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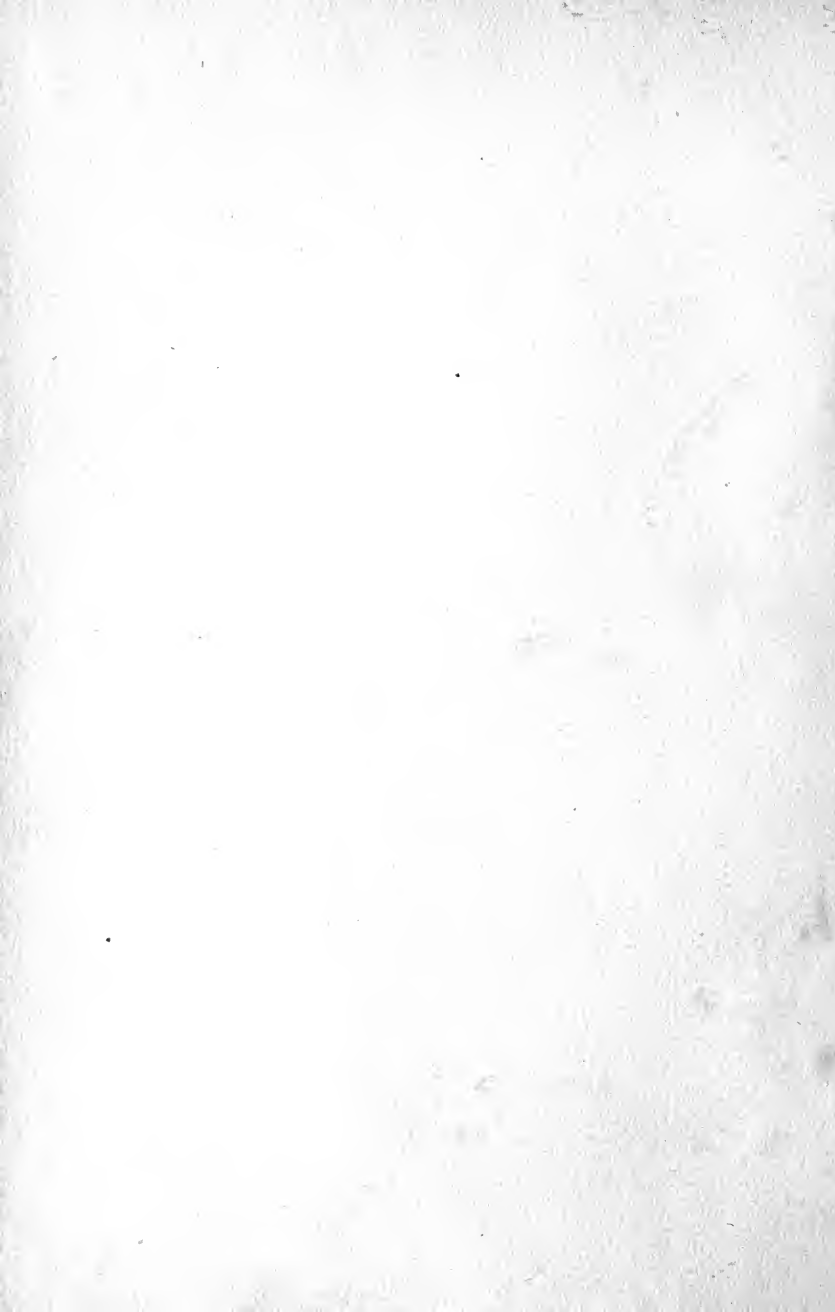
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LIFE OF ULRICH ZWINGLI

*THE SWISS PATRIOT AND
REFORMER*

THE CHAPTERS OF THIS BOOK
WITH BIBLIOGRAPHY

WERE PRESENTED TO
THE HARTFORD THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
AS A THESIS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

SAMUEL SIMPSON

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ULRICH ZWINGLI.

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LIFE OF
ULRICH ZWINGLI

*THE SWISS PATRIOT AND
REFORMER*

By SAMUEL SIMPSON
"



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TO MY WIFE



PREFATORY NOTE.

THE Protestant Reformation has proved a favorite theme with church historians, and to name or even to enumerate the volumes that have been written on the subject would be of itself a large undertaking. The interest felt by a great company of readers in this particular era and its special attractiveness to historical writers—facts amply attested by the existence of a vast and rapidly increasing literature—is a circumstance so well recognized and clearly understood that the writer feels that the briefest explanation or apology will suffice to account for the appearance of an additional book.

As subjects of study, the men who played the leading parts in the great drama of the Reformation are more interesting than the events in which they figured. The chief interest in the German Reformation centers about Luther; in the Scottish Reformation, about Knox; in the Swiss Reformation, about Zwingli or Calvin, according as attention is directed to the German-speaking or French-speaking portion of that country. That Luther fully deserves the large measure of consideration accorded him by historians, and the affectionate veneration in which his name is held

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by all branches of the Protestant church, no one will feel disposed to question; that Zwingli, his contemporary, is worthy of nothing better than the meager place to which fame has assigned him, many, from a sense of justice, find it hard to admit. Luther and Zwingli were called of Providence to perform, at the same time and in adjoining countries, tasks almost identical. The moral and spiritual equipment of each for the inestimable service they were to render to the cause of Christianity was such as apparently to entitle each to a like measure of credit and to an equally affectionate regard on the part of posterity. That writers of history have proved so partial respecting their memory is traceable not so much to any essential difference in their characters or disparity in their achievements as to accidents of birth, by which it was determined that the life and labors of one should be set upon a large stage—made the focus of the world's gaze—while the other was called to perform the same noble part in the presence of fewer witnesses and in a theater of miniature dimensions.

When materials were collected for this biography, with the exception of one or two translations, there was no life of Zwingli in the English language worthy of the name. An excellent volume on Zwingli (in English) has recently ap-

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peared, the joint work of Professors Jackson, Vincent, and Foster. Students of Zwingli will appreciate most this latest contribution to the literature of the subject. It was the writer's conviction of the urgent need of a brief, readable and authoritative life of Zwingli in the English language that induced him to undertake the present work, and in the labor of composition he has endeavored to keep steadily in mind the requirements of the general reader, for whom the work is primarily designed. So far as the needs of students are concerned there is little call for a new work on Zwingli's life. For them the scholarly and exhaustive biographies of J. C. Mörikofer and Rudolf Stähelin would seem to satisfy every demand. Mindful of the purpose and scope of the work, the writer has sedulously resisted the temptation to needlessly multiply foot-notes and references. While the volume is not designed as a guide to the study of Zwingli from the original sources, the references will be found sufficiently full to answer all ordinary requirements of the student. They indicate, in the main, the sources from which the facts embodied in the narrative have been gathered. First of these, and most important, Zwingli's complete works. The references are to the Schuler and Schulthess edition (HULDREICH ZWINGLI'S WERKE. *Erste*

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vollständige Ausgabe durch Melchior Schuler und Joh. Schulthess. Zürich: 1828-61. 8 vols.) Frequent reference is also made to Heinrich Bullinger's *Reformationsgeschichte*, and to the biographical sketch of Zwingli written by his friend and contemporary, Oswald Myconius. This work by Zwingli's long-time friend and warm admirer is eulogistic, as we would expect.

Of the biographies of Zwingli that have been found most helpful, mention must be made of Christoffel's *Huldreich Zwingli. Leben und ausgewählte Schriften*; Mörikofer's *Ulrich Zwingli nach den urkundlichen Quellen*; and Stähelin's *Huldreich Zwingli. Sein Leben und Wirken, nach den Quellen dargestellt*.

In the preparation of this volume the chief aim has been absolute fairness and accuracy of statement. The writer's conscientiousness in this regard has compelled him to spend much time in the wearisome but fascinating task of searching libraries, especially those of Continental Europe, in which the Zwingli literature is principally stored. But with all this painstaking care he has not the temerity to claim absolute correctness for every statement made.

The bibliography at the close will be found useful to the special student. It is compiled mainly from Georg Finsler's *Zwingli-Bibliographie. Verzeichnis der gedruckten Schriften von und*

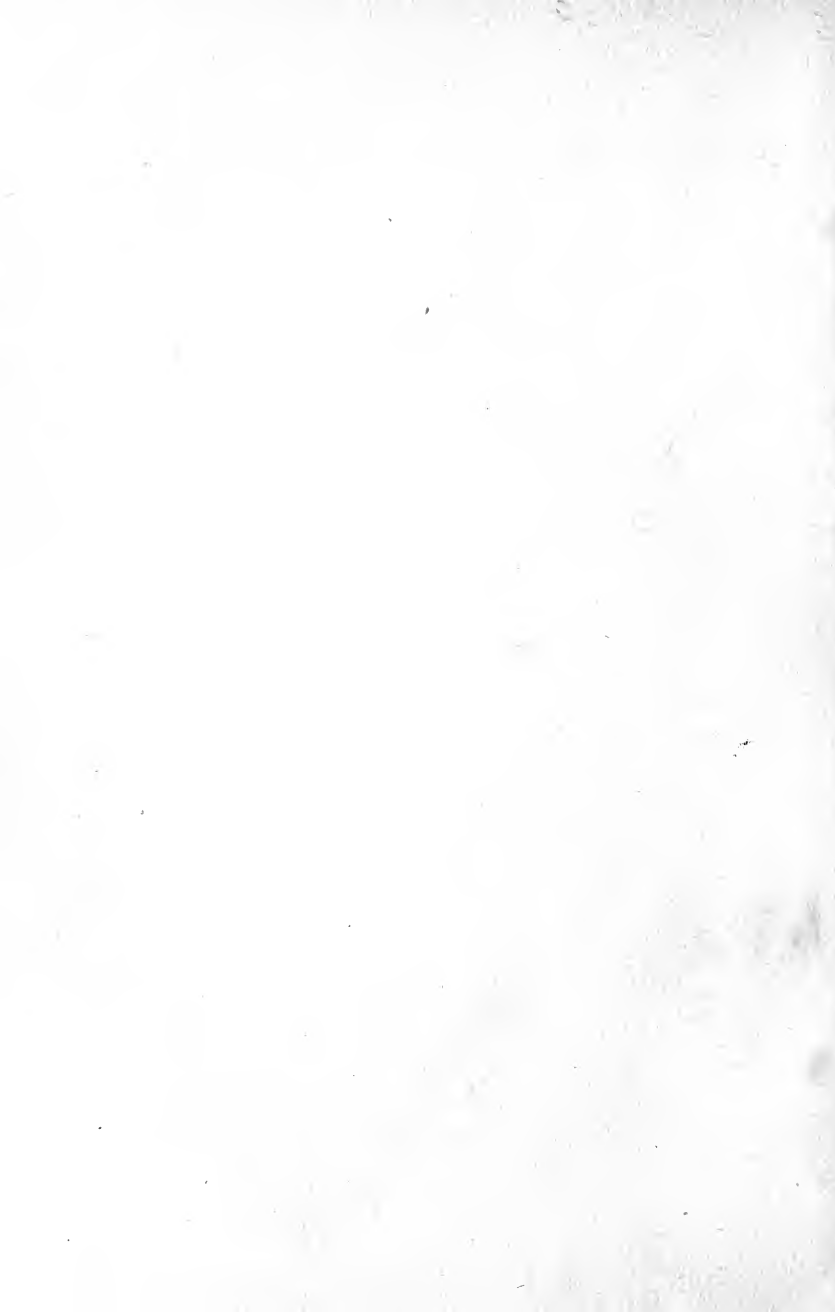
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über Ulrich Zwingli. (Zürich: Orell Füssli, 1897.)

Thanks are due to the Rev. James I. Good, D.D., of Reading, Pennsylvania, for his courteous assistance in the matter of the illustrations, all but one of which were made from photographs in his possession; to Prof. Williston Walker, Ph.D., D.D., of Yale University, who read the first draft of the manuscript and offered many valuable suggestions regarding it. But for the stimulus of his sympathetic interest in the work, and his words of personal encouragement, it is highly probable that the manuscript never would have been submitted to the publishers.

SAMUEL SIMPSON.

Hartford, Conn., September, 1902.



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ZWINGLI'S BIRTHPLACE: WILDHAUS

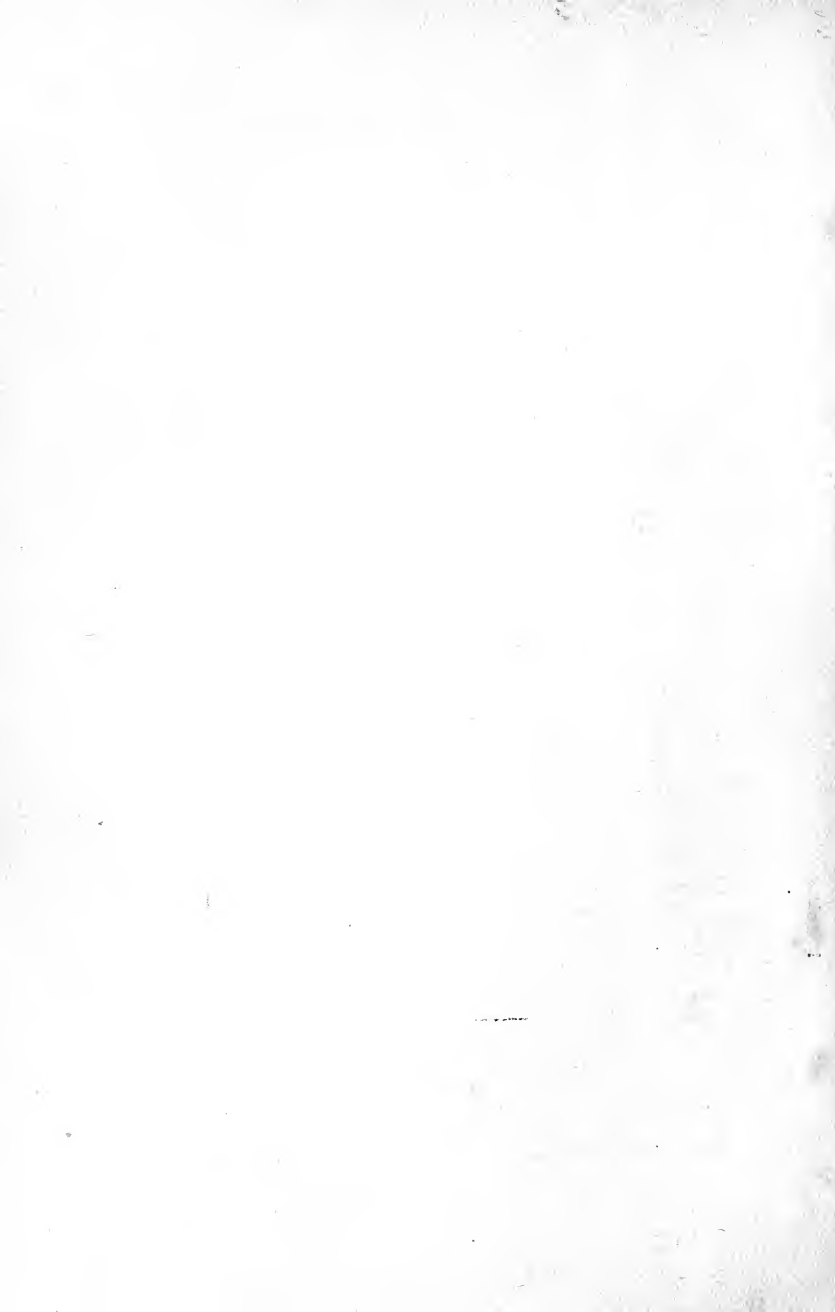
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LIFE OF ULRICH ZWINGLI.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

THE religious revolution that swept over Europe in the early half of the sixteenth century was a movement the origin of which can be ascribed to no one nation or people, much less to any one man. With respect to its beginnings it defies all attempts at localization. No country of Europe embraces within its borders a place which can claim the proud distinction of being the cradle of the great Reformation. In point of time equal difficulty is experienced when we attempt to fix upon the precise date at which this great movement began. For a long period God had been preparing for it in the hearts of His people, and was only awaiting the fullness of time when He should vindicate in the sight of all men the power of His truth. Historically, the Protestant Reformation stands forth as one of the choicest fruits of that great intellectual awakening of the fifteenth century known as the Renaissance.

Dark as the religious world appears immedi-

ately preceding the era of the Reformation, the lamp of divine truth had at no time suffered complete extinction. Here and there in the midst of a Church deeply engrossed in worldly ambition, the prey of venal and designing princes, enervated by moral corruption within and without, were found those who still retained the pure love of God in their hearts, and earnestly strove to realize in their lives the purity and power of Christ's teachings. The leaven of the true gospel had never wholly departed from the Papal Church; but, robbed of its life by the assumptions of the Roman system, it was not until the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that it began to display a vital activity.

Geographically considered, the Reformation was dualistic in its beginnings. The light burst forth simultaneously from two centers in the old world. It gleamed amidst the dark forests of Saxon Thuringia. It lighted up the fertile valleys intersecting the lake region of Switzerland, and dispensed its beams from the loftiest peaks of the Helvetic Alps. In Germany the torch was kindled by Martin Luther. In Switzerland, by Ulrich Zwingli.

The Swiss Republic, in its genesis and development, has little to distinguish it from the larger republics which have since taken their place

among the nations of the world, and with whose history we are more familiar. On August 1st, 1291, three forest cantons, Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden, entered into an "eternal covenant," and formed the nucleus of the Confederacy which has grown apace by conquest, purchase, and the incorporation of new territories until at present it numbers twenty-two cantons, with a population of about three millions of souls. The first canton to gain admittance to the original Confederacy was Lucerne (1332); Zurich followed (1351); Glarus and Zug (1352); Bern (1353); Freiburg and Soleure (1481); Basel and Schaffhausen (1501); Appenzell (1513). Thus there were in all thirteen cantons at the time of the Reformation. With them were connected many free bailiwicks* and several cities. The Swiss Confederation, as we now know it, dates from the Congress of Vienna (1815).

Switzerland, situated as it is in the heart of the Alps, is a land of dizzy peaks and abysmal valleys, having every variety of climate. On the high altitudes of the Bernese Oberland are felt all the rigors of a northern winter; while in the deep defiles to the south one finds the slopes bathed in tropic sunshine and the air laden with

**Gemeine Herrschaften*, comprising Aargau, Thurgau, Wallis, Geneva, the Grisons, the principedom of Neuchatel and Valangin.

the warmth and fragrance of perpetual spring-time. As in the case of Greece, the peculiar topography of the country has exercised an important influence on the national life and character of the people. The lofty mountain ranges cross and recross, thus forming the natural boundary lines of numerous little provinces. Sectionally inclosed in numerous valleys by these great walls of granite, a national feeling naturally arose resembling in its warmth a feeling of brotherhood. The hardships of life upon the mountains produced a strong, vigorous, and daring race. Their mountain fastnesses imparted to them a sense of ownership as well as security against invaders. All their environments were conducive to the production of a hardy, loyal, and liberty-loving people. The student of history is often impressed with the truth that the size of a country cannot be taken as a measure of its historical importance. The little country of Greece has affected the world far more profoundly than the great Assyrian Empire. Switzerland's place among the nations of Europe must not be determined by her territorial limits, but by the influence which she has exerted on the heart and life of the world, the contribution which she has made to the world's progress and civilization.

Our interest in the religious history of Switzerland springs from the fact that she is the garden in which was sown the seed that ultimately developed into what are now known as the Reformed churches, by which we mean that great aggregation of ecclesiastical families which trace their origin to Zwingli and Calvin, as distinguished from those which regard Luther as their church father, bear the Lutheran name, and accept the Augsburg Confession as their doctrinal symbol. The seed sown ere long became a mighty tree under the fostering care of the Swiss reformers. Enemies on every hand imperiled its life. Buffeted by the fierce and frequent blasts of political and religious antagonism, and exposed to the rude blows of a radicalism even more bitter than the Romanism it opposed, it developed, as we might expect under such discipline, the vigor and sturdiness of the mountain oak.

