive man, who otherwise would have remained a fugitive. For God pitied the perverseness of his flight and the dismay of his soul; He regarded him as a faithful father, who, although he hates the folly and the presumption of the son, yet he can never hate the son himself; but graciously calls the last and despairing one: 'Adam, where art thou?' O wonderful, inexpressible mercy of our heavenly Father! He thus asks, in order that man may always remember in what condition an all-merciful God found him, and out of which He called him. Here, I maintain, stood the cradle of religion. Unhappy man saw that he had merited naught but God's wrath, and, despairing, he fled from God. But behold the Father's fidelity to the unfaithful son! He pursues him, and overcomes his resistance amid his obstinate endeavors.

What is this other than fidelity to the son? And thus, until this very day, originates the fidelity of God, and is exercised for our benefit. And only then is it God's complete fidelity when we are converted to Him who delivers us from our own counsels. But oh! the unhappy human father that pursues the son with uninterrupted kindness, but whose efforts are in vain! Yet not so with our Divine Father. For whomsoever He calls is obliged to answer, whether he will or will not, as is proven in the case of Adam the disobedient one, David the adulterer and murderer, and Paul the persecutor. Hence religion consists in this: God leads man to acknowledge his disobedience, sin, and misery, not less than Adam, and especially to see why it is that he despairs of himself. At the same time God reveals the fulness of His benevolence, in order that man may see that there is a certain hope and abundant grace prepared by his Creator and Father for him, by virtue of which he can never be separated from Him. Such a dependence, therefore, by which man trusts God alone, as the only Good, who can relieve us of our troubles, turn away from us all evil, or else overrule it to His honor and to our good--this is fidelity, piety, and religion."

Actuated by so great degree of piety, Zwingli regarded the Scriptures of the Old and the New Testaments as the inviolable Word of God, *i.e.* the sacred writings of both Testaments are the inspired Word of God. Not human historical evidence or proof, not the testimony of the ancient Church, but alone the Divine impression which the believer receives from the Scriptures, our spiritual life being assisted thereby, and the testimony of the Holy Spirit to that effect can establish the firm conviction in the inspiration of the Bible.

Zwingli left a large number of writings, especially

exegetical treatises upon the books of the Old and the New Testaments. The stormy times of his experience as Reformer for a period of thirteen years afforded him but little time to arrange and perfect his writings, as a man of letters would like to have done. They were composed amid great difficulties. They are, however, a precious and valuable testimony of the great spirit that dwelt in him.

The first edition of his writings, though not perfectly complete, comprising four volumes in folio, appeared in 1545, and was edited by his son-in-law, R. Gwalther. In 1581 a new Latin edition was published. In the year 1530 appeared his renowned translation of the Bible, which remains to this day one of the best versions extant, and enjoys a large circulation among the Swiss and the German Reformed in the United States. In 1536 there appeared an edition of his writings, in folio, and in 1592, in quarto, in Basel, both, however, incomplete. An enlarged and improved edition of his complete works was published in Zürich in 1828-42, edited by M. Schuler and J. Schulthess, under the name and title: "Huldreich Zwingli's Werke." L. Usteri and S. Voegelin issued his select works, in 3 volumes, in 1819.

The following biographies have appeared, all in German: Nüscheler, 1776; J. C. Hess, 1810; J. M. Schuler, 1819; Röder, 1855; R. Christoffel, 1857; Hundeshagen, 1862; Spörri, 1866; Mörikofer, 1867.

CHAPTER XXII.

ZWINGLI'S DEATH AT KAPPEL.

THE unhappy consequences of the peace signed at Kappel, which the clear insight of Zwingli had foreseen with misgivings, were soon realized. Berne indeed had rejoiced, and Zürich had celebrated festivals because no blood had been shed. But Zwingli's soul mourned, for he thought that, although the people now rejoiced, the time would come when they would all lament over this alleged triumph. The words which he spake in the pulpit were words of prophetic warning to Zürich and her allies : " The peace concluded at Kappel will yet lead to it that we shall wring our hands because of trouble and sorrow." And so it came to pass. Berne had rejoiced at the victory, and Zürich had returned home in joy. But the five forest cantons had left the field embittered against their enemies. They had vowed to remain eternally true to the old faith. The terms of the ratified treaty of peace were regarded by them as an unbearable yoke, and were interpreted by them with a different meaning than that attached to them by Zürich. In fact the treaty of peace proved a burden to them. " We shall have no rest," said they, " until we have broken every fetter and regained our former freedom."

On the 8th of January, 1531, the Swiss Diet assembled in Baden, at which the representatives of the five forest cantons declared that they would not again appear in the Diet unless the unlawful efforts at evangelization

set forth and encouraged by Zürich were put an end to ; indeed in case of necessity they might alone undertake to punish such efforts by the use of force. On the other hand, Zürich complained that the clause of the treaty forbidding aspersions, "in order that new dissensions may not be caused through misrepresentations giving rise to greater disorders," was being continually violated by Canton Schwyz. But in this very matter lay a spark of fire which was to enkindle the flames and lead to the beginning of the second war of Kappel.

To curb the tongues of the Roman Catholic cantons was an impossibility. Through all their valleys they cried out : " Zwingli is a murderer and an arch-heretic, provoking most fearful scenes of disorder ; the men of Zürich are all heretics, guilty of horrible sins." A pensioner ran about the streets, shouting that he would not rest until he had plunged his sword into the breast of the godless heretic, Zwingli. The Reformed and the cause of Reformation were publicly insulted. In Canton Schwyz, however, their behavior was the worst of all. The Reformed were not only insulted, but shamefully abused. The enemies of the Reformation appeared in a local assembly with fir-branches in their hats as a sign of war, without remonstrance on the part of any one. The five Catholic cantons prepared themselves for the conflict they had already contemplated. Haughtily they looked down upon the heretical cantons. On all sides was heard the clanking of sword and cuirass. Under such circumstances the Reformed cantons were of necessity obliged to bestir themselves.

In February a Swiss Diet met in Basel, in March in Zürich, and on the 10th of April a general assembly of all the cantons was convened in Baden. But nothing was accomplished at any of these meetings that could

have preserved peace between the two parties. Zürich demanded the free preaching of the Gospel everywhere in Switzerland. On the other hand, the five forest cantons kissed the Pope's foot and the hands of the Austrians, whose Emperor sent them weekly messages, exhorting them boldly to resist the Reformed, and assuring them of his certain assistance.

War was unavoidable. Zwingli recognized this fact. His heart beat for the welfare of Church and State of the Fatherland. The blood of the ancient Swiss coursed through his veins; he felt as they did, that it was the highest honor for a man to live and die for his native land. It was his wish that energetic measures might be taken, before the Emperor, who was engaged in a war with the Turks, might come to the assistance of the Roman Catholic cantons. On the 12th of May, 1531, a meeting was held in Aarau. Zürich advocated war. Berne proposed a blockade of the frontier lines, forbidding the admission of grain, wine, salt, iron, and steel within the lines of the Roman Catholic cantons, and thus avoiding bloodshed. They claimed that the end sought would thus be reached. Zürich, on the contrary, regarded this proposition to be unwise, because an opportunity would thus be afforded to the enemy to rally their forces, and indeed would compel them to attempt sorties in order to provide themselves with the needed articles. The innocent would suffer with the guilty, friends would be converted into enemies, and thousands would unnecessarily be deprived of all food. But in vain were Zürich's representations. By resolution of the 15th of May, the frontier lines were closed against all trade and traffic. Zürich yielded, and Zwingli mourned.

On the following Sunday he preached openly and earnestly against this unrighteous and unwise measure.

He was profoundly convinced that, not only as minister but also as Christian citizen, the right and the duty devolved upon him to punish and to hinder all unchristian proceedings, even if authorized by the government, so far as God should give him power and opportunity. Among other things he said in his sermon : " You men of Zürich forbid all food to the five cantons as ye would to malefactors. You had better follow up your threats with an emphatic blow, rather than starve poor, innocent people. You think there is no sufficient cause or reason for punishing them, and yet you refuse them food and drink, thereby nevertheless compelling them to resort to arms, cross the borders, and inflict punishment upon you. And thus it will come to pass."

Zwingli's view was clear ; his sorrow over the measures adopted was just and right. Soon enough the forest cantons seized their swords, sharpened their halberds, and marched in the direction of Berne and Zürich with the cry : " They have closed our highways, but we shall open them by force." Catholic France endeavored to preserve peace between the contending parties, but at the same time did not neglect secretly to instigate the forest cantons not to yield an inch in their demands. Again the Diet assembled, but again without accomplishing anything. Added to all this, a time of famine oppressed the land. And not only in the Roman Catholic forest cantons, but also in Zürich, the poor suffered severely ; the more so since extortionate tradesmen sought to profit by the hard times, and rich money-lenders by their usurious exactions. Zwingli energetically resisted these unrighteous acts, and procured the adoption of certain rules and regulations to which millers and bakers were subjected, and by which all usurers and extortioners should be punished. All persons thus re-

stricted became Zwingli's enemies, plotted and worked against him wherever they could. Monks, pensioners, nobles, and discontented persons generally united and made common cause against him, in order to overthrow him. With heavy grief Zwingli observed the manipulations of these allied parties. Great sorrow filled his soul. His heart was burdened with the thought that he who had never sought his own, but who had always labored for the present and eternal welfare of the people, for Church and Fatherland, should thus ungraciously be treated.