It is not our purpose to draw any close comparison between Luther and Zwingli, as to their personal characters or their respective places in the history of the Protestant Church. To do so would be an injustice to both. A different work fell to the lot of each, and each was greatest in his own sphere. Luther was the "road-breaker" of the Reformation. He was the first to

assert the supremacy of conscience instructed by the Word of God over the decrees of popes and councils, and is therefore justly entitled to the first place among the honored company of reformers. But if we compare his work geographically with that of the Swiss reformers, of whom Zwingli was leader, we shall find that the preponderance of influence exerted on the world is greatly on the side of the Swiss. Lutheranism as a system has not attained any great hold outside of Germany. On the other hand, the Reformed doctrines have extended westward and northward into France, Holland, England, Scotland, and thence across the seas.

The success of the Reformed doctrines in Switzerland was powerfully affected by the peculiarities of the federal polity. Originally, and for a long time after the Reformation period, the republic was a loose confederation of independent states, ruled by a Diet of one house in which all the cantons, large and small, were equally represented. Thus the confederation was one of states, not of the people. It is not surprising, therefore, that the gospel met with defeat in the Diet at a time when the majority of the people were favorable to it. The lack of a centralized government, however, rendered it morally impossible to enforce the decrees of the Diet, a cir-

cumstance which left the Reformed cantons practically undisturbed in the exercise of their worship. Had Switzerland possessed at this time a popular government like our own, sufficiently centralized to insure the enforcement of its edicts, it is to be feared that the Reformers, being in the ascendancy, would have attempted to force their doctrines upon the Catholic cantons, and would thus have brought about a reaction which would have greatly retarded the progress of the gospel.

The date at which the gospel was first brought to Switzerland is not known. It was very early, some time during the third or fourth century, when that region of Europe was part of the Roman Empire, Geneva is the seat of the first church and bishopric. During the Middle Ages, Switzerland, then wholly in subjection to the papal see, was divided into six dioceses—Geneva, Constance, Basel, Coire, Lausanne, and Sion.

The need of reform in Switzerland is abundantly evinced in the deep and widespread corruption which prevailed in the Church at this time. The wretched moral condition of the laity is not surprising when we consider the contaminating influence of the foreign military service, and the profligate example set them by their

spiritual guides, the clergy.* So universally ignorant and superstitious were they that none could be found who in intellect and moral influence were able to cope with the evangelical leaders. As to their private lives, if we accept the statement of Zwingli, who was himself a priest, and therefore in a position to know the facts, "scarcely one in a thousand was chaste." The foreign military service was a practice the evils of which Zwingli fully perceived, and he opposed it with all the energy and ardor of a devoted patriot.

For generations the crowned heads of Europe and the popes had rivaled each other in bids for the service of Swiss soldiers in their respective armies. The courage of these sturdy mountaineers made their services in the field eminently valuable. The Swiss returned from the battlefields flushed with victory, but bearing with them pensions which forbade their continuing longer the old life of simple frugality, and having acquired a general dissoluteness that clearly foreboded the degeneracy of the nation. Zwingli, while pastor at Glarus, thrice accompanied the mercenaries of his congregation as chaplain to the field of battle; and al-

* *Vide* Mörikofer, *Ulrich Zw.*, vol. I., p. 67; Egli, *Actensammlung*, p. 62.

though his spirit was fired by the bravery of his countrymen, his heart bled as he saw brother pitted against brother, shedding each other's blood for the gold of foreign princes.

Looked at from the other side, a hopeful indication was an increased interest in the study of the classics, the tendency of which was to stimulate thought and thereby open the eyes of men to the abuses of the Church. In the University of Basel, Thomas Wyttenbach (1505-1508) taught theology, and fearlessly attacked the mass, indulgences, and celibacy. Erasmus, of Rotterdam, the humanist and renowned scholar of the sixteenth century, spent sixteen of the best years of his life at Basel. Here he published his Greek Testament and numerous other works. In fact, Basel at this time was a leading center of literary and reformatory ideas. Its busy presses reproduced the works of Luther, and in its lecture-rooms were heard the voices of Capito, Hedio, and Ecolampadius.

It is instructive to note certain points of union and divergence in the Lutheran and Reformed Churches as they grew up under their respective leaders. When the two great heads of the Reformation met at the Marburg Conference they came to substantial agreement on all the fifteen articles of faith, drafted as a basis of concord,

except one. Luther would not consent to Zwingli's symbolic understanding of Christ's presence in the eucharist. At a later date Calvin brought the Reformed Churches nearer the Lutheran on this doctrine. Luther regarded justification by faith the cardinal doctrine of the gospel. Zwingli taught this doctrine as clearly as did Luther, but, like Calvin, seemed to subordinate it to the more basic doctrine of eternal foreordination by God's grace. Their views harmonized on the doctrine of universal priesthood. Calvin was a rigid disciplinarian and conceived and elaborated at Geneva an ecclesiastical theocracy. Luther gave little heed to discipline and the practical affairs of church life, but devoted all his energies to the reformation of doctrine and faith. Neither Luther nor Zwingli conceived of a church independent of state interference or control. Luther was born a monarchist and entertained a profound reverence for monarchical institutions. His idea of obedience to state law comprehended not only the domain of outward conduct, but the province of faith also. Zwingli placed the authority of the Gospel above the state and sought to make the state an instrument for the enforcement of its precepts. His scheme of reform did not stop with the inner life of the individual, but comprehended the reorganization of society in conform-

ity with the demands of Scripture. Another mark of difference between the two churches is the relative prominence given in each to the men who were the principal factors in their creation. The Lutheran Church is distinctively the church of Luther. It bears his name, and the worshiper is reminded in a multiplicity of ways of the work of the Saxon Reformer. In the Reformed Churches there is no such obtrusion of names or labeling of doctrines. A possible explanation of this difference may be found in the fact that the Reformed Churches in their final development stand forth as the work of many instead of one. Zwingli planted, but the watering was left to Bullinger, Calvin, Knox, and others.

The course of events has abundantly proved that each branch of the two great evangelical families has its place in the Redeemer's kingdom. The science of theology and the science of Biblical and historical criticism are deeply indebted to Luther and his followers. On the other hand, the Reformed Churches have proved themselves the more liberal and enterprising. They have molded a type of Christian character distinguished for courage and progressive spirit. Chiefly have they ever recognized the urgency of Christ's parting command, and led in the work of carrying the gospel to heathen shores.

CHAPTER II.

PARENTAGE AND SCHOOL LIFE.

FAR above the level of Lake Zurich, in the canton of St. Gall, lies the quiet valley of the Toggenburg. From Wyl, at its western extremity, the highway gradually ascends along the banks of the Thur to Gams, a distance of thirty-five miles. The traveler with a passionate fondness for the noble scenery in which Switzerland abounds will find few pleasures so enchanting as a ride through this valley. As he journeys toward Gams the view in all directions becomes more interesting and grandly picturesque. Looking to the north from Alt-St-Johann he sees, if the day be clear, the snow-capped crown of the Sentis, the highest mountain in the canton of Appenzell. In the same direction, and much nearer at hand, rise the lofty peaks of the Sommerigkopf and the Altmann. Turning his eyes southward across the valley he surveys the Churfirten range in its whole extent, rising like a seven turreted battlement against the sky. Far to the east, in which direction the valley gradually descends, tower the Tyrolese Alps, pierc-

ing with their jagged summits the distant line of the horizon and presenting to the eye of the beholder a picture of unparalleled mountain grandeur. Near the head of the valley, and also near the place where the river Thur has its rise, there grew up some time during the eleventh or twelfth century a little village named Wildhaus. The villagers, like most Swiss peasantry at the present day, were shepherds, herding their flocks upon the mountains, and depending on them as their only means of livelihood. Somewhat removed from the village proper, in a little community called Lysighaus, there stood in the last half of the fifteenth century a rude chalet, owned and inhabited by a man named Zwingli. After the lapse of more than four hundred years this primitive mountain home is still standing in a fair state of preservation, and because of its historic associations is the goal of many a pilgrimage. A signboard near the roadside directs the traveler to "Zwingli's *Hütte*." * Although of

*The "Zwingli Hütte" stands back from the highway a distance of perhaps thirty yards. With the exception of the front, which overlooks the valley, it is completely incased with boards to protect it from the ravages of the elements. From the front door a narrow corridor traverses the ground floor. To the right as you enter is the living-room. An ancient *Ofen* occupies considerable space in one corner, and with the exception of a small desk constitutes all the furniture in the room. On the opposite side of the corridor is a small apartment, probably a bedroom. The one remaining room, at the rear, has an earthen floor and was doubtless used as a kitchen. The wooden walls and ceilings are perfectly plain, devoid of even the rudest attempt at ornamentation, and are now black with age. There is nothing about

humble circumstances, and pursuing the same lowly occupation as his neighbors, such was the piety and integrity of this man that his fellow-villagers made him *Ammann*, or bailiff of the community, as a testimony of their confidence and esteem.* The maiden name of the *Ammann's* wife was Margaret Meili. Her brother, John Meili, was for thirteen years abbot of the cloister of Fischingen, in Thurgau. The *Ammann's* brother, Bartholomew, was also an ecclesiastic, being dean of Wesen, on Lake Walenstadt.† Two sons had already been born in this humble shepherd's cot when, on the 1st of January, 1484,‡ Margaret gave birth to a third son, who was christened Ulrich in honor of his father. The family circle was afterward enlarged by the addition of five more sons and two daughters.§

The child Ulrich, as he advanced in age and grew in moral understanding, developed traits of unusual promise. He manifested a sprightliness of disposition and a quickness of intellect much beyond his years, and doubtless inspired

the place to warrant the inference that Zwingly's parents were in more prosperous circumstances than the average Swiss peasant of that day. But if there was little in the interior appointments of Zwingly's childhood home to kindle a sense of pleasure, that lack was more than counterbalanced by the glories of nature visible from the doorstep. The view of the valley and the Churfirsten range from this point is magnificent.

*Os. Myc. *Vita et Obitu Zw.*, II.

†Bullinger *Reformationsgesch.*, I., p. 6.

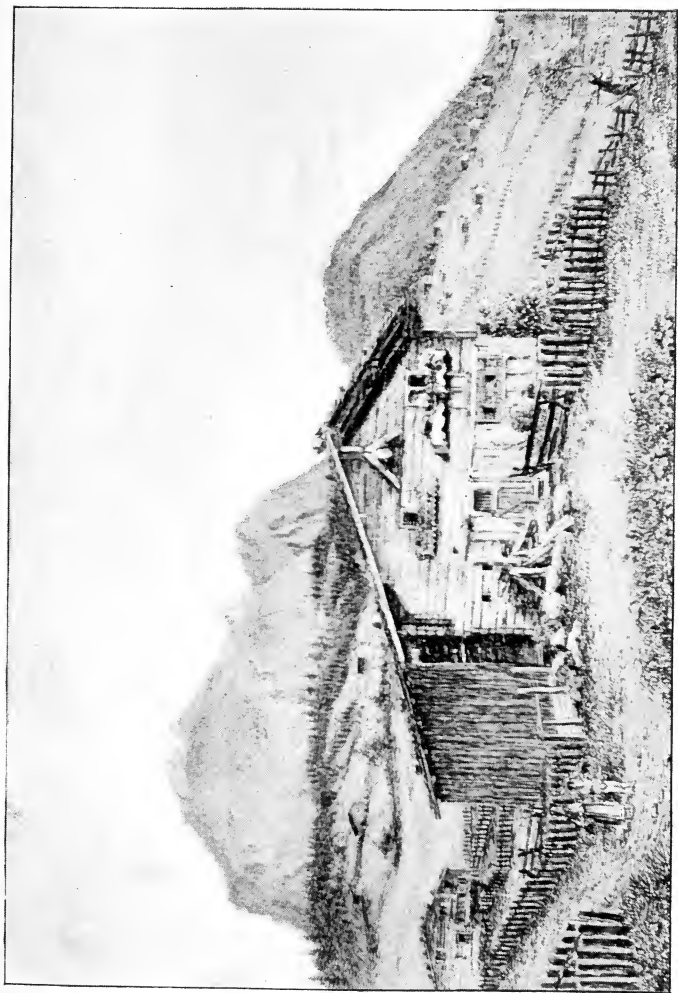
‡H. J. Hott., *H. E. T.*, VI., p. 193.

§J. C. Mörikofer, *Ulrich Zw.*, I., p. 5.

in the hearts of his fond and pious parents the hope that some day he might attain to a position of great honor and usefulness in the Church. His childhood days were spent in the same way and amidst the same mountain scenes as those of the other children of the place. With them, in summer, he climbed the mountains to the *Schafboden*, or high pasture lands, to visit the herders. He joined heartily in all the rollicking sports in which the children of the Swiss peasantry so freely indulge. His eager and receptive child spirit drank in the freedom of his mountain life. His youthful imagination and latent sense of the beautiful doubtless received at this time many a quickening impulse as his eyes feasted on the sublime glories of earth and sky. As he witnessed the mountain sunrise and listened to the rumbling of the thunder reverberated from peak to peak and rolled along the valley his thoughts must have been lifted to the contemplation of Him who made the mountains and commands the storm. Speaking of these early influences his friend Myconius naively remarks, "In my simplicity I have often thought that from his nearness to heaven he has acquired something heavenly and divine." * His childhood, like that

*Os. Myc. *Vita et Obitu Zw.*

of the son of Jesse, was spent under the open sky and amidst the flocks. Like David also he learned to commune with nature's God and to discern his fatherly care and wisdom in all his works. In later years, when he had attained the fullness of manhood, he composed a work which echoes with those lofty thoughts which in early life must have occupied his reflective soul: "Not only man, but the whole universe has its being, and lives and moves in God. Nor of man alone did Paul say, 'In Him we live, and move, and have our being'; but figuratively of all creation. Man is not alone of divine origin, but every creature, although some belong to a nobler order than others. But since all are God's, the nobler they are, the more they proclaim His power and glory. Do not the smallest animals, the marmots, for example, through their habits and instincts declare the wisdom and providence of God? Do not even the things that are devoid of reason and feeling testify that the power, goodness, the quickening and sustaining energy of God is ever present with them? The earth, for example, the mother of all, unmindful of the wounds made on her by the tools of the husbandman, waits not to be importuned to give forth her rich treasures. The dew, the rain, the rivers moisten whatever



ZWINGLI'S BIRTHPLACE, WILDHAUS.

(Reproduced from a drawing.)



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has sustained injury by drought, so that by its marvelous growth it testifies to the presence of the divine strength and life. Even the mountains, those senseless, rugged, inert masses which give to the earth, as the bones to the flesh, form and solidity; which prevent, or at least render difficult, passage from place to place; which, though heavier than the earth, yet soar above it and sink not; do they not proclaim the imperishable might, the infinite majesty of Jehovah?" *

In the long winter evenings the vivid imagination of the growing child found free exercise in the conversations of the home. Around that humble fireside were doubtless often heard the current stories of Swiss patriotism. Young hearts were made to glow with indignation by the recital of the cruel tyrannies of the infamous Gessler, and swell with pride as in breathless silence they listened to the stories of heroic deeds which freed their country forever from the cruel hand of the Austrian. Far sweeter to their ears than any fairy tale were the old Swiss legends, especially the story of the three men of Rütli, and the marvelous deeds of the immortal Tell.

But the school life of the child Ulrich was now

**De Providentia Dei*, Op. Zw., IV., p. 92.

to begin. The *Ammann*, perceiving that in his third son there were latent powers, which, if properly nurtured, might some day make him a distinguished man, resolved to fulfil his obligations as a father by doing all in his power for the education of his child. He accordingly committed the boy to the immediate care of his brother, the dean of Wesen,* who in turn placed him in charge of the parish schoolmaster. He remained but a brief time under the care of his first teacher, for his brilliancy as a pupil soon necessitated his transfer to a more advanced school. He had now attained the age of ten. Gregory Buenzli, a man of kind heart, sound learning, and gentle disposition, was master of the parish school of St. Theodore at Basel. To the care of this man the dean confided his precocious nephew for further instruction. Here from the very first he made rapid progress. He engaged in the discussions which were then in vogue even in the lower schools, and the numerous victories that he won in the art of debate soon called down upon him the displeasure and jealousy of his fellows. Music also engaged his attention at this early stage. In this, writes his friend Myconius, "he excelled beyond

*Bartholomew Zwingli was an admirer of the New Learning and, for his day, a man of considerable intellectual breadth.

his years, as happens in the case of those who are naturally inclined to any art." *

Although to his master, Buenzli, his inborn gayety seemed hardly in keeping with the serious nature of his studies, yet he loved the boy greatly, † and advised that he be sent to a school better suited to his needs. ‡

Heinrich Woelflin (Lupulus), a man of excellent scholarship and poetic temperament, had recently opened in Bern a school for teaching the classics. His was the first school in Switzerland organized and conducted in strict accordance with the ideas of the "New Learning." Lupulus became the next teacher of the brilliant young Toggenburger. "Here," says Myconius, "he was admitted into the sanctuary of the classic writers, and acquired elegance of speech and a knowledge and judgment of the world. He mastered the theory of poetry also, so that he was able to write poems himself and to cleverly criticise those written by others." §

Ulrich's stay in Bern of less than two years was abruptly terminated in consequence of an affair which, had he remained longer, might

*Os. Myc. *Vita et Obitu Zw.*, II.

†The attachment of master and pupil for each other is brought to light in the letters which subsequently passed between them. *Vide Op. Zw.*, VII., pp. 111, 257 and 567.

‡Os. Myc. *Vita et Obitu Zw.*, II.

§*Ibid.*

have proved disastrous to himself and to the progress of evangelical truth in Switzerland. The Dominican monks, between whom and the Franciscans there was bitter quarreling and contention, sought every means whereby to humble their rivals and exalt themselves in the eyes of the people. They were soon attracted by the sweet singing of the boy Ulrich, and thinking he would make a valuable acquisition could they persuade him to join their order, they immediately set to work to draw him into their convent, offering him a place there until he was ready to pass his novitiate. Fortunately, however, these doings reached the ears of the dean and the boy's father, who, fearing the influence of such a life on the tender object of their hopes, ordered him to quit Bern at once and repair to the University of Vienna.* The youthful Zwingli lost no time in obeying the orders of his superiors.

Arrived in Vienna, he took up the study of scholastic philosophy, in order, as Myconius says, to increase the range of his knowledge and add polish to his previous acquirements.†

Closely associated with him at Vienna were two young men from his native canton in Switzerland—Joachim von Watt (Vadian), who was

*Bullinger *Reformationsgesch.*, I., p. 7.

†*Vita et Obitu Zw.*, II.

the son of a wealthy merchant of St. Gallen, and Henry Loriti (Glareanus), son of a Mollis peasant, whose brow later in life Maximilian I. encircled with the poetic wreath.* When he had completed two years of study at Vienna he returned to his home in Wildhaus. But having once tasted of the springs of learning his soul could not rest content amidst the seclusion of his shepherd home and the rural scenes that were the joy of his childhood. His thirst for knowledge was not yet satisfied. In 1502 he entered the University of Basel. After another visit to his home in Wildhaus, his friend and biographer says, "Lest he should desist too long from the pursuit of letters, he sought Basel once more, and what he had learned hitherto he now began to impart to others. He was appointed teacher of the classics in the school of St. Martin, not without great profit to his pupils. At the same time he delved more deeply into philosophy, studying the problems of the Sophists most carefully, for no other reason than that if he found they ought to be opposed he might understand his enemy. He lightened his more serious tasks by indulging in wit and pleasantry, for he was light-hearted by nature, and of a cheerful

*Op. Zw., VII.

disposition."* Here again he indulged his native love of music. He could play skilfully on almost any instrument that came to his hands. His devotion to music led his enemies to accuse him of frivolity, a charge which Myconius indignantly refutes, on the ground that he practised music only as a mental restorative after his faculties had been exhausted by close and diligent study.†

When he had pursued his study of philosophy and letters for a sufficient length of time he received his master's degree, accepting it out of deference to the current prejudice which regarded those learned only who were possessed of splendid titles, rather than because he felt there was any intrinsic value in such distinctions.‡ He now directed his attention to the so-called scholastic theology, and although he was unable to conceal the weariness and disgust that it inspired, nevertheless he conquered his feelings sufficiently to penetrate its depths in much the same manner as a spy would invade the camp of an enemy. As a source of positive knowledge, he came to regard his theological studies a sheer waste of time. "All things were confused, hu-

*Os. Myc. *Vita et Obitu Zw.*, III.