Filled with pain and sorrow, Zwingli appeared before the Great Council of Zürich, on the 26th of July, and spoke with his heart deeply stirred: "For a period of eleven years I have preached to you the Gospel, faithfully and paternally warning you against the dangers which threaten our Confederacy, should the five cantons—that is, the throng that lives upon foreign pensions and subsidies—gain the upper hand. But all this seems to be of no consequence to you; for you continue to add those to your Council who long for such blood-money. But such men are the best friends of the five cantons and the most dangerous enemies of the Gospel. But you will not obey the truth, and yet hold me responsible for all the evil that happens. I desire therefore that you will accept my resignation. I will provide for myself in some other way." Zwingli then departed, his eyes being filled with tears.

But the Council was very much disconcerted at this turn of affairs. Every member of the Council felt deeply moved, and the respect entertained for him so many years was newly aroused. All acknowledged that with Zwingli's departure a great misfortune would befall both Church and State. "To lose him now," said

every one, " would be ruinous to Zürich. A committee, consisting of the burgomaster and several magistrates, was appointed to call upon Zwingli at his home, and to persuade him to withdraw his resignation. This was done on the same day, and Zwingli demanded three days for further consideration.

For three days and three nights the soul of this great man was agonized to find the right solution to the question. He well saw that the statesmen, with all their political wisdom and half-heartedness, had so confused the situation, had furthered dissensions and party spirit, and had so strengthened the enemy, that nothing short of some stirring event or some grievous providence could bring deliverance. That he himself would fall as a sacrifice he recognized as a probability. How much more agreeable then would it have been for him to insist upon his resignation, and to retire, either to the hills of Toggenburg, to Wildhaus, or elsewhere. Yet the great man could not and would not forsake his Fatherland in the hour of national danger. At last the sacrifice was brought and tremblingly laid upon the altar. All evil directed against him he left to the just Judge, and anew devoted himself unreservedly to the service of God.

After the lapse of three days Zwingli again appeared before the Council and declared: " Because you have promised to do better I shall remain with you, and by God's grace shall labor for the welfare of the people until the end of my life." New courage and zeal impelled him from this time forth, and he developed a remarkable activity for the spread of the Gospel, notwithstanding the numerous labors which the pastoral office imposed upon him, which he attended to from the year 1519 onward. Zwingli lived in the immovable faith that the Word of God is the only and thorough means

of salvation for all the failings and shortcomings of his Fatherland, not only for the Church but also for the State. Hence he could not relinquish the hope that all Switzerland might yet be won for the Gospel. He never doubted the willingness of the people of the mountain cantons to receive the Gospel, and in spite of all reproaches and accusations on their part his heart beat warmly for them until his death.

At the Synods of Frauenfeld, in the years 1529 and 1530, he was received with distinguished honors in the presence of 400 clergymen. He was also summoned to attend the synods of St. Gall and Toggenburg, in order to assist in the reconstruction of Church relations. He preached in the presence of enthusiastic multitudes, and received their confidence and reverence to a high degree. In St. Gall the people assembled before his quarters and expressed their gratitude to him in vocal and instrumental music. The eyes of all that loved the truth regarded him. From him, as from a prophet of God, they expected counsel and admonition, correction and comfort.