†*Ibid.*

‡*Ibid.*, IV.

man wisdom, God, senseless phrases, barbarisms, vainglorious—everything, in fact. Never could he here hope for sound doctrine.”* Fortunately, there appeared an oasis in the midst of this dreary expanse of barren scholasticism. In 1505 † Thomas Wyttenbach, of Biel, in Switzerland, who had studied and taught at Tübingen, came to Basel. As a teacher he was thoroughly conversant with the classic languages, to which was added a profound knowledge of Holy Scripture.‡ He began lecturing on the “Sentences” of Peter Lombard. His manner was earnest and attractive, and Zwingli soon enrolled himself among his pupils. Wyttenbach was an adherent of the Church of Rome, but his acquaintance with Scripture had opened his eyes to many glaring abuses, the mass and indulgences especially. He boldly attacked these errors as they were revealed to his mind. To Wyttenbach Zwingli ascribes the credit of first opening his eyes to the abuses of the Church,§ and of setting forth Christ as the only mediator between God and man, in whose atoning sacrifice is the only hope of remission of sins.|| In after years Wyttenbach fol-

*Os. Myc. *Vita et Obitu Zw.*, IV.

†Leo Jud in *Pref. at Adnot, Zw.*, N. T.

‡H. J. Hott., *H. E. T.*, VI., p. 194.

§Leo Jud in *Pref. at Adnot, Zw.*, N. T. Cf. also *Op. Zw.*, I., p. 254.

||*Op. Zw.*, III., p. 544.

lowed the labors of Zwingli with sympathetic interest, though on account of his advanced age he took no part in the religious movements. On the 15th of June, 1523, Zwingli, who was then at Zurich, wrote his old teacher a long and friendly letter.*

His life at Basel acquired additional significance from the fact that he here formed a friendship that lasted until his death, and from which he derived great encouragement and consolation during his darkest hours. Leo Jud, son of a priest of Alsace, was also a regular attendant on the lectures of Thomas Wyttenbach. He is described as a youth of diminutive stature, weak and sickly in appearance, but whose eyes bespoke a soul of mingled gentleness and intrepidity. Leo also embraced the views of Wyttenbach, and possessed many personal qualities which brought him into close sympathy with Zwingli. He was likewise a lover of music and possessed a fine voice. Zwingli and Jud were much in company, and after long hours of hard study their room was heard to resound with the sweet tones of Leo's voice, while Zwingli's hand played the accompaniment. The personalities of these two friends were largely supplemental to each other

*Op. Zw., VII., 297-300.

and their friendship in many respects resembles that of Luther and Melanchthon.

About this time the parish of Glarus, near Zwingli's home, was without a pastor, and the burghers of the community, who had heard with pride of the attainments of their young countryman, in the free exercise of a newly acquired right, elected him as their pastor. Zwingli accepted, and, after having been ordained—probably by the Bishop of Constance—hastened to Glarus to assume at once his parochial duties. On his way thither he preached his first sermon at Rapperswyl, and performed mass for the first time at Wildhaus, St. Michael's Day, September 29, 1506.* The pleasure of his first days in the pastorate was marred by an experience only too commonly met with at that time, and which well serves to illustrate the disorder which then prevailed in the Church. No sooner had the vacancy at Glarus occurred than Henry Göldli, of Zurich, a notorious speculator in church livings and a papal favorite, purchased of Pope Julius II. the right of preferment to the place. When Göldli appeared at Glarus with the pontiff's letter of investiture the people successfully maintained their right of independent choice; but before he

*Bullinger *Reformationsgesch.*, I., p. 7.

retired he compelled Zwingli to pay more than a hundred gulden as indemnity for the relinquishment of his claims.*

*See J. C. Mörkofer, *U. Zw.*, I., p. 12. In Switzerland at this time positions in the Church could be obtained in consideration of an agreement to pay into the papal treasury a certain proportion of the revenues. This state of affairs led some to "purchase" livings of the papal court merely as a financial speculation, hoping to dispose of their titles at an advance. Public sentiment did not condemn the practice. Göldli's transactions, however, were so extensive that charges of dishonesty were preferred against him by the Federal Diet.

CHAPTER III.

ZWINGLI AS PASTOR OF GLARUS. 1506-1516.

ZWINGLI was twenty-two years of age when he entered upon the duties of his first pastorate at Glarus. His parish was an extensive one, embracing nearly a third of the entire canton. He began his work with the same enthusiasm he had formerly shown in the prosecution of his studies. His faithfulness and zeal as a pastor were indefatigable, and his ministrations as a preacher were characterized by a depth and earnestness unusual in a priest of his time. He entered upon his calling with a deep conviction of its high sanctity and importance, burdened with the sense of his responsibility and general unfitness for so great and holy a work. "He became a priest," says Myconius, "and devoted himself to the principal studies of divinity; for he perceived that one ought to know many things to whom had been committed the office of teaching the flock of Christ." * Acquaintance with God appeared to him to be the chief requisite of the priestly of-

*Os. Myc. *Vita et Obitu Zw.*, IV.

face. To obtain this he now took up the study of the Bible. He searched diligently both the Old and New Testaments. His tireless application to the Word of God soon gained for him a reputation as one profoundly versed in Holy Scripture. Far from entertaining any such opinion of himself, Zwingli counted the little knowledge he had gained as altogether vain and superficial without a knowledge of the languages in which the Bible was originally written. His Scripture reading up to this time had been confined to the Latin versions. He now began without the assistance of an instructor the study of Greek, that he might be able to read the New Testament in the original, and thus obtain from the very fountain head the pure doctrine of Christ. His natural aptitude for linguistic study enabled him in a short time so to master the language that he read with ease not only the New Testament, but the leading Greek authors as well, in whom he took great delight. He strove also to perfect himself in the art of oratory by a careful study of the masters of antiquity. He read Cicero and committed Valerius Maximus to memory. Much as Zwingli admired the genius of the great writers of antiquity and prized them as models of excellence, his critical turn of mind saved him from the error of blind worship and slavish imitation.

As a preacher he sought out by experience the most effective modes of expression, and valued the classics in so far as they supplemented the results of his own study.

Zwingli's devotion to the Word soon began to bear its legitimate fruit. Treasures hitherto unknown were revealed to him not only, but, as his friend Myconius informs us, there was disclosed to him at this time a new method of interpretation which completely revolutionized his ideas of Biblical research. "After he had learned from Peter that Scripture is not of private interpretation, he raised his eyes to heaven seeking the Spirit as teacher, praying that the divine meaning might be clearly revealed to his mind. The obscure passages he illumined by those which were clear, that as he read the Scriptures every hearer might know that he was taught of the Spirit instead of by man."*

Many have accused Zwingli of liberalism, and of a desire to exalt reason above the Bible. No charge could be wider of the truth. Zwingli was no rationalist, in the technical sense of that term. Holy Scripture illumined by the Spirit of God was to him the absolute authority. Man was not permitted to accommodate the Word to

*Os. Myc. *Vita et Obitu Zw.*, IV.

his own prejudices or preconceptions. While he accepted the Word of God as the only absolute authority in matters of religion, yet he did not reject as worthless the explanations of the Fathers. He read them in later life and deemed them especially valuable because of their nearness to the Gospel period, treating their statements, as he tells us, in much the same way as he would the statements of his learned friends. Holy Scripture was to his mind the ultimate test of all things.* A poem of Erasmus, which Zwingli chanced to read about this time, made a deep impression on his mind. In this poem Erasmus represents men as perishing because they will not seek help from Christ alone. Zwingli, writing in 1523, refers to it thus: "I shall not withhold from you, dear brethren in Christ Jesus, how it was I arrived at the firm conviction that we need no other mediator than Christ, and that none but Christ alone can mediate between God and man. Eight or nine years ago I read a poem of Erasmus, of Rotterdam, on the Lord Jesus, wherein Jesus complains that men do not seek all good from Him, who is the source of all good, the Savior, Refuge, and Treasure of the

*Os. Myc. *Vita et Obitu Zw.*, VI. *De orthodoxis scriptoribus sensit, quod ipsi de se ipsis, legendos esse cum iudicio et scriptura canonica cur Lydio lapide probandos.*

soul. Whereupon I reflected, 'If that is so, why then do we seek help from any creature?' ”*

Zwingli now felt it his duty to preach against the sins of the community. "He began," says Myconius, "to denounce certain base practices, especially the taking of pensions from princes and the mercenary wars; for he saw that the doctrine of divine truth could find no place until these sources of iniquity were drained."† Myconius further informs us that Zwingli incurred about this time suspicion of heresy because of his open approval of certain tenets championed at Rome by Pico della Mirandola.‡

The Italian wars, in which the Swiss cantons became involved, offered repeated interruptions to Zwingli's studies and pastoral duties while at Glarus. The success of the Swiss in their wars for political independence, and the splendor of their military achievements in previous years, had called forth the admiration of the great nations of Europe. Appreciating the fearless courage of these rude mountaineers, and desiring to turn it to their own advantage, the neighboring nations became as tireless in their efforts as they were

*Op. Zw., I., p. 298.

†Os. Myc. *Vita et Obitu Zw.*, IV.; Bull. *Reformationsgesch.*, I., p. 7.

‡Giovanni Pico, b. in Mirandola in 1463; d. in Florence in 1494. Zwingli first became acquainted with Pico's writings at Basel. The remnant of Zwingli's library, now in the Zwingli Museum at Zurich, contains a number of works written by Pico.

unscrupulous in their measures to contract friendly alliances with the little republic. They established embassies in the chief cities of Switzerland, and their wily agents by gold and flattery soon committed this simple-hearted people to a policy that well nigh led to their destruction.

The bone of contention at this time between Austria and the Pope on the one hand, and France on the other, was the Duchy of Milan. Louis XII. from the time of his accession to the throne of France began to enforce his claims upon this duchy, then in possession of Lodovico Sforza, surnamed the Moor, who ruled by a usurpation alike odious to the Milanese and the King of France. Louis' army in a short time gained possession, but the duke, far from considering himself defeated, succeeded in raising an army of volunteers in Switzerland, although the cantons were at this time bound by treaty to the French king. With the aid of these and a small Austrian contingent the duke was soon once more in full possession of his former powers. Once more the army of Louis invaded Milan. The duke was forced to take refuge in Novara, where he was besieged, and being forced to surrender at discretion, he was taken prisoner and carried to France, where he died ten years later. Pope Julius II., alarmed at the growing ascend-



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ency of the French, led in the violation of the league of Cambray, and succeeded in uniting Maximilian I. in a coalition whose purpose it was to rob Louis XII. of his Italian possessions and place Maximilian Sforza, Lodovico's son, in the ducal chair of his father. The assistance of the Swiss cantons seemed necessary to insure the success of this project. It so happened that the relations existing between France and Switzerland were at this time somewhat strained, in consequence of a dispute over the town of Bellinzona, which both claimed; and when at the expiration of the treaty it was proposed to renew it, the French king stubbornly refused. Matthew Schinner, papal legate of Switzerland, and who from this time played a most important rôle in Swiss politics, was a man who had risen rapidly from the humble position of parish priest to the bishopric of Sion.* He was a man of boundless personal ambition, and thoroughly wedded to the policy of Pope Julius II. The Bishop of Sion shrewdly seized upon the defection existing between Switzerland and France to unite the Swiss in a new coalition against Louis XII. for the restoration of the Duchy of Milan to the son of Lodovico. In this he was successful. The Swiss

*Made Bishop of Sion, or *Sitten*, in 1509; Cardinal, 1511.

Diet in response to his plea espoused the cause of the Emperor and the Pope. Schinner received the cardinal's hat as a reward for his services.

For some time the newly appointed cardinal had secretly pursued the policy of gaining over to the Pope by the bestowment of favors every person of influence in Switzerland. In the case of the clergy these favors usually took the form of promotion in the Church, or of an annual pension. Schinner quickly discerned the merits of the popular young priest of Glarus, and Zwingli soon learned that the Pope had assigned him a pension of fifty florins to aid him in the furtherance of his studies. Zwingli at this time was a firm believer in the papacy, and had no scruples about receiving the Pope's benefice, which, so long as he drew it, he conscientiously devoted to the purchase of classical and theological books. But neither the friendship of the Cardinal of Sion nor the pension of the Pope could blind his eyes to the dreadful effects of these foreign campaigns upon the moral life of the Swiss people. The soldiers who had formerly gone forth at the solicitation of the Pope's legate had come back shattered in body and soul. Many of the strong men whom the nation could not spare had perished on the field of battle. Those that returned brought back not only maimed and bleeding

bodies, but souls imbued with the darkest vices. The farms and flocks were neglected. The cry of the widow and the orphan began to be heard on every side. All this struck deeply into the soul of Zwingli. In vain was his voice repeatedly heard, now warning, now pleading with his congregation to renounce the offers of the crafty foreigners which were luring them to destruction. In 1510 appeared his poem entitled "The Labyrinth," an allegory on the perils of the state, in which he adopts the symbolism of the familiar Greek myth of Theseus and the Minotaur. In this composition, which contains 514 verses,* the Minotaur represents the evils of the foreign service of his countrymen, which devour the nation. The hero, Theseus, sets out to deliver his country. He encounters various obstacles in the form of savage beasts, but slays them all and effects his country's deliverance. Somewhat later he published a second allegory directed against the foreign service, "The Ox and the Other Beasts," † resembling "The Labyrinth" in its general style, but much shorter. Zwingli from this time doubtless felt himself especially called to rescue his country from its great peril. His faithful warn-

*Op. Zw., II., part 2d, p. 245.

†*Ibid.*, p. 257. These so-called poems circulated from hand to hand in manuscript and were not published until after Zwingli's death.

ings were unheeded. Cardinal Schinner obtained permission to levy troops in Switzerland for the assistance of the Pope. The parish of Glarus responded to the call of the Cardinal as generously as any **part** of the Confederacy. Zwingli himself was detailed to accompany the troops as field-preacher. In 1512 the Swiss army, headed by the Cardinal of Sion, passed through the mountains of the Tyrol and joined the forces of the Venetians, which were waiting under the walls of Verona. The advance of the combined armies easily overcame every resistance. The Duchy of Milan was soon cleared of the French, except the castles of Novara and Milan. Sensible of the important services rendered him by the Swiss, the Pope conferred upon them the title of "Defenders of the Church." Maximilian Sforza was installed as Duke of Milan, and Switzerland guaranteed to him the possession of his duchy. Although driven out of Milan, the French were by no means overcome. They returned the next year with powerful reënforcements to renew the contest. Many of the Milanese deserted Sforza and joined the standard of Louis. Thus weakened, the Swiss garrison, which had been left to protect the duke, was forced to fall back to Novara, there to await reënforcements from Switzerland. On the arrival of fresh troops the battle

of Novara was fought, which resulted in a complete victory for the Swiss, but a victory purchased at so great a cost that lamentations and reproaches were more numerous than shouts of rejoicing. Zwingli was doubtless present at this battle in his capacity as field-preacher.

When Francis I. came to the throne in 1515, one of his first acts was to move upon Milan. Sforza looked to the Swiss to make good their guarantee of protection. The ambassador of the Emperor and Leo X., successor of Julius II., through his legate, the Cardinal of Sion, urged the Swiss to fulfil their promises. Accordingly, the cantons sent a large army to resist Francis, who was advancing on Milan. The Swiss troops this time, instead of courageously meeting the foe, retreated upon Turin, a course of action which some laid at the door of the chiefs, whom they charged with being in secret communication with Francis. Francis followed up the retreating Swiss, at the same time carefully avoiding an open attack. He presently began negotiations with certain Swiss chiefs, and succeeded in effecting with them an agreement not to oppose with their forces the occupation of Milan by the French. The king on his part agreed to grant a certain indemnification to the Duke of Milan. This agreement, highly dishonorable to the Swiss

chiefs, and by no means creditable to the French king, was reported to the troops of the cantons in such skilful terms that the majority immediately accepted it without waiting for the action of the Swiss Diet, regarded the campaign ended, and set out for home. Four cantons, however, of which Glarus was one, refused to assent to the agreement until it was first ratified by the Diet. Reduced by these desertions, the Swiss army, no longer able to meet the French in the open field, retreated to Monza, near Milan. Here Zwingli delivered an address to the soldiers. He praised their bravery, commended their action in refusing to leave the field until ordered to do so by the government, urged them to exercise the utmost prudence in dealing with the enemy, and to await orders from home. Such advice proved galling to a soldiery hitherto ignorant of defeat. Other counsels prevailed. Schinner, whose only hope for the cause of the Pope seemed to rest in the very doubtful issues of an engagement, endeavored to precipitate an open conflict. In this he finally succeeded, and the battle of Marignano was the result, in which, although the Swiss showed great bravery, they were overpowered by numbers, and their little army virtually annihilated.

The defeat of Marignano was a severe blow

to the Swiss Republic. On that day many of the noblest sons of the nation perished. Yet the catastrophe, dire as it was, carried with it valuable lessons. It opened the eyes of the better class of citizens to the perils against which Zwingli and others for years had vainly warned them. They began to see the folly of the foreign alliances, and to penetrate the selfishness of their instigators.

These foreign wars served to call forth the ardent patriotism of Zwingli. They are important also because of the part which they played in his development as a reformer. His going to Italy, and his removal a few years later to Einsiedeln, may well be compared in their effect to Luther's visit to Rome. At this time the scales dropped from his eyes with reference to many Roman errors. While at Milan, he compared the Ambrosian ritual in use there with the Roman ritual, and noted the differences. His discovery seemed to place Rome in this dilemma: either Ambrose changed the Roman ritual without censure by the Church, or the Roman ritual as in use had been prepared since the time of Ambrose.* Somewhat later he made another important discovery. It happened on the occasion

*Op. Zw., III., 87 sq., p. 92.

of a visit to his friend Adam, the priest of Mollis. While he and several others were being entertained there, in looking over some old books, a liturgy was found in which were these words: "Let the child partake of the Eucharist, and likewise of the cup, after it is baptized."* Thus it appeared that two hundred years before, when this liturgy was prepared, the Sacrament had been administered under both kinds. These discoveries served to develop in Zwingli a critical attitude toward Rome. In addition to this he was an unwilling witness of all the bloody horrors of the foreign campaigns. He saw his brethren, the Swiss, many of his congregation doubtless, marched beyond the Alps and there slaughtered to further the ambitious schemes of the Emperor and the Pope. He witnessed the subversion of every noble impulse which he had labored to implant within the people, and the seeds of moral disease sown broadcast. By these experiences the need of reform in Church and State was burned into his soul as with a hot iron. Can we doubt that from this time forth he labored with a new earnestness, and preached with an unction born of the intensity of his convictions? And yet, with all his

*Op. Zw., I., p. 246.

earnestness, Zwingli's methods at this time differed radically from those of Luther. Luther from the beginning attacked the abuses of the Church. Zwingli, though cognizant of many evils, was silent respecting them, contenting himself with the proclamation of the plain and central truths of the Bible. "He desired," says Myconius, "to implant the truth in the hearts of his hearers, believing that as soon as the truth was comprehended falsehood would be easily recognized."*

As to Zwingli's views at this time respecting the authority of the Word of God, the following excerpt from the *Archeteles* doubtless affords the best knowledge that can be had. After speaking of the futility of all efforts to find the way of salvation through a study of philosophy and the opinions of wise and good men, he continues: "Whom then am I to follow? Unless one be a fool he will reply, 'Those who have been enlightened by the Spirit of God; for whatever comes of human wisdom, however beautiful it seems, may deceive; divine truth, never. Here is the true faith needed. Where this is wanting man falls, withers, perishes.' While I was reflecting on this uncertainty and praying that God would

*Os. Myc. *Vita et Obitu Zw.*, IV.

show me the way out, He said, 'Foolish one, remember this, the word of the Lord abideth forever. Cling to His truth.' Again, 'Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my word shall not pass away. What is human perishes; the divine is immutable.' And, 'In vain they honor me, teaching the doctrines and commandments of men.' As if God ought to conform His truth to our notions, and as if what appears to us at first sight beautiful, true, and holy, should please Him too, and as if we ought not much more to rely upon Him with our whole hearts and not cleave to our own opinions. Therefore, putting all things aside, I came to rely on no single thing, on no single word, save that which came from the mouth of the Lord. And when I saw poor mortals forgetting themselves so far as to give out their own opinions as God's, there came to me this passage: 'All is clear in the light, in that light, namely, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.' Again, 'Believe not every spirit, but try the spirits, whether they be of God.' As I sought for the touchstone of truth, I discovered no other than that stone which is a stone of stumbling and rock of offense to all who, after the manner of the Pharisees, place their traditions before the commandments of God. I now began to subject every doctrine to this

test, and every doctrine that would bear the brightness of this stone I accepted, and rejected all that would not bear it. If on any occasion anything out of harmony with the Divine Word or contrary to it were pressed upon me, I answered with the Apostle, 'We ought to obey God rather than men.' Consequently it came about that those who thought highly of themselves, but lightly of Christ, had a very poor opinion of me. But as this was the surest evidence that I was pleasing to God, I welcomed their reproach." *

Zwingli's transition from Roman Catholicism to Protestantism differed greatly from that of his great German contemporary. Luther came to his position suddenly, as the result of an intense personal experience, which burned itself into his very soul, profoundly affecting all his doctrinal conceptions and leaving a strong impress on all his work as a reformer. Zwingli was a child of the schools. His advent as a reformer of the Church was the natural and logical result of the expansive and liberalizing tendencies of the humanistic learning on a mind earnestly bent upon truth. Unlike Luther, Zwingli's discoveries produced no shock, no radical change in his mode of life. His course was progressive, and it was not

*Op. Zw., III., p. 30.

until he took up his residence at Zurich that he was fully converted to the Gospel, and espoused with his whole heart the cause of the Reformation.

While at Glarus, Zwingli's taste for classic learning communicated itself to the young men of the parish. He established a Latin school, in which he personally superintended the education of a number of youths from the best families in Switzerland. Three young men of the family of the Tschudi—Peter, Ægidius, and Valentine—received from him their preparation for the university. A perusal of their letters will reveal the unfailing affection and warm admiration which they entertained toward their teacher in after life.*

Through his friend Glareanus, master of the school at Basel, Zwingli was introduced to Erasmus, of Rotterdam,† the renowned scholar and humanist. Zwingli had previously read many of his works, and was an ardent admirer of his genius and scholarship. He longed to see the man who was creating such a stir in the world of letters. Erasmus had recently taken up his abode in Basel, where there gathered about him a little coterie of learned and admiring friends. Glareanus was among the number. In the spring of

*Op. Zw., VII.

†Mörkoter, *Ulrich Zwingli*, I., p. 23.

1515 Zwingli made a trip to Basel to see the man about whom he had heard and read so much. Erasmus received him with great favor and kindness, and with that unfailing urbanity of manner so characteristic of this prince of the schools. In a letter to Zwingli, addressed from Basel some time during the year 1514, he says that the Swiss are to be congratulated on their good fortune in possessing one who is earnestly striving to polish and ennoble them by his studies and life.* Zwingli's relation to Erasmus doubtless served to enhance his high estimate of the classics and to confirm him in his purposes of reform.

Among the circle of Erasmus' friends at Basel Zwingli made the acquaintance of a young man who afterward became his close personal friend, biographer, and fellow-laborer in the work at Zurich. His name was Oswald Geisshüssler (Myconius), at that time teacher of a school in Lucerne.

Zwingli returned to Glarus a more ardent admirer than ever of Erasmus. In the one letter of Zwingli to Erasmus which is preserved to us he is most extravagant in his praises. There are six letters of Erasmus to Zwingli, in which

*Op. Zw., VII., p. 10.

Erasmus falls little short of him in the profusion of his compliments.* Later, as Zwingli came out more emphatically on the side of reform, and asserted himself with boldness, Erasmus' friendship for him suffered decline, until at last they were quite estranged. Glareanus, his early friend, also drew away from him, preferring to remain with Rome.

After the defeat at Marignano the French king put forth the utmost exertion to win over to his side the Swiss confederates, part of whom had so bravely but vainly opposed him in the conquest of Milan. To accomplish his purpose he resorted to the arts commonly employed by the sovereigns of his time—bribes and flattery. In vain did the patriotic Zwingli raise his voice in scathing philippics against the secret practices of the French which were breeding dissension and disloyalty on every hand and undermining the very substructure of the national life. His fearless attitude and unsparing denunciation of the French policy drew down upon him the hatred of the French, and of those of his own people who loved the gold of the foreigner more than country or personal honor. The French party being in the ascendancy, opposition became so

**Vide* Op. Zw., VII.

strong that a longer stay at Glarus seemed to him intolerable.

Theobold von Hohengeroldseck, administrator of the Abbey of Einsiedeln, in the canton of Schwyz, a man whom Myconius characterizes as a friend of piety and learning,* aware of the condition of things at Glarus, and prizing highly the nobility and scholarship of the young pastor of the place, invited him to join the Abbey as priest and preacher.† Zwingli accepted, and began his labors at Einsiedeln in 1516. His congregation at Glarus were filled with grief at the news of his intention to leave them. "What sadder thing could befall us at Glarus than to be bereft of so great a man,"‡ wrote Peter Tschudi in a letter dated in October of that year. Perceiving that he was fully determined to leave, his parishioners resolved to retain him as their nominal pastor, allowing him to keep part of the salary with the privilege of returning at any time.§ Zwingli, on his part, was deeply attached to the people of his first parish. "I made this change not out of any desire or ambition of my own, but because of the intrigues of the French," wrote he to his friend

*Os. Myc. *Vita et Obitu Zw.*, V.

†Bullinger *Reformationsgesch.*, I., pp. 8-10. J. H. Hott., *H. E. T.*, p. 196; J. C. Mörkofer, *U. Zw.*, I., p. 30.

‡Op. Zw. VII., p. 13.

§*Ibid.*, p. 30.

Vadian in 1517.* Nevertheless this transfer was not wholly out of harmony with Zwingli's aspirations. He was a zealous student, as we have already seen, but the pastoral duties of his large parish at Glarus left him little time for quiet study. He longed for more leisure. Of this leisure, so necessary to a scholar, his new post would furnish an abundance. Another matter which influenced him in deciding for Einsiedeln was the thought that here he would have an opportunity to preach to the great throngs of pilgrims which annually visited this famous Abbey, and thus be able to give a wide currency to the Gospel.

God had a purpose in drawing aside for a time the man who was to become the champion of the Swiss Reformation. Zwingli's training for his life work was not yet complete. The obscurity of the Wartburg was necessary to ripen Luther's powers and qualify him for the great achievement of his life. The solitude of the forest hermitage, with its library and little coterie of pious and scholarly companions, was the very thing needed to induce that settling process in the character of Zwingli without which his subsequent efforts as a reformer must have proved comparatively weak.

We are now prepared to witness his rapid progress in his new field.

**Ibid.*, p. 24.

CHAPTER IV.

ZWINGLI AT EINSIEDELN.—1516-1518.

THE Abbey of Einsiedeln,* to which Zwingli was now called, has an interesting history. Meinrad, of Hohenzollern,† a German monk, finding the society of men hostile to the realization of his ideal of a pious life, had gone into the wilderness to the south of Lake Walenstadt, and there, on a little hill in the midst of the gloomy forest, had erected his solitary cell. Here he was one day discovered by a party of marauders, who, supposing his hut to contain rich treasure in the way of precious relics, slew him and rifled his dwelling. Tradition reports the speedy apprehension of the murderers at Zurich, whither they had fled, through the miraculous assistance of birds which followed them thither. The place remained deserted for more than a hundred years, when toward the close of the tenth century a convent and church were established on the spot, and in honor of the martyred anchorite and the Virgin

*The name comes from *Einsiedler*, a hermit.

†For the most complete and authentic account of Meinrad and the founding of the Abbey of Einsiedeln see Ringholz, *Waltfahrtgeschichte unsrer lieben Frau v. Einsiedeln*, Freiburg, 1896.

Mother, named Maria-Einsiedeln (Our Lady of the Hermits). Tradition has it that on the eve of the day of consecration, as the Bishop of Constance was praying in the church, his devotions were arrested by strains of heavenly music issuing from an unseen source, and filling the chapel with sweet melody. On the morrow, as the Bishop was about to begin the service of consecration, he was prevented by a voice which thrice commanded him to stop, informing him that God himself had already consecrated the place. The tradition further alleges that Christ in person had consecrated the church during the night, and that the music which was heard was nothing less than a chorus of angels, apostles, and saints. Pope Leo VIII. decreed by a bull* that this legend must not be doubted, a caution which the credulity of the people rendered quite unnecessary. In memory of this miraculous event, a festival, called the "Angel Consecration," was held every seventh year, which was frequented by throngs of pilgrims, many of whom came from a great distance.†

The abbot of "Our Lady" at this time was

*This bull is dated Nov. 11, 964, and promises plenary indulgence to all who visit the chapel. There is some doubt as to its genuineness.

†This festival is still observed every seven years, and lasts fourteen days. The celebration begins on the 14th of September. Every year on that date special services are held.

Conrad von Rechberg,* a man of great candor and of many other excellent qualities as well, but whose training and tastes were more worthy of a huntsman and warrior than of an ecclesiastic. The affairs of the Abbey were left almost entirely to the care of the administrator, Theobold von Geroldseck.† Theobold, being something of a scholar, was especially fond of the society of learned men and used his office at Einsiedeln to fill the monastery with as many scholarly and pious persons as he could induce within its walls. No hours were so congenial to him as those spent in the midst of this circle of learned friends, in the reading of some new treatise, or in the familiar discussion of some religious or literary topic. He was quick to note the deep piety of Zwingli and his intense interest in and knowledge of the Word of God. Thirsting himself for a similar kind of life he sought Zwingli's direction. "Study the Holy Scriptures," said Zwingli, "and that you may better understand them, read Saint Jerome. However, the time will soon come, with God's help, when Christians will little esteem Saint Jerome or others, but the Word of God only."

Zwingli's influence over Geroldseck soon

*Bullinger *Reformationsgesch.*, I., p. 9.

†Os. Myc. *Vita et Obitu Zw.*, V.

showed itself in the administrator's efforts to correct some of the more obvious abuses of the monastic life which came under his immediate jurisdiction. In the cloister of Fahr, which was subject to the Abbey, the nuns, instead of repeating Latin masses, were enjoined to read the New Testament in the German vernacular. Permission was granted to any who felt unduly burdened by their vows to return to their former life; but those who remained were solemnly reminded of the sacredness of their covenant obligations.

Admiration for Zwingli increased daily, and he speedily became the center of affectionate regard. Besides Geroldseck, may be mentioned Francis Zink and John Oechslin, both of whom became ardently attached to him as friends and sympathized with his views.

At Einsiedeln Zwingli made steady and substantial progress in the Christian life. While his manner of living was far below the standard of the Gospel, and such even as the Christian conscience of no age would approve, however tolerant it might be, nevertheless his life at Einsiedeln was a marked improvement over his former life at Glarus. Although we find it nowhere intimated in his writings, we can scarcely doubt that one of the strong though secret motives which led him to seek Einsiedeln was the desire to escape

temptations which hitherto had proved too strong for him. At all events, on coming to Einsiedeln he solemnly resolved not only to know the Gospel, but thoroughly to subject his life to its lofty standards. That he failed to do so at once is not so much a matter of wonder and ground for condemnation as a reason for pity, when we remember the exaltedness of his purpose and the network of temptation spread around him on every side.

He spent much time in a thorough study of the Fathers. He used the commentaries of Origen, Ambrose, Jerome, and Chrysostom, and found pleasure and instruction in the *Annotations* of Erasmus. All this, however, was secondary to his study of the Word itself. A monument to Zwingli's zeal and love for the Gospel may be seen to this day in the public library of Zurich, in the form of a little volume containing the Epistles of Paul and the Epistle to the Hebrews in Greek, which he carefully copied with his own hand from the text of Erasmus' first edition of the Greek New Testament, published at Basel in 1516. The printed editions of the New Testament were large and cumbersome, and Zwingli desired a copy which he could conveniently carry about with him. Myconius states that Zwingli com-

mitted these and other Epistles to memory.* The margins of this little volume are covered with notes in Latin from Erasmus and the Fathers. On the last page is a note in Greek, giving the name of the author and the place and date at which the copy was made.

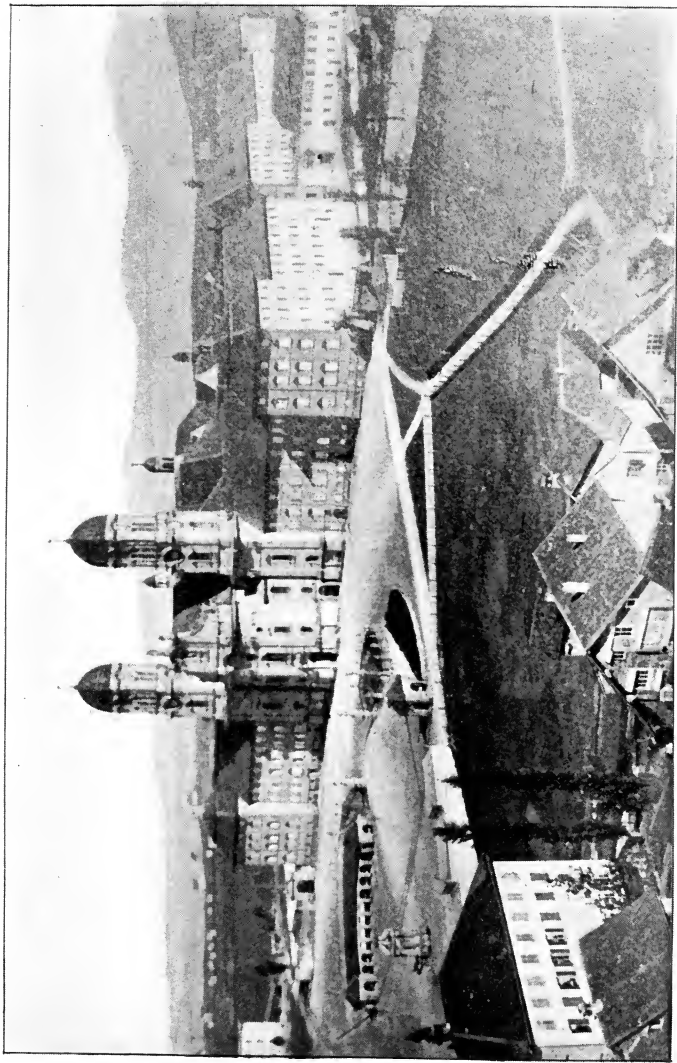
At Einsiedeln Zwingli had ample opportunity to perceive the depth of superstition into which the Church of Rome had fallen. This knowledge was an essential part of his training as a reformer. In the monastery was carefully preserved an image of the Virgin, said to have fallen from heaven.† To it was ascribed the most miraculous powers. Over the gate of the Abbey, in large letters, were written the words: *Hic est plena remissio omnium peccatorum a culpa et poena.*‡ At the festival of the Angel Consecration, pilgrims from all parts of Switzerland, Germany, Italy, and France flocked to Einsiedeln to merit by their journey the gracious boon offered in the name of the Virgin Mother of God.

This delusion was the source of immense revenue to the cloister and had long served to make it one of the wealthiest in the entire region. Profound pity stirred Zwingli's heart as he be-

*Os. Myc. *Vita et Obitu Zw.*, IV.

†This image may be seen at the present day. It stands over the altar in the chapel.

‡"Here may be obtained a full remission of all sins from guilt and punishment."



EINSIEDELN.



held vast multitudes of his brethren for whom Christ died groping in darkness, led astray by the falsehoods of those who professed to be their true spiritual guides. His soul burned with indignation as he witnessed the gross forms of idolatry and superstition practised in the name of worship.

Deeply moved as Zwingli must have been by all this, he nevertheless continued to pursue at Einsiedeln the policy he had formerly practised at Glarus, viz., of preaching the Word of God in its purity and simplicity, in full confidence that when men had once received it they would see for themselves the errors and abuses of the Church. His sermons were earnest, direct, and Scriptural. What he did in the way of correcting abuses he did quietly. He caused the sign over the Abbey gate promising absolution to all to be taken down. To infer that Zwingli adopted this mild policy through fear or an unwillingness to offend the Pope would be a mistake. No one can justly charge him with lack of courage. In this respect he was the equal of Luther, and his methods, though less bold, were as conscientiously chosen. Luther, in his place, proceeded in the way most likely to succeed, and the same spirit which animated and guided Luther was present also in Zwingli and led him just as unerr-

ingly in the choice of methods which, though quite the opposite, were no less successful.

As to the character of Zwingli's preaching at Einsiedeln, Gaspard Hedio, the honored teacher of divinity at Basel, bears testimony in a letter under date of November 6, 1519.* Hedio chanced to be at Einsiedeln during the feast of Whitsuntide, 1518, and heard Zwingli preach from the text: "The Son of Man hath power on earth to forgive sins." The text was peculiarly adapted to the time and place, and so impressive were the words of the preacher that Hedio seems never to have forgotten them. He remarks, "How beautiful, how learned, solemn, piercing, and evangelical that address! Its force reminds me of the ancient doctors." From this time Hedio entertained an abiding admiration for Zwingli, and begged in the most servile terms to be recognized as a friend.

So far there had been nothing in Zwingli's attitude to arouse the hostility or the suspicion even of the Roman party. On the contrary, Rome saw in him one of the most promising champions of the Church, and treated him as a favorite child. He proceeded quietly, as we have seen, and the reforms which he attempted affected not so much

*Op. Zw., VII., p. 89.

matters of dogma as customs and practices concerning which there was a wide difference of opinion in the Church itself. We have now reached a stage, however, in the life of Zwingli when his views can no longer be regarded as harmless to the mother Church. He began at this time to entertain doubts as to the validity of the hierarchical claims, and to question the authority of the Pope. Cardinal Schinner paid frequent visits to Einsiedeln, and to him, Zwingli tells us, he expressed himself most freely. "The papacy," said he, "rests on a poor foundation. Apply yourself at once. Reject all errors and abuses, or else you will see the entire structure fall with a great crash." * In a similar strain he expressed himself to Antonius Puccius, the papal legate of Switzerland. Schinner, on the one hand, promised to do all in his power to remedy the abuses which Zwingli had pointed out—a promise which, although in all probability sincere at the time it was made, was never fulfilled. On the other hand, Puccius, who was thoroughly alarmed at this new turn in Zwingli, replied in a manner thoroughly characteristic of an Italian diplomat. Instead of interposing arguments or objections to Zwingli's representations, he sought

*Op. Zw., II., p. 7.

to persuade him of the justice of the papal claims by an appeal to his vanity. Cardinal Schinner on a previous occasion and from a similar motive had secured for him a papal pension. Through the activity of Puccius, Zwingli was soon in receipt of a diploma from the Pope, conferring upon him the title of Acolyte-Chaplain of the Holy See.* Zwingli declined the honor because of the obligations it imposed, and proposed at the same time to resign his pension also. The legate pressed him to retain it, which he reluctantly consented to do when it was made clear to him that it was perfectly unconditional. "Do not expect," he remarked, "that for love of gain I will retract a single syllable of the truth."