Notwithstanding this extraordinary activity, he was very busy at this time in preparing exegetical commentaries upon Isaiah and Jeremiah. In the summer of 1531 both volumes appeared in print. In many respects his own position resembled that of these prophets. He looked into the future, and the nearer the impending storm threatened himself and the Church, the more certain was he that God would fulfil His promises to His chosen people. The Word of God was his only rule in all activity, so that he was ready rather to lose his life than to yield in the least to forcible measures employed against God and His Word. Hence he so clearly viewed the duty that God imposed upon him, without the

least wavering at the thought of approaching tribulation. He continually sought to penetrate into the hidden mysteries of God, and acted, in view of the needs of his Fatherland, like one that has his home, his citizenship above. In his last commentary, published shortly before the breaking out of war, he writes (Jeremiah 33 : 2) the ever-memorable words : " Here we must well consider the higher necessity that controls the prophets. Is it not evident treason to advise those who desire to save themselves to go over to the enemy ? Could treason be otherwise so clearly expressed than it is in these words ? When God commands us to do that which conflicts with the views of all men, when He enjoins us to do that which human laws forbid, then we find ourselves in a dilemma. But a soul that fears and honors God cares nothing for the threats of the world. To further the Council of God is its chief concern. . . . Let us be courageous then in the work of the renewal of the Church of Christ and the restoration of a Christian government, even if sorrows and dangers confront us, even if we shall not live to see the successful result. The Judge sees us, and will crown us after the conflict. Others upon earth will rejoice in the fruits of our suffering, while we shall enjoy our eternal reward in heaven ! "

Because of the distinguished honors that were paid him on his synodical visits to the mountain cantons, Zwingli had deceived himself in concluding that they would gladly receive the Gospel. He overlooked the fact that these ancient Catholic cantons clung with tenacity to the old faith and customs. Yet his self-deception was honorable and touching to a very high degree, for it showed his whole-hearted love for the Fatherland. He felt himself called of God to secure the free proclamation of the Gospel for all Christians in general, and thus

in particular for the people of the five forest cantons, in order to lead them on this way to true Swiss liberty. The prospect of an imminent tragic end did not cause him to fear, but rather quickened his courage ; for to be chosen of God and deemed worthy to die for His cause, he regarded to be the Christian's greatest crown of victory.

As Zwingli had correctly foreseen, the restriction of articles of food had done more harm than good. The forest cantons, instead of being humbled, grew more obstinate and at the same time more united. The Reformed cantons knew not what course to pursue. If they raised the blockade, it would signify that they had gained nothing, or that they were neither united nor strong enough to go further and attempt an attack. If they did not raise the blockade, no one could tell what the end would be. The five cantons were already so defiant that they would no longer listen to moderate demands, but insisted first of all upon an immediate removal of the restriction.

Zwingli advised again and again that this should be done, and repeatedly expressed his regret that his advice had not been followed. It appeared to him, as he had often recommended, that an occupation of the Roman Catholic cantons would be less objectionable, and also less injurious to the spread of the Gospel, than the prohibition of traffic in provisions. Accompanied by Collin and Werner Steiner, Zwingli attended the fourth session of the Diet at Bremgarten, although in so doing he exposed himself to fatal danger. Under cover of night he secretly reached the house of his friend Bullinger, and there conferred, before daybreak, with the delegates from Berne, and implored them to take the welfare of the entire Fatherland into consideration. Moved by the

earnest representations of the Reformer, they promised to do their best to avert impending evils. If the delegates of the five Roman Catholic cantons had known of Zwingli's presence, his days on earth would have been numbered. For this reason three members of the City Council guarded Bullinger's house during Zwingli's nightly visit. Before daybreak, Zwingli took leave of Bullinger at the gates of the city, where a heart-rending scene of sacred friendship marked their separation. Three times did Zwingli take leave of Bullinger, embracing him and weeping bitterly. Finally he blessed him, saying: "God bless you, dear Henry; remain faithful to the Lord Jesus Christ and to His Church." He then rode away to Zürich.

When Zwingli arrived in Zürich he found the city in the greatest state of excitement. The minds of all were filled with apprehension at impending danger. Wonderful signs appeared in the heavens. On the western horizon was seen a comet, shining as if in a state of conflagration, its pale yellowish light extending far toward the south.

In the night of August 15th Zwingli stood with his friend George Müller, the former Abbot of Wettingen, in the cathedral cemetery. To the question of the latter as to the significance of the appearance of the comet at this time, Zwingli replied: "It shines to light me and many a worthy man, who love to see truth and right triumph in the Confederacy, to our graves!"

"Not indeed," answered his friend, "if it be God's will. God will not permit this to take place."

"Yes, yes," responded Zwingli, "He will order it thus to verify the sign! But when the rod is applied to the house of God, then woe be to the enemies of the Gospel! God will maintain His cause, even if it should

appear as if all were on the verge of ruin. I have faith in our cause, for it is good and true. But I have little confidence in the people. Our only comfort is in God !”