Zwingli's interest was by no means confined to his own canton. About this time Hugo of Landenberg, Bishop of Constance, recognizing the wide-spread degeneracy of the Church, ordered a general visitation of the churches of his diocese. This move inspired in Zwingli's breast the hope that he would go further and endeavor by the use of practical measures to effect a general reform. With this in mind he addressed a letter to the Bishop urging him to take immediate steps for the correction of abuses. John Faber, his in-

*Hott., *H. E. T.*, VI., p. 274. Op. Zw., VII., p. 48 sq. Egli, *Analecta Reformatoria*, I., pp. 9-21.

timate friend and schoolfellow at Vienna, had risen to the honorable position of vicar-general of this diocese, a circumstance which, considering the high esteem in which Faber was held by the Bishop, gave him added hope that something would be done. The Bishop, however, proved to be a man of weak purpose, largely under the control of his friends and advisers. His endeavor to please both himself and them terminated, as is usual in such cases, in his pleasing neither. Nothing was done. Zwingli despaired of all further effort to interest the leaders of the Church in a movement which seemed to him so vital and imperative. He came to the conclusion that if anything was to be effected he must assume personal leadership, and must rely less upon his brethren, the clergy, and more upon the power of God through the simple preaching of the Word. As to abuses, the hour demanded the adoption of a bolder policy than he had employed heretofore.

In the month of August, 1518, along the pass which winds through the snowy heights of the St. Gotthard Alps and forms the only means of communication between the canton of Ticino and the little canton of Uri, journeyed a Franciscan monk. This barefooted ascetic of an Italian cloister, Bernhardin Samson by name, is best

described as the Tetzels of Switzerland. Accredited by the letters of Leo X. he came as vender of papal indulgences to the inhabitants of the Helvetic Confederation. He began his trade first in the canton of Uri, but finding the people poor, he advanced upon the larger and more wealthy territory of Schwyz. Zwingli's indignation kindled as the blasphemous doings of this monk were reported to him. Samson was making directly toward Einsiedeln, and Zwingli prepared to receive him. He preached with such vigor* that the indulgence seller was compelled to leave Schwyz no richer than he came, and, what was more galling to his pride, pelted by the populace with such epithets as "villain" and "rogue."

As Zwingli's fame increased the circle of his friends was correspondingly enlarged. Even within those cantons in which the Pope's authority was most respected were found those who sympathized with and greatly admired the bold preacher of Einsiedeln. Among the great number, however, he found none more true to him than Oswald Myconius, of Lucerne, whose acquaintance he had made on the occasion of his visit to Erasmus at Basel. Myconius had gone to Zurich to take charge of the Cathedral, or

*Op. Zw., VII., p. 57 sq.

Great Minster school, of that place. He found here a large field for the exercise of his talent; for Zurich up to this time had been without anything that deserved the name of school. This zealous young master and a number of others whose hearts he had enlisted in the cause of learning earnestly began a work for the impartation of such knowledge and culture as would rescue the people from the dark abyss in which they were living. To instruction in the classics, Myconius added, as was his custom, talks upon the Word of God, the authority of which he held to be supreme as against that of the Pope or Church.

From a very early date the Great Minster of Zurich was furnished with a college of canons. The original design in the establishment of this body was that the members thereof should enjoy their canonries as preachers of the Cathedral and pastors of the congregation. Like all institutions of its kind, however, it had long since succumbed to the allurements of mediæval sloth, and the canons, instead of preaching themselves, a duty for which the majority possessed neither ability nor grace, elected a *leut* or parish priest, to whom they intrusted the preaching and the pastoral care of the congregation. Myconius had not been long in Zurich when the office of *leut*-priest became vacant. Because of his posi-

tion as head of the Cathedral school he was naturally much interested in the matter of securing a preacher, and when the question of filling the vacant post arose, it is not strange that Myconius thought at once of his friend at Einsiedeln. Zwingli's learning and eloquence had already made him one of the most famous men in Switzerland—a fame which his hostility to foreign pensions, while it made many enemies, only served to increase. Myconius began at once a canvass in his interest. Many influential Zurichers had seen Zwingli and heard him preach. All knew him by report as a most learned and eloquent man, and Myconius found the prospect for his friend most encouraging. He remarks that there were those who worked day and night that Zwingli might be elected. He says further, "Zwingli was unaware of it all, and happening to visit Zurich, one of the canons asked him whether he would be willing to preach the word of the Lord in Zurich. He replied, 'Yes; for if the grace of Christ is proclaimed and received in so renowned a place, the rest of Switzerland will soon follow the example.'"*

*Os. Myc. *Vita et Obitu Zw.*, VI. As a matter of fact, Myconius wrote to Zwingli (Oct. 28, 1518) informing him of the vacancy and asking whether he would accept the place if it were offered him. *Op. Zw.*, VII., p. 52. To this letter Zwingli replied that he would visit Zurich soon and would then discuss the matter. *Ibid.*

Strong as was the sentiment in Zurich in favor of Zwingli, there were not wanting those who from the start opposed his election. A personality so aggressive could not fail to make enemies. Many hated him because of his views on the subject of foreign pensions; others whose sympathies were thoroughly Roman suspected his loyalty to the Church, and caught a faint vision of what his coming to Zurich would mean. The opposition, though bitter and determined, because of the fewness of their numbers despaired from the start of accomplishing anything. As soon as it was known that Zwingli was under consideration several candidates were put forward for the place, and among them one Lawrence Fable, who preached a sermon in the Great Minster, and of whom the report was circulated that he had been chosen. Zwingli at first was inclined to credit the report. Hitherto he had appeared quite indifferent to what was occurring at Zurich. The knowledge that unworthy persons were seeking to supplant him seems to have acted as a stimulus. At any rate, he now became interested to the extent of writing to Myconius in regard to his prospects. In a letter under date of December 2, 1518, assuming the truthfulness of the report with respect to Fable, he says, "Well! I know the significance of popular ap-

plause. A Swabian preferred to a Swiss! Truly, a prophet is without honor in his own country." * Myconius in reply the next day removes his false apprehension. "Fable will remain a fable; for they have learned that he is father of six boys and holds I know not how many livings."† He then proceeds to assure him of the number and strength of his friends, and of his own unceasing activity in his behalf. He does not conceal from him the doings of his enemies, and mentions certain charges that were being circulated against his character. "Although there is no one," he says, "but praises your teachings to the skies, there are certain to whom your natural aptitude for music appears to be a sin, and thence infer that you are impure and worldly," Again, he assures him that he has great reason to hope. "It is right that you should take courage and not despair. Even the canons who are opposed to you predict to themselves that you will be the next preacher." He closes with the exhortation, "Hope on, for I hope." The election took place on the 11th of December, 1518, and Zwingli was chosen by a large majority.‡ This event caused great rejoicing among his friends, except those at Einsiedeln,

*Op. Zw., VII., p. 53.

†*Ibid.*

‡Of the twenty-four votes cast, seventeen were for Zwingli.

for whom it was a matter of the keenest regret. The administrator of the Abbey, Baron Gerolds-eck, whose relationship with Zwingli had ripened into the warmest of friendships, was especially affected. Even the council of the canton were impressed to the extent of transmitting to Zwingli a letter of regret couched in the most respectful terms.*

Zwingli's nomination to the chief pastorate of the Great Minster drew forth, as we have seen, certain charges against his moral character. It remains for us, therefore, to consider as briefly and candidly as possible the facts, so far as they are known, relating to his private life at Glarus and Einsiedeln. An examination of the data upon which our judgment must be based cannot fail to bring us pain—such pain as we feel on the discovery of facts which reflect upon the character of one whose noble qualities we had learned to admire, and whose life seemed to us above reproach. **¶** A deep stain rests upon Zwingli's life at this time. We would fain think of him as entirely free from the sins which prevailed among the Catholic clergy of that day. Alas! he was not, as he honestly confesses. Bullinger hints that at Glarus he was accused of improprieties of conduct, but the only reliable

*Hott., *H. E. T.*, VI., p. 359; *Op. Zw.*, VII., p. 60.

evidence we have is found in Zwingli's own writings. Through Myconius he was informed of certain charges made against him by enemies at Zurich, previous to his election.* On December 4th he wrote a long letter to Canon Utinger in which he sets forth the truth of the matter with apparent unreserve.† The letter partakes of the nature both of a confession and a defense, and is far from what we would desire or expect. Zwingli admits that he had been unchaste. He says that about the time of his coming to Einsiedeln he made a solemn resolution to lead henceforth a blameless life, but that finding himself utterly alone in his purpose, he had fallen, and, as he says, "like the dog returned again to his vomit. With great shame, God knows, I have dragged these things from the depths of my heart, in whose presence I confess them much more willingly than to men." He stoutly denies that he ever dishonored marriage vows, or seduced the innocent. The sad thing about it all is that, although he confessed his sin and expressed regret, he had at this time no adequate sense of the awfulness of his offense, as is evident from the flippancy which he assumes in certain passages of this letter. He states in closing

*Op. Zw., VII., p. 54.

†*Ibid.*, pp. 54-57.

that his letter is not in exoneration of himself, except so far as it has to do with the more serious charges of his enemies. In forming our estimate of Zwingli at this period of his career, simple justice forbids that we should remove him from the time in which he lived, and the character of the age which made up his environment. We must also remember that at this time he was a Catholic priest, and sinner though he was, he was evidently much better than the average of his fellows. Janssen,* in his false and merciless arraignment of Zwingli's character, assumes a condition of laxity in the Roman Church which is anything but creditable to that body, whose interests he is defending. No Protestant will feel disposed to apologize for the stain which rests upon an otherwise noble and exalted Christian character further than to say that later Zwingli thoroughly repented of his sin, and that after he married his life was above the reproach even of his enemies.

**Geschichte des Deutschen Volkes*, III., pp. 89, 90; *An meine Kritiker*, pp. 127-145.

CHAPTER V.

ZWINGLI AS PASTOR AT ZURICH.—HIS LABORS THERE UNTIL THE FIRST DOCTRINAL DISPUTATION.—1519-1523.

ZURICH, at this time the political center of the Swiss Confederacy, was destined to become the center of religious influence also. Upon her streets and in her assemblies were often seen the chiefs of the nation, and Zwingli, with the eye and instincts of a general, instantly grasped her strategic importance, and for this reason, as he says, was moved to go there, that he might make Zurich the headquarters of his operations for the regeneration of the Church. He arrived in the city on the 27th of December, and was welcomed with many demonstrations of joy on the part of the people.* He proceeded with as little delay as possible to the hall of the chapter, where the canons were assembled to tender him a formal reception and instruct him in the duties of his new office.

After the usual interchange of greetings the

*Cf. *Op. Zw.*, VII., pp. 62, 66, 72.

provost hastened to inform Zwingli of the nature of his future work. He charged him to be especially faithful in reminding the flock of their obligations in the matter of tithes and offerings, but placed little stress on his duties as preacher and pastor.* Preaching, in fact, was a matter of such minor importance that it was suggested that he might appoint a substitute for this. To these instructions Zwingli made no reply. He thanked the chapter for the honor shown him in his election. He then calmly proceeded to inform them of the plan which he had already determined upon of preaching from the whole of the Gospels, chapter by chapter, explaining them according to the light granted him by the Holy Spirit, and without reference to human teachers. He resolved, in short, to put into public operation the principles of Biblical interpretation which he had long since used in his private study. So great an innovation could not fail to excite wonder and alarm. Canon Hoffman mildly protested against any new methods. Zwingli replied that this method of preaching was not new, but ancient, as was evident from the homilies of Augustine and Chrysostom. Thus did Zwingli restore the Holy Scriptures to their proper place in the

*Schuler, *Zwingli's Bildungsgeschichte*, p. 227 sq.

service of public worship. This fact is worthy of special note, since Luther, with all his reverence for the Word, did not go so far, but continued until his death to use the pericopes prescribed by the Church.

Shortly after his election to become people's priest at Zurich Zwingli made a visit to Glarus and, in the presence of the parish authorities, resigned the benefice which they had so kindly forced him to retain. Acting on his advice and recommendation, they voted to call his friend Valentine Tschudi to fill the vacancy thus created.*

On Saturday, January 1, 1519, Zwingli was formally inducted into his new office, and entered for the first time the pulpit of the Great Minster. A large and eager company greeted his appearance. After a brief inaugural address he restated to the people the main features of the plan which he had already made known to the canons, and closed with the announcement that on the morrow he would begin a series of discourses on the Gospel of Matthew. A still larger audience confronted him on Sunday morning as, according to promise, he began his exposition. Delight mingled with amazement filled the minds

*J. H. Tsch. Chron. Op. Zw., VII., p. 63, note.

and souls of the auditors. Never before had they listened to such preaching. Myconius says that he treated the loftiest truths of the Gospel in so simple a manner as to make them intelligible to all, even to the ignorant and the foolish. He pointed his hearers to Christ as the only Savior. He inveighed against the sins and follies of the time. His words were direct, practical, fervent, and evangelical.* Those who had abandoned church services out of disgust at the stupidity and scandalous lives of the priests now returned. Many persons of influence found in the words of the new preacher food for both mind and heart, and ever after gave him their hearty and loyal support.

So marked was the favor shown Zwingli by the people, that his enemies had not the boldness to assert themselves. But as the new doctrines began to lose their novelty, and the first general outburst of enthusiasm began to subside, they gathered courage once more and began stealthily to attack him. The monks were especially bitter, and the ears of the canons were soon filled with complaints. Rhenanus says that of his enemies some laughed and joked, while others gave voice to violent threats.† To all this Zwingli

**Vide* letter to Myc. Op. Zw., VII., p. 142.

†Op. Zw., VII., p. 74.

submitted with Christian patience. His devotion to music, which was as strong as ever, continued to furnish grounds for vilification. His foes dubbed him "the evangelical lute player and fifer."*

According to Myconius, Zwingli was very methodical in his labors. He studied and wrote in a standing position, devoting to these ends certain fixed hours during which he suffered no interruption except for the most urgent reasons. From the time he arose in the morning until ten o'clock he gave himself to reading, critical study, and writing. His interest in the classics was unflagging. He read Homer, Aristotle, Plato, Demosthenes, Thucidides, and others. After dinner he listened to any who brought him news, or sought his advice. Sometimes he spent the time until two o'clock in conversation, or in walking with his friends. He then resumed his studies. After supper he sometimes took a short walk, and then wrote letters until midnight.†

In July, 1519, there appeared before Zwingli a certain Lucian, bringing letters from Rhenanus, of Basel. Rhenanus, who was an earnest Erasmian of reform sympathies, had taken upon himself to circulate as widely as possible the writ-

*Bullinger *Reformationsgesch.*, I., p. 31.

†Os. Myc. *Vita et Obitu Zw.*, VIII.

ings of Luther. He had therefore sent Lucian to Zwingli, in order that with Zwingli's consent he might act as colporteur for Switzerland. In his letter Rhenanus requested Zwingli to ascertain the fitness of the bearer, and if he thought him capable, to permit him to sell Luther's books from city to city and from house to house throughout the country.* Thus was Zwingli first made to feel the influence of the German Reformer—an influence which he felt much less than did the common people among whom Luther's books were widely distributed and freely read.

We have already recorded the arrival in Switzerland of Samson, the indulgence merchant, and Zwingli's part in driving him from the canton of Schwyz. From Schwyz he had traveled in succession through Zug, Lucerne, Unterwalden, Bern, and Aargau, in all of which, having overawed the people by his brazen audacity, he had carried on a thriving traffic, and now toward the end of February, heavily laden with his unrighteous booty, we find him heading toward Zurich. Samson had neglected to obtain permission of the Bishop of Constance to sell indulgences in his diocese, and the Bishop, angered by this open disregard of his authority, had ordered

*Op. Zw., VII., p. 81.



the priests to close the doors of the churches against him. Through Faber, the vicar-general, Zwingli was requested to use his influence against Samson, and to denounce indulgence selling.* Before advancing on Zurich, Samson halted at the little town of Bremgarten. The dean of the place, Henry Bullinger, father of the church historian and successor of Zwingli at Zurich, adhered to the mandate of the Bishop and stoutly refused to open his church. After considerable parley, the monk, exasperated by the firm and defiant attitude of the dean, in the name of the Pope, pronounced against him the greater excommunication and set out for Zurich, declaring that he would lay his complaint before the Diet, then in session in that city. In the meantime Zwingli, in obedience to the Bishop's order† and his own conscience, had been employing all the eloquence and power at his command against Samson. Samson was well aware of the opposition he would meet from Zwingli, but his late triumphs at Bern and Baden had given a lion's heart to the man who a few months before had fled in terror from Schwyz. "Zwingli will speak against me," he scornfully declared, "but I will stop his mouth." When Samson's envoys ap-

*Op. Zw., II., part I., p. 7.

†Cf. Op. Zw., VII., p. 69.

peared at Zurich to lodge their complaint against Bullinger they found the dean there also for the purpose of lodging a counter complaint against Samson. The effect of Zwingli's preaching was manifest in the favors shown by the deputies to the dean. The Council decided to refuse the indulgence merchant admission to the city. A committee was despatched to the suburbs where Samson had arrived to inform him of the will of the Council. "I have something from His Holiness to impart to the deputies," he said, and therefore it was agreed to allow him to enter. When brought face to face with the assembly, however, it became evident that his reply to the committee was simply a ruse to gain a hearing. He was compelled to submit to the humiliation of removing the excommunication which he had pronounced against the dean of Bremgarten. When required to furnish proof of the authenticity of his commission from the Pope, he offered to send a special messenger to Rome to obtain it, and the Diet consented to allow him to remain in the country until the answer was received. At the same time they commissioned one Felix Grebel as their representative to carry a letter of complaint against Samson to Pope Leo X. The Pope, through his secretary, replied by letter expressing great astonishment at Samson's do-

ings and instructing the Diet in case Samson was burdensome to them to send him back to Italy without ceremony.* The Pope sent to Samson, at the same time, a letter admonishing him to adapt himself to the wishes of the Diet.

This forms the closing act of the great farce which for six months Samson had successfully played in the cities and villages of Switzerland. He now withdrew to Italy. Whether because content with his achievements, recalled by the Pope, or chagrined by his treatment, we do not know. If we credit the stories of the narrators we must concede that from a financial point of view his ventures were something of a success. He made his retreat by way of the St. Gotthard, whence he had come, and, according to Bullinger, three horses were required to haul the money he had collected from the poor shepherds of the Swiss mountains.

In August of this, his first year at Zurich, Zwingli found himself so completely exhausted by his exacting labors that he accepted the advice of his friends and retired to the mineral springs of Pfaefers,† hoping that by a few weeks' rest

*Hott., *Hist. Eccl. N. T.*, VII., pp. 179-180.