On the 3d of September the comet disappeared. It had been a terror to all Switzerland, and had been regarded as a sign of the wrath of God, signifying not only the shedding of blood, but the death of many learned and renowned men.

Other wonderful signs were reported from the several cantons, but all of a similar fearful import. From the forest cantons was heard the cry : “ War, war ! Blood, blood !” Yet every one seemed to be at a loss what to do. Zwingli alone remained calm and self-possessed. As a champion of God, he received every warning. His soul-communion with God strengthened him. His heart was filled with that peace which the world cannot give. His faith rested in Him who once spoke to his disciples : “ Peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you. Not as the world giveth give I unto you. Let not your heart be troubled, neither let it be afraid ” (John 14 : 27).

Once more he lifted his warning voice from the pulpit and appealed to the people : “ The most faithful warnings are of no avail, and cannot save you. You prefer not to punish the foreign pensioners that so haughtily raise their heads among you. They have a strong support among yourselves. Your chains are forged ; there they are, link after link ; they are prepared to throttle me and many a pious soul of Zürich. All this is directed against me. But I am ready, and submit to the will of God. Yet these people shall not be my masters. You will not punish them, hence they will punish you. But God will protect His Holy Word

and soon end their glory. May God protect and defend His Church !”

Once more an attempt was made to preserve peace, but in vain. The forest cantons had already held an assembly in Luzerne and determined upon war. Yet Zürich seemed to remain careless. Whatever reports were received of the preparations of the Roman Catholic cantons, they were not credited until it was too late. In greatest quiet the Catholics guarded all the roads so that no communication could be had with Zürich. Her friends in Zug and Luzerne were themselves shut up in their valleys, as if imprisoned. Thus Zürich remained uninformed as to the resolutions passed by the forest cantons, until October 4th, when a message of warning was received in great haste from the cloister at Kappel : “ Arm yourselves, and be on your guard.” But the warning was not heeded.

On Sunday, October 8th, 1531, Zwingli occupied his pulpit for the last time. On that day there arrived a messenger from the five cantons demanding their release from the Confederate covenant. Fear, indecision, and treachery prevailed in the city. The people seemed to have become cowardly, and their leaders wavering in their attachment. Zwingli alone stood firm and confident. Immovable, he looked unto the Lord and upon eternal life with the victor's crown, for he well knew that although God might veil His countenance He would never forget His own. Thereupon he addressed the wavering and despairing populace, as if he beheld the spectre of Rome rising from behind the Alps to deprive him and his friends of their faith : “ That alone is our real treasure, to have God as our friend, whom neither death nor any earthly power can tear away from us. No, no ! I shall never deny my Saviour.”

On the 9th of October it was reported that 10,000 men had issued from the mountains and were marking their way with fire and blood through the free districts and up to Kappel. On Tuesday morning, the 10th of October, Captain George Göldli, a secret friend of the Catholics, was sent with 600 men to seize and hold the town of Kappel, distant about ten miles south of Zürich. The artillery did not follow until afternoon, the horses not being ready, and was not assigned to a position on the field until the next morning. Reinforcements arrived from Meilen and Grüningen, so that the united forces amounted to 1200 men.

At eleven o'clock the outposts reported an immense multitude approaching from the direction of the Allment. Göldli marshalled his forces and formed a line of battle. They then knelt in prayer.

On Wednesday, October 11th, 1531, the forces of the five cantons were arrayed upon the broad plains of Baar and prepared to advance. They had the advantage of position, having possession on their right of a highway, and being protected by a forest on their left. The soft ground of the meadows, on the other hand, was to their disadvantage, for the progress of their trains was impeded; and indeed they would have fallen into the hands of the forces of Zürich had not Göldli, their commander, treacherously refused to permit an attack upon the enemy in his embarrassed position.

In Zürich the great banner of the canton was raised on the town hall on the morning of the 11th of October, and all capable of bearing arms were summoned to assemble. During the night about 500 men had been sent to the free districts, and 400 men to Waedensschweil. On this account it was difficult to raise a large force for the main army, which in this hour of its greatest danger

ought to have numbered at least 4000 men. But a few hundred men gathered, and these in a disorganized condition ; some hastened to join the main army without their commanders, while the remainder tarried until afternoon, took the oath of fealty, and slowly prepared themselves for the advance. The Council itself was still uncertain as to the wisest course to pursue. Zwingli exclaimed : " If we tarry here much longer, I fear we shall arrive too late to be of any help to our own people. It is not right for us to wait and hear what our forces are suffering at Kappel. In God's name, I shall go down to our brave soldiers, to die with them or to help save them."