†*Bad Pfaefers* is about sixty miles southeast of Zurich, and lies in the narrow gorge of the *Tamina*, a glacier stream which empties into the *Vorder Rhein*. The hot springs are situated at the mouth of the ravine, and in the season (June 1st to Sept. 15th) are much patronized by invalids at the present day.

and the medicinal aid of these waters he might resuscitate his wasted powers. While here he found pleasant fellowship in the company of the poet Egentius, of Freiburg. When he left Zurich the city was threatened with a plague, the Black Death, which was rapidly approaching Switzerland from the east. Within a few days news came that the dreaded scourge was already at work within the walls. Zwingli would not seek help and safety while the members of his congregation were dying and in need of his pastoral care. Feeble in health though he was, he left Pfaefers at once and hastened to the assistance of his stricken townsmen. His brother Andrew, whom he found awaiting his return, he sent home to Wildhaus that he might escape the pestilence. Zwingli now devoted himself incessantly to the care of the sick and the dying. He sped rapidly from place to place, ministering to the suffering with his own hands, meting out to all the cheer and consolation of the Gospel, and reviving many a languishing and despondent heart by his sunny countenance and kind words. His friends, while they admired his faithfulness and rejoiced in his heroic self-forgetfulness, were deeply concerned for his safety. Their better natures applauded while their fears caused them to wish that a man so indispensable to the state

and the Christian religion were far removed from the arrows of the deadly contagion. "Perform your duty," said one, "but at the same time be careful to guard your own life." The warnings of friends were unheeded, and Zwingli in consequence succumbed to the disease. His bodily weakness, augmented by the toil and nervous exhaustion entailed in the service of his dying brethren, gave a powerful hold to the destroyer. So virulent was the attack that it seemed probable that the Reformer of Switzerland would never rise from his bed. The quality of Zwingli's Christian life was brought to light in some measure by the fiery trial to which he was subjected. His heart was filled with a spirit of hopefulness and filial trust, which found expression during the first days of his illness in the following lines which he composed:

Help me, O Lord,
My strength and rock;
Lo, at the door
I hear death's knock.

Uplift thine arm,
Once pierced for me,
That conquered death,
And set me free.

Yet, if thy voice,
In life's **middy**,
Recalls my soul,
Then I obey.

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

Later, when the disease had gained such possession that he despaired of life, his faith in God remained firm, and in beautiful and childlike submission he breathed forth the following prayer:

My pains increase;
 Haste to console;
 For fear and woe
 Seize body and soul.

Death is at hand,
 My senses fail,
 My tongue is dumb;
 Now, Christ, prevail.

Lo! Satan strains
 To snatch his prey;
 I feel his grasp;
 Must I give way?

He harms me not,
 I fear no loss,
 For here I lie
 Beneath thy cross.

The news of Zwingli's sickness soon spread far and wide—a proof of his popularity and the interest he had already inspired. The prospect of his death caused the greatest dejection among his friends at Zurich. Bullinger says that prayer

was incessantly made for his recovery. From his old home in the Toggenburg, to which the plague had already extended, came a letter of anxious inquiry.* At Basel the report of his death plunged his friend Hedio into the deepest sorrow. The whole city, in fact, was affected by the report.† It was the will of God, however, that Zwingli should recover. He had still a great work for him to do in Switzerland. Little by little his strength returned, until at last he felt a firm conviction that God intended to restore him. Then it was that, with heart swelling with gratitude and emotion, he composed the following lines on his recovery:

My God! my Lord!
Healed by thy hand,
Upon the earth
Once more I stand.

Let sin no more
Rule over me;
My mouth shall sing
Alone to Thee.

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

*Op. Zw., VII., p. 88.

†*Ibid.*, p. 90.

But, let it come;
 With joy I'll rise,
 And bear my yoke
 Straight to the skies.*

It was November before Zwingli was well enough to write to his friends. He then addressed a letter to his brother Andrew.†

The fact that neither Zwingli nor his brother make mention of their parents at this time is good ground for believing that they were already dead. One year later, on the return of the plague, Zwingli was called upon to lament the death of his brother Andrew, to whom he was most strongly attached.‡

The joy of Zwingli's friends over the news of his recovery was as sincere and outspoken as their grief over his supposed death. Gaspard Hedio,§ and even John Faber,|| wrote him warm letters of congratulation.

Zwingli had been spared, but spared to mourn the loss of many of his friends. His health also

*Zw. *Poetische Schriften, Werke*, II., part II., pp. 269-274. On pp. 272-274 is found a fairly good rendering into modern German. To make a satisfactory translation of this poem into English prose is impossible, and to attempt it would be manifestly unfair to its author. In the opinion of the writer, the best poetic rendition is that found in Schaff's *History of the Christian Church* (VII., pp. 44-46), and it is the one here given. *Vide* Mörikofer, I., pp. 72-74.

†Op. Zw., VII., p. 88.

‡*Aeque itaque feras, ut tandem rem speriam, mortem germani nostri Andree, optimaе indolis adolescentis.* Op. Zw., VII., p. 155.

§*Ibid.*, p. 90.

||*Ibid.*, p. 101.

was ruined. That noble physique which had been one of the sources of his power seemed completely shattered. Much time would be needed for its restoration, but the pressure of his duties was such that he was forced to resume work in his enfeebled condition. He labored wearily under that burden of depression felt by the newly convalescent. His memory was so weakened that he could scarcely trust himself to preach. Nevertheless he found strength in God, and in the comforting and inspiring letters of his friend Myconius. It was only after long deliberation, and a conscientious consideration of the primary claims urged upon him in behalf of his native city, that Myconius early in the year had left Zurich and the society of his dear friend, and taken up his abode in Lucerne as the head master of the collegiate school in that place. Zwingli was much affected by this unexpected separation from his friend. "Your departure," wrote he in a letter shortly after his recovery, "is no less a misfortune to the Gospel cause in Zurich than to an army in battle array would be the destruction of one of its wings."* Oswald wrote to his friend in the most hopeful strain. His faith in the power and ultimate tri-

*Op. Zw., VII., p. 98.

umph of the Gospel was strong. He freely discussed the contest being waged between Luther and the Pope. In the victories of the Saxon champion he discerned the hand of God raised in defense of his truth everywhere. One of God's favorite methods of revealing his love and power to the children of men, and of elevating them to loftier heights of Christian experience, is the fiery furnace of trial through which from time to time he compels them to pass. The psalmist of old found this to be true, and Zwingli also was made to feel the firm and unfailing arm of God in the midst of the deep affliction into which he was brought. We cannot read the hymn composed during his illness without perceiving the salutary influence already wrought upon his soul. The experience of those days spent in pastoral rounds among his people, in which he was brought face to face with death in countless homes, made a lasting impression upon his character. Life clothed itself with a seriousness and the truths of God assumed a reality which he had never known before. The events of this period served to deepen and intensify all the efforts and purposes of the remaining years of his life.*

*Certain historians, notably Merle d'Aubigne, attach even greater importance to this period. The latter characterizes it as "the epoch of complete emancipation and entire consecration

Early in the year 1520 Zwingli made a trip to Basel to visit his friends there,* and the Gospel cause in that city was substantially aided by his going. Capito, the cathedral preacher of the place, and a friend of Zwingli, following his example and doubtless his advice, began to preach on the Gospel of Matthew. His audiences immediately increased, and the people hailed with delight the new method and the still newer truths that they heard. This beginning of the pure Gospel in Basel met with the same opposition from the monks which it had all along met with at Zurich. Capito, who lacked the bravery which characterized the great reformers, trembled at the threats which his preaching drew forth, and rather than meet his enemies he resigned his post to accept a position offered him at the court of the Cardinal-Archbishop of Mentz. The youthful Hedio, who succeeded Capito, not without much opposition from the Roman party, though naturally timid and retiring, developed a fearlessness † which contrasts greatly with the pusillanimity of his predecessor. And yet the resistance soon became so strong that he was com-

to God." Historically, there is little ground for such a statement. Aside from the effects which we have mentioned there was no violent change at this or any other period of Zwingli's life. His spiritual growth was gradual and progressive throughout.

*Op. Zw., VII., p. 103.

†*Ibid.*, p. 120.

pelled to call on Zwingli to stimulate his courage. "Increase my bravery," he writes, "by frequent letters. Learning and Christianity are now, so to speak, between the hammer and the anvil. If they were ever threatened with dangers they are threatened now."* It seemed as though the contest with Romanism had now fairly begun. The friends of the Gospel at Basel and Lucerne urged the necessity of warlike measures. Zwingli, on the other hand, counseled them to proceed with mildness and moderation. "I would seek to win not by violent opposition, but by kindness," † said he. This rule he aimed to observe in his own preaching at Zurich. His sermons were mainly expository and in conformity with the general plan which he had outlined at the beginning of his pastorate. During the first four years at Zurich he practically covered the whole of the New Testament. The success of his work is evident from a letter to Myconius under date of December 31, 1519, in which he says that over two thousand had been sufficiently nourished by the milk of the Word to be in need of more solid food.‡ Unfortunately, Zwingli's early sermons at Zurich have not been preserved. They were probably prepared in such a manner

*Op. Zw., VII., p. 121.

†*Ibid.*, p. 103.

‡*Ibid.*, p. 104.

as to render their preservation impossible. It is known that they were quite informal in style, deserving rather the designation of hortatory "talks" than sermons. A fair though general idea of Zwingli's teaching at this time may be obtained from the *Archeteles*. Many who came from distant parts of the Confederacy to attend the Diet heard Zwingli preach, and his influence was thus disseminated far and near, so much so that Myconius was prompted to write, "All Switzerland hears you."* Despite his success his soul was often overwhelmed with discouragement by reason of the opposition which he met. He always managed, however, to triumph over his dejection and roll back the clouds of despondency by summoning to his relief the rich promises of the Gospel. "The life of man upon earth," said he, "is a continual warfare. Whoever desires to gain glory must face the battle and compel his proud and haughty Goliath to bite the dust. . . . The Church was purchased with blood and with blood it must be restored. There is no other way possible." †

The leaven of the Gospel, which had been silently at work, showed its power unmistakably in the year 1520. Many of the city magistrates

*Op. Zw., VII., p. 135.

†*Ibid.*, p. 143.

had been won to the truth by the fearless preaching of Zwingli, and proceeded at once to give it legal sanction and support. A decree was enacted by the Council to the effect that "priests and curates should freely and everywhere preach the Holy Gospels and the Epistles of the Holy Apostles, and that they should only teach what they could prove and establish by the Word of God. As for the doctrines and commandments of men, they should let them alone."* This step, taken as it was prior to the birth of the autonomous idea of the relation of church and state, must be regarded as nothing less than the simple logic of events. At the same time, it was the first step in the direction leading ultimately to the great conflict between Romanism and the Gospel, the results of which were so disastrous to both parties, especially to the Reformation. This action, which is the first instance of civil interference in behalf of the Gospel, aroused, as might have been expected, a storm of violent indignation, especially on the part of the monks. They were ordered to preach the Gospel, a system of truth which many of them had never read.

Early in the year 1521 Zwingli received a visit from Berthold Haller, the youthful and talented preacher of Bern. Haller was born at

*H. Bullinger's *Reformationsgesch.*, I., p. 32.

Aldingen in Württemberg, and had studied under Rubellus and Simmler. Melancthon was at one time his fellow pupil. Through the influence of education and friends Haller naturally inclined toward the Reformed views. When made preacher at Bern he became acquainted for the first time with the teachings of Zwingli, and was so impressed that he longed to meet him personally. Both were mutually benefited by this brief visit. Zwingli's heart was strengthened and comforted by the friendly sympathy of this young disciple. Haller's fears were allayed and his courage stimulated by the cheering counsel of his more experienced brother. The personal bond which united these men and made them co-laborers until the death of Zwingli contributed much to the unity and success of the Reformation in Switzerland.

Zwingli found the pastoral work of his charge so great as to leave him little time for study. He therefore called to his assistance two helpers: Stäheli, a curate of Baden, whose zeal and faithfulness had won his admiration, and Luti, who later became pastor of Winterthur. Thus relieved, Zwingli devoted more time to study and to the preparation of his sermons. Under a pupil of Reuchlin, who had come to Zurich, Boschen-

stein by name,* he began a systematic study of the Hebrew language. This knowledge he turned at once to practical account, for in December, 1520, he began a course of expository discourses on the Psalms. He prepared himself for this work by a careful study of the original text. These discourses were given on Fridays, and were especially intended for the peasantry, who on that day came in great numbers to the city to exchange the products of their farms.

About this time the death of Maximilian I., Emperor of Austria, set going once more all the engines of diplomatic intrigue. Charles I., of Spain, and Francis I., of France, were rivals for the Austrian crown. The Swiss cantons, with the exception of Zurich, were bound by treaty to the king of France. It was an easy matter for him, therefore, to gain their assistance in support of his claims. Zurich, under the leadership of Zwingli, insisted on maintaining a neutral position. The Council addressed a letter to the people urging an expression of their views on the subject of new alliances. With great unanimity they replied that "The government should have nothing to do with foreign lords." The Council

*Os. Myc. *Vita et Obitu Zw.*, VIII.

accordingly refrained from entangling itself with the affairs of France, and this drew upon Zurich, and especially upon Zwingli, who was regarded as the prime mover in the affair, the suspicion and hatred of the other cantons. This ill feeling was augmented by what immediately followed. Pope Leo X., who had espoused the cause of Charles, sent Schinner to Zurich to obtain soldiers for service in Italy. This Zwingli vehemently opposed, even as strongly as he had opposed the alliance with France. Schinner represented, however, that the troops would be used only in defense of the papal states in strict accordance with an already existing treaty, and under this restriction a small army was sent to Italy. The combined French and Confederate forces were defeated by the papal and imperial armies, and although the Zurichers according to instructions took no part in the engagement, and Zwingli had earnestly though vainly opposed the sending of the troops, nevertheless the result served to augment still further the bitterness of the Confederates toward Zurich and her preacher.

Zwingli, though burdened with a feeling of shame and humiliation in consequence of the action of the Council in yielding to the Pope's emissary, was far from overwhelmed. He labored

and preached all the more zealously. He would free the consciences of the people from man-imposed restrictions and churchly superstitions. As the season of Lent approached in 1522, he made an address based on I. Tim. 4:1-5, in which he attacked the Church's prohibition of meats. "Some," said he, "hold that to eat meat is a great sin, though God has not forbidden it; yet they think it no crime at all to sell human flesh to the foreigner."* Such language greatly enraged the advocates of the mercenary wars. While Zwingli in practice strictly refrained from the eating of meats for fear of offending weak consciences, nevertheless there were those who showed less discretion and regard for the well-being of others, among them Rubli, the banished curate of St. Albans', and Conrad Huber. These men were wont to meet two days in the week to eat meat, chiefly, as it would seem, to proclaim thereby their defiance of the Church. This naturally and very properly gave offense, and complaint was made to the Council.† That body after receiving the complaints sought advice from Zwingli. Zwingli advanced as his opinion that the eating of meats every day of the

*Op. Zw., II., part ii., p. 301.

†Christopher Froschauer, the printer, was among the number accused of eating meat during Lent. He was summoned before the Council to answer for his offense.

week was not a sin in itself, but inasmuch as there were ordinances of the Church against it, people ought to refrain until some competent authority had decided the matter. The Church party, feeling that success depended in great measure upon promptness of action, petitioned the Bishop of Constance to investigate the condition of affairs at Zurich, and on the 7th of April a deputation appointed by the Bishop arrived in the city. It consisted of the Bishop's suffragan, Melchior Wattli, Dr. Nicholas Brendlin, and the preacher of the Cathedral, John Wanner.* Next morning a summons was issued to all the clergy of Zurich to meet in the hall of the chapter. Great excitement prevailed. As soon as they were all assembled the suffragan arose and addressed the meeting. His words were bitter and intemperate, and although he studiously avoided names it was evident to all that his remarks were directed against Zwingli. Zwingli so understood it, and as soon as the suffragan had finished he made reply. So effectually did he answer the charges made that the spokesman of the Bishop left the hall in confusion. Having failed before the assembly of the clergy, the deputation as a next step laid the case before the

*Op. Zw., III., pp. 8-16; *Ibid.*, VII., p. 202.

Small Council, the majority of whom were known to be hostile to Zwingli and the Gospel. Not being a member of the Small Council, Zwingli was absent from the meeting, and the representatives of the Bishop were on the point of obtaining all they desired, when a few councilors who were favorable to Zwingli, recognizing the injustice of the proposed action, appealed the matter to a meeting of the Great Council. Thus it was that the Gospel passed through the greatest crisis it had yet experienced, and narrowly averted what promised to be a great calamity. The majority of the Great Council were favorable to Zwingli, and the case therefore appeared more hopeful. Nevertheless, his enemies were busy, and as it was some time before the Council would meet they had large opportunity for intrigue. They plotted to prevent Zwingli from being present at the hearing. In this they were at first successful. Zwingli sought in vain to be admitted, and after using every legitimate means in his power he committed his cause and that of the Gospel to God in prayer, and tranquilly awaited the result. The Two Hundred assembled in the latter part of the month, and no sooner had they met than the friends of the Reformation entered a vigorous protest against the exclusion of their pastors from the

sessions of the Council. The effort was successful, and the pastors were admitted despite the violent opposition of the papal party. It was agreed that the Bishop's deputies should present their complaints, and that the priests of Zurich should be free to reply. After a short pause the suffragan of Constance came forward and began to speak. He referred in a general way to the dangers which threatened the state and the Christian faith through the preaching of "novel, revolting, and seditious doctrine." In his peroration he appealed to the councilors with much insistence to remain in the Catholic Church. When he had finished he and his colleagues prepared to leave. Zwingli arose and earnestly entreated them to remain; but they would doubtless have retreated had not the burgomaster interposed with the request that they stay and listen to the defense of the Zurich pastor. Zwingli repelled the charge of sedition and disrespect for law which the suffragan had made against Zurich by inviting him to compare it with the other cities of the Confederacy. He inveighed against ceremonies and extolled the Gospel as the bulwark of the nation. Fasts which were not enjoined by the Word of God were matters of indifference, and no one should be compelled to fast on the authority of the Church alone. The

Council at the close of the session decided that in the Pope and his cardinals alone was vested the authority to determine these points, and also decreed that until the matter was authoritatively settled the people should abstain from the violation of Church laws. While this decision left matters precisely where they were previous to the discussion, in the minds of the people it virtually amounted to a victory for the Reformation. The haughty and imperious representative of the Bishop had been publicly defeated and humiliated in the eyes of all the inhabitants of Zurich. The effect of Zwingli's words upon his opponents may be learned from a letter to Myconius, in which he briefly describes the encounter. "I so replied to them in the presence of the assembly, that it is the common talk that they will never again rally their scattered forces. Yet even now I hear that certain ones are preparing to renew the battle. I fear them as the rocks fear the huge waves which threaten them from the deep." *

Zwingli had enemies among the canons of the Great Minster. Though we can scarcely regard them as formidable, they were nevertheless troublesome. Canon Hoffman complained of

*Op. Zw., VII., p. 203.

Zwingli before the chapter, but his charges were so groundless and absurd as to result simply in mirth at the Canon's expense. That his people might have a clearer understanding of Scripture teaching on the subject, Zwingli published on the 10th of April a treatise entitled, *Abstaining from and Partaking of Meats; Offense-giving and Strife*.^{*} In this work, while he proves that compulsory fasting is contrary to Scripture, nevertheless he enforces upon advanced Christians the necessity of observing St. Paul's rule, lest by their show of liberty they offend weak consciences. The peace of the community was also to be taken into account in the exercise of Christian freedom. It is the Christian's duty, as far as possible, to follow those things which make for peace. This mild and eminently Christian treatise removed doubts and set the minds of men at rest. It also revealed to the papal party the strength of the Reformed position, and the necessity of prompt and vigorous action if their cause was to be maintained.