" According to one of our ancient Swiss customs, the great standard dare not leave the city unless one of the chief pastors will accompany it !" Such was the universal cry. All eyes were now directed upon Zwingli. Some said : " We cannot do without his counsel." Others replied : " Who shall comfort us, if not Zwingli ? " The Council now appointed him as chaplain of the army. He was obliged to take the field. The remnant of the yet available forces was assembled in the cathedral square, before the residence of the Reformer. At 11 o'clock he appeared at the door, accompanied by his weeping wife, children, and friends. His countenance was firm, but sad. Standing at the side of his horse, he said to his weeping wife : " The hour of parting is come ; the Lord wills it to be thus. Amen ! He will be with thee, with me, and with our children."

" And shall we never see each other again ? " asked his wife, tremblingly.

" If it be the Lord's will ! His will be done ! " replied Zwingli.

" And what will you bring back to us again ? " inquired his wife.

“ Blessings after the dark night,” responded Zwingli. As a dying one blesses his own, so did Zwingli bless his wife and children, committing them to the care of God. And kissing his children, and once more bidding his wife farewell, he mounted his horse and rode away.

“ We shall not see him again,” remarked one standing near. “ The Lord protect him !” added another. “ Ah !” said a third, “ did he not bid farewell to Bullinger in Bremgarten lately, as a man that is advancing unto death ?” And they never saw him again.

Without looking back, Zwingli accompanied the small number of men that hastened to the relief of their besieged countrymen at Kappel, arriving at the latter place at 3 o'clock in the afternoon. The total strength of the army of Zürich amounted to 1800 men, while that of the five cantons was about 8000. It was 4 o'clock in the afternoon, and the sun was about setting. The enemy had observed the reinforcements which the army of Zürich had received. They held a council of war, and resolved upon an immediate attack. With fierce outcries they advanced upon the forces of Zürich. A bloody conflict ensued. Twice they were driven back. While the foremost lines were bravely resisting the fierce attack in the front, the enemy executed a flank movement on the right, which struck terror into the rear lines, caused them to yield and take to flight. Those grouped about the banner, seeing this, also retreated. The enemy, perceiving the success of his flank movement, returned to the attack in front, and now drove the broken lines of Zürich's army. Those that survived took to flight, pursued by their implacable foes. The dead, the wounded, and the dying filled the ditches and were thickly scattered by the way. The banners of the five cantons advanced prudently and with

closed ranks as far as Allement. The enemy was everywhere successful. It was no longer a battle, but a slaughter upon the meadows of Kappel. Zürich had lost the day.

As the leaders of the five cantons passed over the battle-field, they enjoyed the melancholy pleasure of recognizing among the dead of Zürich the most resolute defenders of the Evangelical cause. Among the slain were 26 members of the two Councils and 98 citizens of Zürich, steadfast friends of the Reformation. Just as bravely fought and fell their brethren from the country districts, 500 in number. According to an old Swiss custom, the pastors of the congregations were obliged to accompany their countrymen to the field of battle. Of these that comforted their countrymen with the Gospel, 25 fell by the sword. Of the 25 slain preachers, 7 were of the city and 18 from the country. Captain Göldli, that played the traitor on the battle-field, removed from Zürich to Constance. The total loss of the five Roman Catholic cantons was 80 men, that of Reformed Zürich about 900 men. But there was one death more bitter than all the rest.

Zwingli stood firm at his post, in the midst of the members of his congregation, with helmet upon his head, the sword at his side, and battle-axe in hand. This was in accordance with old Swiss custom, though Zwingli made no use of his arms. During the former war he had planned, ordered, and conducted everything, step for step, with untiring application. In this second war he occupied a passive position, awaiting with melancholy patience coming events, and foretelling their sad ending. After having imparted his advice and admonition, he left the cause in the hands of the Lord, and bowed patiently and submissively to His

will. The close of his introduction to the history of the sufferings of Jesus presents to us a glorious testimony of his submission to God even unto death, and of his faithful following of Christ. These words indicate the spirit in which he hastened to the battle-field of Kappel : “ We also will endeavor to remember the death of Christ, in order that we may remain brave, steadfast, and undismayed, when we are called upon to suffer for Christ, for truth, and for righteousness.”

On his way from Zürich to Kappel, Zwingli was heard praying most fervently to God, and commending his body and soul, as well as the Church, to His care. After the flank attack had been made, and the firing of the enemy had caused disastrous havoc, Zwingli was heard making inquiry concerning the import of this movement. When the number of the slain had sadly increased, Bernhard Sprüngli entreated him to encourage the soldiers. This he did, by saying to those within hearing : “ My dear people, be of good courage, be not afraid. Even if we must suffer defeat, ours is a good cause. Commend yourselves to God, who can help us and our friends.”

Among the slain lay quite a number of Zwingli's relatives by blood and marriage. And in the midst of the noble dead lay Zwingli himself. Twice he was hurled from his horse in the tumult of the conflict, but each time he arose and stood firmly among his comrades, until he fell pierced by two lances. Natural darkness surrounded him, but in his soul there was light, for he knew in whom he had believed. He was certain of the sweet hope that Christ was his life, and that his citizenship was in heaven. And so he cried out : “ What matters it ? They may kill the body, but not the soul.” These were Zwingli's last words. For the third time he

attempted to rise, when a stunning blow upon the head felled him to the ground. When the plundering enemies, torches in hand, were torturing the wounded and outraging the dead, they came across the wounded Reformer. Finding him still alive, they asked him whether they should procure a priest to confess him. But he gave them a negative answer. Whereupon the brutal fellows, without knowing him, derided him as an obstinate heretic. At that moment Captain Vokinger, of Unterwalden, approached, and, seizing his sword with the cry of rage: "Die, thou obstinate heretic, shameful traitor and malefactor," he inflicted the death-blow.

Zwingli died at the age of forty-seven years nine months and eleven days. All night long his remains lay upon the battle-field, near to the highway that leads over the Albis to Zürich. On the following morning, when the victors examined the battle-field and found so many distinguished men among the slain, they began to comprehend the greatness of their victory. But when they beheld Zwingli dead at their feet, their exultation knew no bounds. The expression of determined courage with which he died remained in death. Chaplain Stocker, of Zug, who knew Zwingli well, testified that he looked as hale and hearty as in life.

The old Abbot Schönbrunner, formerly of the Minster of Zürich, who accompanied Chaplain Stocker to the battle-field, when he beheld Zwingli's remains, could not refrain from tears, and said: "Whatever your faith may have been, I know that you were a true patriot. God be with your soul!"

Finally the drums beat and the entire army of the five forest cantons was assembled to sit in judgment upon the remains of the arch-heretic, Zwingli. The pensioners cried out: "Divide his body into five parts, and send

one part to each of the five cantons." Two officials from Canton Zug admonished them to let the dead rest in peace, since judgment belonged alone to God. But with a wild cry of rage the multitude demanded that Zwingli's remains should be quartered, mixed with dung, and afterward consumed by fire. The hangman of Luzerne executed this sentence. The ashes of Zwingli were scattered to the four winds.

At 7 o'clock in the evening the first news of the terrible defeat was received in Zürich. The unexpectedness of the news increased the fearfulness of the blow. Anna Zwingli likewise heard the cry: "Zwingli is dead." The unfortunate widow kissed her fatherless children, knelt with them, and sobbed: "Lord, Thy will and not ours be done." But when she heard that her son Gerald, her brother, her sons-in-law, her brother-in-law, her cousin, and many of her friends had fallen, she was overcome with grief, and her children wept bitterly with her.

The news of Zwingli's death was carried with the rapidity of lightning through all Germany. The Roman Catholic princes and rulers sent congratulatory messages to the five forest cantons. Austria and Rome did likewise. But, on the other hand, from Alsace, Swabia, Hesse, and many German cities were received messages of condolence to the Council of Zürich. These comforted the people, and gave them to understand that, even if the enemy rejoiced in the fall of Zwingli, thousands of hearts in all Germany beat in sympathy, and in tears and with cries of sorrow expressed their reverence for the great Reformer.

"May our enemies rejoice because of his mortal remains, and may they scoff at innocence. He yet lives, and will forever live. The brave hero has left a me-

morial of renown that no flame of fire can consume. God, to whose honor he labored until death, will glorify his memory. And I, for whom he did so much, will defend his reputation and praise his virtues." Thus spake Leo Juda, Zwingli's faithful assistant at the Church in Zürich. Oekolampad, who died in grief over the result of the battle, on the 24th of November, impressed his many friends in Germany that Zwingli, as a faithful shepherd in the midst of his flock, had given his life for his Fatherland and for the Church.