Zwingli's success and his hopeful militant spirit had a quickening influence on the friends of the Gospel everywhere. In Germany, where the cause of the Gospel rested under a cloud in con-

^{*}Op. Zw., I., p. 1.

sequence of the mysterious disappearance of Luther and his confinement in the castle of the Wartburg, there were signs of awakening hope in the hearts of the people as the news of events in Switzerland reached their ears. Nesen, the Frankfort professor, who had entertained Luther on his way to Worms, in a letter to Zwingli says: "I am aware with what authority and freedom you preach Christ, and of how many men you win to Him day by day. I pray Christ that you may continue, and that you may also aid those who have been compelled to flee from us on account of the cruelty of the bishops." *

Zwingli's social prominence and commanding influence carried with it that element of personal risk which invariably attaches to men in high places, and which is always greatest during that turbulent, feverish period immediately preceding any great popular movement. Frequent threats had already been made against his life. About this time, from a friend in Swabia who did not sign his name, but who proved to be Michael Hummelberger, of Ravensburg, came a letter which read as follows: "If ever thou hadst regard for thy life, have it now; for on every side thou art surrounded by traps and snares. Deadly

*Op. Zw., VII., p. 208.

poison stands ready to take thee away. Be on thy guard. When thou art hungry eat only what thy own cook has prepared."* Myconius relates in detail several attempts upon his life. A messenger once came at midnight to summon him to the bedside of a dying person. The attendant who went to the door refused to wake Zwingli, as he was greatly exhausted with the previous day's work. He offered to go himself, but the man declined his offer and thus aroused his suspicion. The attendant then made some excuse, as if to go and arouse Zwingli, and closed the door in the messenger's face. Next morning it was discovered that the night visitor was one of a band of conspirators who had arranged to seize Zwingli and carry him away. Myconius makes the rather absurd statement that on another occasion an assassin was seen going about the streets with a long sword suspended from his girdle with which he purposed to kill Zwingli if he met him. At one time Zwingli's house was attacked at night by a drunken mob, and pelted with stones until all the windows were shattered.† So imminent, in fact, was the Reformer's peril that his friends, unknown to him, adopted special measures for his

*Op. Zw., VII., p. 199.

†Os. Myc. *Vita et Obitu* Zw., X.

protection. The Council even placed guards at times about his residence.

The friends of the papacy in face of apparent defeat were tireless and unrelenting in their hostility. The Bishop of Constance published a mandate in which, without mentioning Zwingli by name, he complained of speculative persons who were guilty of reviving doctrines already condemned by the Church. He also addressed a letter to the chapter of Zurich, the tenor of which was in general the same as the more formal mandate. When read to the assembled canons all recognized at once that it was aimed at Zwingli. Zwingli himself so understood it, and requested that the letter be turned over to him that he might formulate a reply. The fruit of this attempt was the *Archeteles** (The Beginning and the End), a name applied in the hope that this first formal answer to his opponents would also be the last. He published the episcopal letter at the same time, replying to it sentence by sentence. His attitude toward the Bishop throughout the *Arche-teles* is deferential and respectful, not that of an antagonist. Nor is he ironical in the least, though we are inclined as we read some of the sentences to entertain a lurking suspicion to that

*Op. Zw., III., pp. 26-76.

effect. His purpose was conciliatory as well as apologetic. The *Archeteles* is a simple and dispassionate defense of his preaching. "I have brought all men to a knowledge of their infirmities," he says, "and have endeavored to lead them to the only true God, and to Jesus Christ, his Son." He exhorts the Bishop to be wise and cautious and to seek the guidance of the Lord. In one of the closing paragraphs he exclaims: "O fortunate souls, to whom at last all good things are offered! We who were once in darkness are now brought into the blazing light of God's truth." He concludes with the warning: "When Julius Cæsar saw that he could not escape death, he drew his garments about him that he might fall with dignity. Your ceremonies must fall. See to it, therefore, that they fall with dignity, and that light everywhere supplants darkness." *

Thus we see that the purpose of the Bishop, which was to stop the mouth of the heretical preacher of Zurich, not only failed, but resulted in the publication of a work which actually fostered the movement he opposed. He now decided to pursue an entirely different course. Deputies were despatched to the Diet of the Con-

*Op. Zw., III., p. 69.

federacy, then in session, who complained that the mandate of the Bishop forbidding innovations of doctrines had been despised. The aid of the Diet of the whole nation was invoked to rescue the ancient faith from its peril. The Diet, the majority of which were in sympathy with Rome, had previously issued a decree forbidding the preachers to depart in their sermons from the recognized doctrines of the Church. Their response to the deputies of the Bishop was an express determination to enforce the previous decree. Urban Weiss, the pastor of Fislispach, was arrested for violation of this enactment and placed under bail. The prompt action of the Diet gave new courage everywhere to the friends of the papacy. At Zurich the monks became more bold, and importuned the Council to take action in harmony with the Diet. The Council disposed of their petition by referring the whole matter to a committee, before whom the preachers and readers of the churches were summoned to appear. When they were assembled, the committee instructed them to preach nothing that might imperil the public peace. To this Zwingli frankly and fearlessly refused to comply, on the ground that as pastor and preacher of Zurich he was divinely intrusted with the care of souls. After further deliberation the committee decided

not to lay any restrictions on the preaching of the Gospel. It is needless to say that this result angered still more the Roman party.

The sympathy of the Great Council with the Reformation is strikingly seen in its ordering Zwingli at this time to preach in the nunnery of Oetenbach.* The inmates of this institution, some of whom belonged to the leading families of Zurich, were by their confinement utterly cut off from all Gospel privileges. Zwingli preached to them on the *Clearness and Certainty of the Word of God*. This address, which was afterward published, sets forth in the simplest and most lucid way Zwingli's attitude toward the Scriptures.†

In July of this year there appeared on the streets of Zurich a Franciscan monk, Francis Lambert, preacher of Avignon. Driven from the pulpit of his native city in consequence of Lutheran sympathies, he fled to Bern. Thence Haller, after kindly receiving him, had sent him to Zurich furnished with a letter of introduction to Zwingli.‡ The Swiss Reformer received him with marked cordiality and invited him to preach. Lambert delivered four sermons, prevailingy evangelical, but in the last sermon he upheld the

*Bullinger, I., p. 77.

†Op. Zw., I., p. 52.

‡*Ibid.*, VII., p. 207.

invocation of Mary and the saints. Zwingli interrupted him at this juncture and, in a public disputation, proved openly from the Bible that he was in error. The monk, to the great surprise and confusion of the Roman party, acknowledged his mistake, and thanking God for the light he had received, professed that hereafter he would pray to God alone.*

Among the great body of arbitrary regulations imposed by the Roman Church, none was more grievous to bear or disastrous in its results than the rule of priestly celibacy. Hitherto men had accepted it with all the reverence accorded to divine commandment. Now they were beginning to discover through the free reading of the Word, that this unnatural interference with one of the fundamental laws of our being, so far from originating in the will of God, was in direct contravention of it—a mere papal invention designed to strengthen the chains of hierarchical domination. There was a growing feeling among the evangelical ministers that the times were ripe for throwing off this yoke and putting an end to the gross abuses and scandals it had engendered. Xylo-tectus (Joannes Zimmermann), a priest of Lucerne and a friend of Myconius, formerly canon

*Os. Myc. *Vita et Obitu Zw.*, IX.

of the Great Minster in Zurich, led the way by taking to himself a wife. Zwingli followed his example and married Anna Reinhardt,* the young widow of Hans Meyer von Knonau, a woman of marked virtues and considerable personal charm. Her deep piety, however, was the grace which especially attracted Zwingli and caused him to make her his life companion. His marriage took place early in the year 1522, and was announced only to his friends.† The fact was not made public until April, 1524. Zwingli's reason for withholding the publication of his marriage for so long a time was the fear that the announcement might cripple his influence with a certain class. He entered into the marriage state as an act of conscience and with a deep sense of its sacredness. If he erred, as some think, in concealing the fact for a time from the public, the error was one of judgment rather than of infringement of moral law. With our imperfect knowledge of the problems and conditions involved, it behooves us to be very charitable in the formation of an opinion. In this, as in other things, we must in simple justice admit that Zwingli acted from conscientious motives and

*In the Zwingli correspondence references to his marriage are found: *Op. Zw.*, VII., pp. 197, 210, 226, 235, 247, 253, 255.

†*Vale cum uxore quam felicissime et tuis omnibus.* Also note. *Op. Zw.*, VII., p. 210; *Ibid.*, p. 253.

with an eye to the interests of the kingdom of God.*

Zwingli was of the opinion that the Reform party was now sufficiently numerous and influential to effect something by way of petition. It seemed reasonable, at least, to hope that certain concessions could thus be secured from the authorities of the Church. A summons was accordingly issued to all the evangelical ministers to assemble in convention at Einsiedeln. The call was obeyed by a goodly proportion of the Reform clergy, and about the 1st of July they found themselves gathered in the chapel of the renowned Abbey. It was proposed to prepare

*With respect to Zwingli's marriage Merle d'Aubigne says (*History of Reformation*, vol. III., chap. 13): "Zwingli, when he took Anna Reinhardt to wife, did not make his marriage known. This is undoubtedly a blamable weakness in a man at other times so resolute." Dr. Schaff remarks (*History of the Christian Church*, vol. VII., p. 49): "It would have been better for his fame if, as a minister and reformer, he had exercised self-restraint till public opinion was ripe for a change." Christoffel, on the other hand, exonerates Zwingli from all blame. He says: "We conceive the conduct of the Reformer must be judged by the standard of the then existing relations and the principles of morality which he drew from the word of God. Zwingli's marriage was on no occasion brought before the Church courts, nor once made the subject of reproach to him by his bitterest enemies, who caught at the most absurd stories to vilify him—a proof that nothing censurable could be drawn from it. Zwingli himself, after Matt. XVIII., regarded offense-giving as a heinous sin. That he might give his parishioners no offense he entered into wedlock, to which state he found himself, after serious examination, appointed by God; and he entered it in a manner which was in accordance with the moral conceptions of the times and the principles then generally recognized. When he felt convinced that the public celebration of his marriage not only would give to the majority of his people no offense, but would be regarded by them as a confirmation of the principles of evangelical preaching, he delayed not an hour to implement it. In all this I not only find no 'censurable weakness,' but the same wise and temperate regard to the feelings and religious development attained by his congregation which he manifested in the carrying out of every reform."—*Life of Zwingli*, p. 123.

two petitions, one to the Bishop, and another to the Diet of the Confederacy. Two things were demanded: First, the free preaching of the Gospel; and second, the abolition of compulsory celibacy. From the general style of these petitions, and other evidence as well, it seems probable that Zwingli was their author. "For a long time," read the petition to the Bishop, "the heavenly teaching which God, the Creator of all, has manifested through his Son to the race lost in sin, has been hid from our eyes by the ignorance, not to say the iniquity, of a few men. But God has determined to reestablish it in its primitive state. On our part, we are determined to preach the Gospel with indefatigable zeal."* The question of celibacy next received attention. The gross abuses it had occasioned were painted in strong colors and Scripture texts were cited in abundance in justification of priestly marriages. The petition closed with a stirring appeal to "permit what had been rashly enacted to be wisely abrogated. Behold how the world is threatened. If wisdom does not interfere, the order of the priesthood must fall."† The following names were subscribed: Balthasar Thachselus, George Chalyb, Vernher Steiner,

*Op. Zw., III., pp. 17-18.

†*Ibid.*, p. 24.

Leo Jud, Erasmus Fabricius, Simon Stumpf, Jodocus Kilchmeyer, Huldrich Pistor, Caspar Megander, John Faber, Ulrich Zwingli. The petition to the Diet was more formal and elaborate and was written in German instead of Latin.

The convention of Einsiedeln, having accomplished their work, disbanded with hearts full of hope, having prayerfully committed the final issue of it all to God. Events seemed to indicate, however, that they had little to expect from their labors. The Roman party was thoroughly alarmed at the progress already made by the Reformers. Each day they were becoming more hostile. A crisis seemed imminent. In Zurich the monks were especially insolent, and did everything in their power to annoy Zwingli. Particularly in Lucerne did the enmity of the Roman party show itself. Thither Zwingli had despatched the petitions of Einsiedeln to Myconius for circulation among the friends of the Reformation. In a letter, at the same time, he advised Myconius to circulate the petitions gradually rather than all at once, fearing that their sudden publication might unduly antagonize the Roman party and terrify friends. Myconius, in his great ardor and joy to perform the duty intrusted to him, failed to be as prudent as he ought. He circulated the petitions at once. The

act proved untimely. A few good people openly approved, but the great body of those who sympathized with the priests of Einsiedeln refrained through fear from any public expression of opinion.* As for the enemies of Reform, they were thoroughly exasperated, and their violence knew no bounds. Myconius was on the verge of despair. "Our people are blind to heavenly things," wrote he to Zwingli; "they care not for the things which add to the glory of Christ." † The minds of the people were so filled with military affairs that the thrusting of these petitions upon them seemed to them a senseless impertinence. The French with their confederate allies had been driven out of Lombardy; and Zurich, if she had not actively aided, had at least shown sympathy with the foe by sending a body of troops into Italy. The moment chosen for launching these petitions was certainly un-auspicious. The deputies of hated Zurich were the only members of the Diet who manifested any favor toward them. The hostility toward Myconius in Lucerne increased from day to day. The poor schoolmaster and his family were finally banished by a decree of the City Council. In his desperation he wrote to his friend Zwingli:

*Op. Zw., VII., p. 210.

†*Ibid.*

“This is my advice,” Zwingli replied, “that you appear before the Council and make an address worthy of Christ and yourself, such as will melt men’s feelings rather than arouse them. Deny that you are a Lutheran, but confess that you are a Christian. If this fails do not despair. Come to your friend Zwingli and make Zurich your home.”* Myconius made his defense before the Council, but to no avail. He was compelled to flee from his native city.

The Diet of the Confederacy, which met at Baden, instigated by the Bishop of Constance, replied to the petition sent it by ordering the authorities of the common bailiwicks to use their power to suppress all priests who should presume to speak against the ancient faith. Urban Weiss, whom it had previously placed under bail for preaching the Reform doctrines, it now caused to be rearrested and delivered over to the Bishop. Thus, in brief, ended the first formal attempt to obtain for Switzerland the liberty of the Gospel.

Zwingli’s lot was made especially hard in consequence of the suspicion with which he was regarded by members of his own family. Reports of his teaching and the opposition he had aroused

*Op. Zw., VII., p. 217.

among the brethren of Zurich and elsewhere had been carried to the old home in the valley of the Toggenburg. A feeling of dread mingled with shame prompted the family to write to him. They plainly expressed to him the sorrow which they felt and urged him for their sake and his own not to bring reproach upon the family name. Zwingli's reply is full of pathos and breathes forth the deep genuineness and nobility of his Christian character.

Zwingli made a second visit to Einsiedeln in the month of September, this time to attend the festival of the Angel Consecration.* He was accompanied by his friend, Leo Jud, who, to Zwingli's intense satisfaction, had lately been called to the pastorate of the Church of St. Peter at Zurich. Myconius succeeded Jud at Einsiedeln.† Zwingli preached on this occasion, but his address has not been preserved.‡

**Vide* letter to Myconius under date of Aug. 26, 1522. Op. Zw., VII., p. 219.

†*Ibid.*, p. 253.

‡Bullinger suggests that the substance of his address at Einsiedeln may be learned from discourses previously delivered by him. (*Reformationsgesch.*, I., p. 81.) This is the address which D'Aubigne, Hess, and Christoffel wrongly ascribe to the period of his pastorate at Einsiedeln (1516-1519).

CHAPTER VI.

ZWINGLI AT ZURICH FROM 1523-1526.—FROM
THE ZURICH DISPUTATION TO THE CONFERENCE
OF BADEN.

LEO JUD, Zwingli's friend, as we have already had occasion to note, had become pastor of the Church of St. Peter in Zurich. One day, as an Augustinian monk was preaching with much force to a congregation on the efficacy of good works, Jud, who was sitting in the audience, felt called upon to protest against the teaching of such error, and accordingly did so in a kindly and dignified manner. But notwithstanding his effort not to offend, the interference angered a certain few, and precipitated an unseemly disturbance. Zwingli had for some time cherished the belief that a public presentation and defense of the Reform doctrines would greatly aid the cause of the Gospel. As the leader of the movement, he desired to clear himself personally of the aspersions which the Romish party had heaped upon him. He felt that much of their hatred of him would vanish if both he and his cause were better understood by the people. Accordingly, this attack

upon his friend was the immediate occasion of his petitioning the Great Council to grant him permission to explain and defend his doctrine in the presence of the people and the representatives of church and state. His plea was granted, and the 29th day of January, 1523, fixed upon as the day for the conference. Zwingli prepared for the coming event by drafting sixty-seven Articles, or *Schlussreden*, which were designed to serve as the basis of the discussion. In these Articles he maintains the supremacy of the Word of God and the all sufficiency of the atoning work of Christ. He rejects the papacy, priestly mediation, the mass, and good works as contrary to Holy Scripture. The following are a number of the more important of these Articles:

1. All who say that the Gospel is nothing unless approved by the Church err, and blaspheme God.

2. The sum of the Gospel is that Christ, the Son of God, has revealed to us the will of his heavenly Father, and by his innocence has redeemed us from eternal death and reconciled us to God.

3. Therefore it follows that Christ is the only way of salvation to all who were, are, or shall be.

4. Whoever seeks or shows another door errs, and is even a murderer of souls and a robber.

5. Whoever makes other doctrines equal or superior to the Gospel errs, and knows not the Gospel.

7. Christ is the head of all believers, whose body they are, and without Him the body is powerless and dead.

8. Therefore it follows that all who live in this Head are members and sons of God. This is the communion of saints, the bride of Christ, the catholic church.

15. He that believes the Gospel shall be saved; he that believes not shall be condemned, for in the Gospel the whole truth is clearly set forth.

16. The Gospel teaches us that the doctrines and traditions of men are nothing, and useless as respects salvation.

17. Christ, who offered himself once on the cross, is the sufficient and eternal sacrifice for the sins of all believers. Hence it follows that the mass is no sacrifice, but a commemoration of the sacrifice once offered on the cross, a seal of redemption through Christ.

19. Christ is the only Mediator between God and us.

24. Christians are not bound to perform works which Christ has not commanded.

27. All Christians are brethren of Christ and



of one another. Therefore they ought not to call any Father upon earth.

28. Whatever God permits is right. Therefore marriage is equally becoming among all men.

34. Pope and bishops, or the so-called spiritual powers, have no foundation in the Sacred Scriptures and the teachings of Christ.

50. God alone forgives sins through Jesus Christ our Lord.

57. The Holy Scriptures know nothing of purgatory after this life.*

On the day appointed for the discussion upward of six hundred people from all classes came together in the Town Hall, the assembly place of the Great Council. Faber, the vicar-general of the diocese, and several other doctors were present, as representatives of the Bishop. None of the cantons except Schaffhausen sent deputies.† Zwingli took his position at a table in the midst of the room, and before him lay the open Bible. Burgomaster Roust called the assembly to order and made a brief speech, setting forth the reasons which led to the calling of the meeting. As soon as the meeting was declared open for discussion,

*Op. Zw., I., pp. 153-157; Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom*, III., pp. 197-207.

†The Federal Diet, then in session at Baden, had been invited to send a delegation, but it ignored the request.

Zwingli arose and challenged any who had spoken against him publicly and denounced him as a heretic to speak. Faber, who knew that this challenge was meant for him, arose and with some confusion replied that he had been sent not to dispute, but to learn why there were so many differences of opinion about religion in the canton, and suggested that, as the Diet of Nuremburg had promised a council soon, the questions in dispute be left for settlement until that time. When it seemed unlikely that any one would accept his challenge, Zwingli addressed the assembly in his own behalf, denying the right of any to call him a heretic and declaring that he was ready to defend his doctrine against all comers. An awkward pause followed this speech. As no one seemed ready to reply, the burgomaster adjourned the meeting until the afternoon. When the Council convened again a paper was read embodying their decision, *i.e.*, "that Master Ulrich Zwingli continue to proclaim the Holy Gospel as long and as often as he will until something better is made known to him. Furthermore, all priests, curates, and preachers in cities, cantons and dependencies, shall undertake and preach nothing but what can be proved by the Holy Gospel and the Scriptures; furthermore,

they shall not in future slander, insult, or call each other heretics." *

Zwingli could scarce restrain himself for joy at the announcement of this decision. His opponents had suffered a great humiliation. They were surprised and thoroughly abashed, and the feeling grew that immediate steps must be taken to check the tide of reform or the entire Confederacy would soon be swept by it.