Since the 11th of October, 1531, on the evening of which day Zwingli laid down his life, more than three centuries have passed away, and many generations have come and gone. But Zwingli's name and work have not disappeared. They yet live, and exert a great blessing. And their memory among us would be infinitely more regarded, were it not for the morbid tendency of the spirit of our times. According to this spirit Zwingli is unnecessarily measured and judged by the record and person of Luther, and thus the former never receives his just dues. This would not be the case were Zwingli judged in and for himself alone.

Zwingli received his early training as shepherd son amid the Alps of Toggenburg, receiving there at the same time his first and permanent impressions of God's glory, enabling him to measure the emptiness of all human display. His early development for his divinely-appointed calling transpired under the blessed influences of family and friends, by the which he laid hold upon life in a happy and courageous manner. This enabled him also to overlook the coarse, degenerate present, and with a world-embracing view to rejoice beforehand in a better future, and at the same time, with God's Word in hand, to lay its foundations wisely, thoughtfully, and

systematically. The distressing conditions of his Confederate Fatherland at the time of his reformatory activity exerted a decided influence upon his life and career. His premature death, by which he was suddenly torn away from his work of reconstructing the Church must not be forgotten in a just estimate of his life. All these are considerations that speak for themselves, and form the rule or measure by which the man must be righteously judged. Nor can it be forgotten that in less than thirteen years, amid the most serious dangers and the most obstinate opposition, he laid the foundations of the entire Reformed Church in Switzerland and in foreign parts.

No matter what the judgments of other Reformers in other countries may have been, Zwingli remains the great and ever-beloved Reformer of Switzerland, the leading founder and father of the whole Reformed Church. His Church Reformation, realized in the spirit and upon the foundations of prophets and apostles, found an echo in the popular conscience, and is cultivated until this day.

The fraternal ties of spiritual communion which Zwingli established with Würtemberg, Bayreuth, and the Palatinate, Hesse and Brandenburg, with the princes and cities of the Lower Rhine, with England and Holland, have endured centuries after his death. And they have afforded to Switzerland the exalted consciousness that although Zwingli, her greatest teacher, was killed in battle, the work founded by him is indestructible.

It is and will remain an ever-precious sentiment, what Bullinger wrote to Zwingli's friends and admirers in foreign lands: "The victory of the truth rests in the power and will of God, and is not bound to any time or person. Christ too was put to death, and His enemies imagined that they won the victory. But after forty

years had passed by, the triumph of Christ was revealed in the destruction of Jerusalem. But truth does not triumph in such a manner as if it suffered no oppression, but rather in tribulation does it find its realization. But for this, faith, patience, and perseverance are necessary. The power of a Christian grows more powerful in weakness. Hence, beloved brethren, let not our defeat at Kappel become a stumbling-block, but persevere in the Word of God ! This has always won the victory, even if, on its account, holy prophets, apostles, and martyrs have been reviled and put to death. Blessed are they that die in the Lord ! Victory will follow in due time ; for a thousand years are in God's sight as one day. Nor is there but one kind of victory, for he also triumphs that suffers and dies for the sake of the truth !''

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF EVENTS IN THE LIFE OF ULRIC ZWINGLI.

1484. January 1st. Zwingli is born at Wildhaus, in Switzerland.
1492. Studies at Wesen under Bartholomew Zwingli.
1494. Enters the St. Theodore school at Basel, under George Binzli.
1497. Studies at Berne under Henry Wölflin (Lupulus).
1499. Attends the University of Vienna.
1501. Teaches in St. Martin's Latin School, Basel.
1505. Receives the degree of Master of Arts (Ph.D.).
1506. Is ordained priest and called to Glarus.
1512-1515. Accompanies the Swiss troops, as Chaplain, to Italy.
1516. Accepts a call to Einsiedeln.
1517. Preaches Forgiveness of Sins through Christ alone.
1518. Denounces the Sale of Indulgences.
1518. Removes to Zürich, in obedience to a call, as Chief Pastor.
1519. Assumes the duties of his new Pastorate.
1519. Becomes dangerously ill.
1522. Condemns Foreign Enlistments of Swiss Mercenaries.
1522. Publishes his first printed work. Fasting.
1523. Issues his 67 Theses and engages in the Church Councils.
1523. Introduces the German Language in the Public Services.
1524. Marries the Widow Anna Meier.
1525. Celebrates the Lord's Supper according to its Institution.
1529. Attends the Marburg Conference.
1530. Publishes the Bible in German.
1531. Issues Commentaries upon Isaiah and Jeremiah.
1531. October 11th. Dies on the Battle-field of Kappel.

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