We have already seen that the Pope's attitude toward Switzerland and the reform movement there in progress was entirely different from that manifested toward Luther and his work in Germany. The Pope was greatly in need of the Swiss in consequence of his wars and intrigues for the extension and maintenance of his authority. Thus we find at this crisis that, instead of attempting to terrorize Zwingli by his threats and anathemas, as so often he had attempted to terrorize Luther, he sent to him his nuncio Ennius, as bearer of the following letter : †

“POPE ADRIAN VI., to his dear son, salutations and the Apostolical benediction: We send our revered brother Ennius, Bishop of Verulam, our private prelate, and Nuncio of the

*Op. Zw., I., pp. 114-153.

†*Ibid.*, VII., p. 266; *Os. Myc. Vita et Obitu Zw.*, IX.

Apostolic See, a man eminent for prudence and fidelity, to that invincible nation most closely bound to us and to the Holy See, in order that he may treat with it respecting matters of the utmost importance to us and the Holy See, and to the entire Christian commonwealth connected therewith. Moreover, although we have given him instructions to conduct our affairs with your nation publicly, yet because we have a sure knowledge of your distinguished merits and highly prize your loyalty and devotion, and also place great confidence in your honesty, we have ordered this same Bishop, our Nuncio, to hand over to you our private letter, and to declare our greatest affection for you. We exhort your devotion in the Lord; that you have all confidence in Him; that with the same disposition in which we have ministered to your honor and profit, you bestir yourself also in our affairs and in those of the Apostolic See. For this you will find us most truly grateful.

“Given in Rome at St. Peter’s, January 23, 1523, the first year of our pontificate.”

Myconius records that the Pope urged Francis Zink, the papal chaplain of the monastery at Einsiedeln, to endeavor to gain over Zwingli. When Myconius inquired of Zink what the Pope

had authorized him to offer as an inducement, he replied, "Everything except the papal chair." * Rome would gladly have paid any price to gain Zwingli as an advocate and defender, but unfortunately for her, the inducements which she held out served only to alienate the more his affections. In his doctrinal views he found that every day he was getting farther and farther away from the accepted standards of the Church. And when in addition he contemplated the ethics of her administration, and the immorality of her favorite representatives, his repugnance for her became greater even than Luther's.

An immediate result of the success of the Zurich Reformers was to embitter still more the feelings of the Romish party. At Lucerne their hostility manifested itself in deeds of public violence. Zwingli was dragged in effigy to a scaffold and executed for heresy. A number of Zurichers who happened to be in Lucerne at the time were seized and roughly handled by a mob. Zwingli when told of this disgraceful occurrence expressed confidence that Christ would never desert his followers. †

No sooner was the Zurich disputation over than Zwingli undertook the preparation of an

*Os. Myc. *Vita et Obitu Zw.*, X.

†Op. Zw., VII., p. 278.

elaborate commentary on the sixty-seven Articles which he had drafted as grounds of debate for that meeting. The work progressed slowly, and not until the middle of July was it completed. As this work was intended for the people, it was written in the vernacular, and in style and contents it was admirably suited to its purpose. It bears the title: *Exposition and Proof of the Conclusions or Articles*.*

In Zurich the advantage gained by the Reformers in the disputation bore immediate fruit. The Council decreed a series of radical reforms in the administration and worship of the Great Minster. It was enacted that all the clergy of the Minster should preach the word of God; that the Bible should be read and explained daily in three languages—Hebrew, Greek, and Latin; that greater attention should be paid to education, and that candidates for the ministry should be thoroughly trained; that the number of priests supported by the Great Minster should be gradually reduced, and that all holders of benefices should be required to perform parish duties; that the use of candles at burials was not obligatory; that henceforth fees should not be charged for baptisms, masses, or burials without monuments;

*Op. Zw., I., pp. 169-424.

and that all surplus funds in the Minster treasury should be distributed to the poor under direction of a committee appointed for that purpose.*

In September of this year (1523) Zwingli prepared a treatise on *The Canon of the Mass*, which contains the first formal statement of his doctrinal views respecting the Lord's Supper. Although as a priest of the Roman Catholic Church he still continued to celebrate mass according to the ancient usages, he had, as clearly appears from this writing, already arrived at those radical views respecting the words of institution which constitute the distinguishing feature of his theology.†

As a reformer Zwingli was careful not to prejudice his cause by hasty and ill-considered acts. Caution and deliberation mark every step of his course. In the introduction of changes in public worship he moved no faster than public sentiment would safely allow. He labored zealously to inculcate in the minds and hearts of his hearers a love and veneration for God's Word as the supreme authority over against the man-imposed authority of the Church. As soon as he felt that the people had been educated to a point where the majority desired the changes which he advo-

*Bullinger, I., pp. 115-119.

†Op. Zw., III., pp. 83-116.

cated, he proceeded at once to attempt the actual realization of his reform ideas by submitting them to the verdict of the people's representatives—the members of the Great Council.

It was inevitable, however, that among the great mass of his hearers there should be here and there those who, eagerly laying hold of his reformatory ideas and sharing his enthusiasm, should at the same time lack entirely his prudence and moderation. Zwingli was not free from the burden of overzealous and fanatical followers, and the various other perils incident to radical reform. Among the abuses of the Church which he especially attacked at this time was the idolatrous use made of the images of the Virgin Mary and the saints. He taught that because of this abuse all images should be removed from the churches. Nevertheless he made no attempt to remove them, and favored waiting for their orderly removal under sanction of the civil authority. At this juncture the untimely publication of a little work entitled *The Judgment of God Against Images*, by a young priest named Ludwig Hetzer, led to results which for a time threatened serious injury to the Reform cause. Hetzer's vigorous treatment of this abuse aroused certain of the more ardent reformers to fever heat, and precipitated various acts of indiscretion. Klaus Hot-

tinger, a pious shoemaker, at the head of a band of like-minded citizens went to Stadelhofen, just outside the gates of the city, tore down and destroyed a great wooden crucifix and committed other depredations of like nature.* The Romanists raised the cry of sacrilege and invoked death for the offenders. Zwingli was thus forced at this inopportune moment to define his position with respect to images. He deprecated the violence of Hottinger and his colleagues and declared that they ought to be punished for having acted without the sanction of the civil authority, but maintained, on the other hand, that they were not guilty of sacrilege in the sight of God nor worthy of death.

These excesses, much as Zwingli deplored them, were used in the providence of God for the furtherance of the Gospel cause. The city and cantonal authority decided that the situation required that something be done, and accordingly appointed a committee, composed of four members each from the Great and the Small Councils together with the three parish priests, charged with the duty of making a thorough study of the general subject of images in the light of Holy Scripture, the same to report to the Great Coun-

*Egli, pp. 176, 178.

cil. Without waiting for the committee's report the Council summoned all the clergy of the canton to meet for public discussion on October 26, 1523, to decide if possible what ought to be done respecting images and the mass. Invitations to attend were sent to the bishops of Coire, Constance, and Basel, and twelve other cantons and the University of Basel were requested to send delegates.* The Bishop of Constance excused himself, on the ground that acceptance of the invitation would render him amenable to his superiors, and at the same time advised that the subject be left to a general council. The Bishop of Basel pleaded advanced age and sickness. The Bishop of Coire made no reply. All the cantons except two, Schaffhausen and St. Gall, declined to send delegations. Of the Catholic cantons, Lucerne replied in substance, that since they were abundantly able to settle their strife *if they would*, they need expect no help from them. Unterwalden's letter of refusal was sarcastic and abusive.† As on the previous occasion, the disputation was held in the Town Hall. It was agreed that all discussions should be carried on in the German vernacular, and that the Word of God should be regarded as the final standard of au-

*Op. Zw., I., p. 543.

†*Ibid.*, p. 460.

thority. Doctors Vadian and Schappeler were present as delegates from St. Gall. Sebastian Hofmeister represented Schaffhausen. More than nine hundred persons, delegates and attendants, were present when the meeting opened. Zwingli and his friend, Leo Jud, occupied conspicuous positions in the assembly as the champions of Reform. Together they defended the proposition: "Images are forbidden by God in the Holy Scriptures. Therefore among Christians images ought not to be made or adored, but to be done away with."* Leo Jud presented an elaborate array of Scripture proof texts in support of this thesis. Few opponents of the Reformation were present, and those who were present were not in a position to quote Scripture in refutation of Jud's arguments. The Romanists attempted no defense from Scripture, but contented themselves with presenting general objections, as, *e.g.*, the injury which a removal of images might do to the weak in faith. The first day's session was a victory for the Reform party, and closed with the best of feeling on the part of all. The assembly met again the next day to consider the doctrine of the mass. "Far from us be the thought," said Zwingli, "that there is any

*Bullinger, I., p. 131.

deception or falsehood in the body and blood of Christ.* Our aim is simply to show that the mass is not a sacrifice that one man can offer up to God for another.” Dr. Vadian, who was presiding, invited any who desired to defend from Scripture the doctrine of the mass to come forward. There being no response, all declared that they agreed with Zwingli. On the morning of the third day’s session Zwingli preached to the assembled delegates. The discourse which he delivered on this occasion was subsequently published in expanded form under title of *The Shepherd*.†

At the close of the disputation the Council appointed a committee of eight to consult with the parish priests of the city and a few other priests from the surrounding towns “to discover some plan by which to advance the work of Christ.” This committee asked Zwingli to prepare a tractate for distribution among the clergy of the canton, the purpose of which clearly appears from its title: *A brief Christian introduction which the Council and city of Zurich has sent to the pastors and preachers of its cities, and all places under its authority, so that they may henceforth declare and preach the true Gospel to*

*Op. Zw., I., p. 498.

†*Ibid.*, pp. 631-668.

*their subjects.** Zwingli wrote this work with such despatch that the printed copies were ready for distribution by the middle of November.

The immediate effect of the second disputation upon the Church in Switzerland was very marked. Many priests who were in attendance returned to their respective places filled with zeal for the new doctrines to which they had listened. The church of Zurich now felt herself emancipated from the control of the Bishop of Constance. The Word of God was looked up to as the only authoritative standard of doctrine and discipline, the interpretation and enforcement of which was felt to rest with the congregation, or their representatives, instead of with the Church.

Zwingli did not allow himself to be unduly elated over so signal a victory. He proceeded with great moderation. "God knows," said he, "that I am inclined to build up and not tear down. I am aware that there are timid souls who ought to be conciliated; let the mass, therefore, for some time longer be read in all the churches, and let us avoid insulting the priests who celebrate it." In the chapter of the Great Minster there was a division of opinion concerning the mass. An appeal was made to the Council, and

*Op. Zw., I., pp. 541-565.

that body referred the subject for final decision to the parish priests—Zwingli, Engelhardt, and Jud. Their decision, as was to be expected, was wholly in favor of reform,* but the Council subsequently manifested an unwillingness to entertain any changes further than to allow the pastors of Zurich to celebrate the Eucharist in their own parishes according to either the old or the new form. On December 19 the Council invited the clergy of the city to appear before them nine days later for a public disputation on all matters under dispute. At this conference nothing was done, and an adjournment was taken until January 19, 1524. In the meantime the Council had banished from the canton Hottinger, the iconoclast of Stadelhofen, and forbidden him to return without their permission.

About this time Zwingli was cheered by the return to Zurich of his friend Myconius. The worthy schoolmaster and reformer after his banishment from Lucerne had found refuge in Einsiedeln, and during his stay there he and Geroldseck, the administrator of the Abbey, became intimate friends. Myconius hailed with joy the first opportunity to be near Zwingli, and entered with zest upon his duties as teacher of the classics

*Op. Zw., I., pp. 566-568.

and expounder of the New Testament in connection with the Frau Münster.

On January 19 the representatives of the Old and the New Faiths met once more in the hope of effecting an amicable settlement of their doctrinal differences. Canon Hoffman, the leader of the opposition, failed, however, to convince the assembly of the Scripturalness of the ancient usages, and therefore it was enacted that the previous orders of the Council should be obeyed.*

At the Diet of Lucerne, which met early in 1524, a vigorous effort was made to unite the Roman forces in a concerted movement to withstand the alarming advances that were being made by the friends of the Reformation. Freiburg and the Forest Cantons readily fell into line. Schaffhausen inclined toward the Gospel, and Zurich stood out boldly for it. Bern, Basel, Glarus, Appenzell, and Solothurn were wavering and undecided. So urgent were the demands of Rome upon the chief assembly, however, that finally a decree was passed forbidding the preaching or repeating of any new or Lutheran doctrine in public or private. This decree was sent to all the bailiffs with orders for its strict enforcement. Before the Diet adjourned a direct

*Bullinger, I., pp. 139-142.

attempt was made to induce Zurich to renounce the stand which she had taken. A deputation was sent to plead with the Council and the citizens to return to the fold of the Church. This deputation made its appearance in the city in March, and although it strove earnestly to induce Zurich to dismiss Zwingli and his fellow pastors and to unite for the defense of the Romish faith, all its pleading was in vain. Zurich boldly announced that no concessions would be made in matters affecting the Word of God. So far from acceding to the demands of Rome, the Council of Zurich, acting on the advice of the city pastors, now actively set about the prosecution of certain outward reforms. The annual processions to Einsiedeln were prohibited, relics were interred, and images removed from all the churches of the city, their ornaments being sold for the benefit of the poor. A committee consisting of the three pastors, twelve members of the Council, the city architect, smiths, carpenters, and masons, visited the churches and removed all articles of superstitious veneration. Even the organs were taken down, and the frescoes on the walls covered with a coating of lime. Nothing was left but the bare interior and such furniture as was necessary. In all this we cannot help noticing the marked difference between the German and the

Swiss Reformations. Luther was in no sense an iconoclast. A mystic in his mode of thinking, with a deep veneration for established forms and usages, the symbolic ritualism of the Roman Church cast a spell over his soul. The doctrine of good works had obscured to men the freedom of divine grace and the Gospel offer of justification by faith alone. The fiery trial through which Luther passed clarified his mind forever to this great truth, and so precious did it become to him that he magnified it above all else, and preached and defended it with all the power and assertiveness of his masterful personality. Zwingli, as we have elsewhere mentioned, held as firmly as did Luther to the doctrine of justification by faith alone, but he was not so dominated by any one truth, however important, that his eyes were holden to the large admixture of Greek paganism which permeated the Church. Luther aimed at a doctrinal purification of the Church; Zwingli at its reorganization on primitive lines, in accordance with the Word of God.

In July the Diet of the Confederacy met at Zug, and in obedience to the solicitations of the Pope, a second deputation was sent to the Reform canton to warn it of the resolute determination of the Diet to enforce the previous mandate and stifle the new doctrine. The adherents of

Reform were threatened with forfeiture of goods, and of their lives even, if they presumed to violate the Diet's decree. Confronted with this stern announcement, the Zurichers replied with calm bravery that in matters of faith they would obey the Word of God alone. A crisis had been reached in the conflict. Zurich was compelled to choose between the Gospel and Rome, and her bold reply to the deputation of the Confederacy determined, in large measure, the subsequent history of the Christian Church in Switzerland. It was the immediate occasion of the rupture between Protestant Zurich and her allies on the one hand, and the Catholic cantons of Lucerne, Schwyz, Uri, Unterwalden, Freiburg, and Zug on the other. These states refused to sit hereafter in diet with Zurich. Thus was the breach first made, and the way prepared for the civil war that speedily followed. The high-handed seizure of the pastor of Burg, an evangelical preacher and friend of Zwingli, and the subsequent apprehension of bailiff Wirth and his sons, charged by the Catholic cantons with complicity in the burning of the Carthusian monastery of Ittingen, their torture and execution, did much to intensify the bitterness of feeling and render more perilous the situation.

In the midst of such threatening conditions

we would naturally look for concessions on the part of the Reformers, and we are surprised to learn that instead of tempering their course to the demands of Rome, they set about a work still more radical than any yet attempted. Images, as we have seen, had been suppressed and the churches stripped of everything that might tempt the heart to idolatry. A still greater and more fundamental abuse remained to be put away—the mass. In the disputation of October, 1523, Zwingli and his colleagues had proved its unscripturalness to the satisfaction of the Council, but for fear of offending weak consciences, and with that admirable caution which characterized all his acts, Zwingli advised that the priests continue to read mass until the people were sufficiently educated for the change. The time now seemed ripe and the occasion opportune. On the 11th day of April, 1525, the three pastors of Zurich presented themselves before the Great Council, and asked for the re-establishment of the Lord's Supper as described in the Gospels. The assembly manifested both surprise and alarm, and the more conservative stoutly opposed the abolition of the most venerable and fundamental institution of the Church. It was argued that the words, "This is my body," proved beyond a doubt that the bread was really

and truly the body of Christ. Zwingli maintained that the verb $\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota$ in this, as in other instances in the New Testament, *e.g.*, John 6:50, means *signifies*. So clearly and forcibly did he argue that he thoroughly convinced the Council, and forthwith they decreed that the mass should be abolished, and that on Holy Thursday, April 13, the Lord's Supper should be celebrated instead, according to the usages of the primitive Church.* Accordingly, when Thursday came the altars of the churches were supplanted by plain tables. The pastors read the words of Scripture relating to the institution of the Supper, and followed the reading with solemn and earnest words of exhortation to holiness and consecration of life as a preparation to the worthy use of the sacrament. The communicants then seated themselves at the table, and the bread and wine were offered to each in silence and with the utmost simplicity. In the Great Minster, Zwingli preached a sermon, and made use of a liturgy arranged and translated into the vernacular from the mass service of the Church.†

Burdened as Zwingli was with the cares of his parish and the administration of the church, he nevertheless found time for work of the most

*Op. Zw., II., pp. 2, 232.

†*Ibid.*, pp. 235-242.

scholarly nature. In March of this year he dedicated to Francis I., of France, an elaborate and most carefully prepared treatise entitled: *A Commentary on the True and False Religion*.^{*} This work is in reality a treatise on systematic theology. God, man, providence, law, sin, the Church, the sacraments, marriage, baptism, vows, government, and purgatory, are some of the subjects treated. In his treatment of sin he carefully discriminates between original sin and sin which is the voluntary transgression of the law. "Sin," he says, "according to Gospel teaching, is of a twofold nature. First, it is that *disease* which we contract by the law of heredity, and which Paul recognized when he said (Rom. 7:20): 'It is no more I that do it, but sin that dwelleth in me.' Secondly, sin is that which is contrary to the law; so that through the law comes the knowledge of sin. Any act, therefore, contrary to the law is sin."[†] That Zwingli was not Pelagian in his views, is apparent from additional statements of his in the same connection. Although he looked upon original sin as a disease, he nevertheless held that all men were lost by it, and must be redeemed by Christ if saved.

To obtain any adequate conception of Zwingli's

^{*}Op. Zw., III., pp. 147-325.

[†]*Ibid.*, p. 204.

greatness as a reformer we must ever bear in mind the complexity of the struggle in which he was engaged. Luther's contest was comparatively simple. He was free to devote all his energy and skill to the accomplishment of one object—the exaltation of the Word of God to a place of absolute supremacy in matters of private conscience. Zwingli fought for the same object, but the contest in Switzerland involved both church and state. It was a war for civil liberty and religious emancipation at one and the same time. A struggle against civic and social immorality as well as religious degradation. Zwingli was not only a teacher and a reformer like Luther, he was also a statesman and a patriot. The same voice that proclaimed the pure Gospel, and with its earnestness and fervor kindled men's souls and opened to them visions of a higher life, was heard pleading with equal power and persuasiveness for official integrity, pure citizenship, and love of country. The mild preacher and scholar was transformed into the fierce antagonist as visions of official corruption rose before him. Zwingli loved his country, and as a loyal citizen was ready at any time to sacrifice himself for it. In the intrigues of foreign agents and the venality of a strong party at home he read signs of the speedy loss of that freedom

which his fathers had so valiantly won. His patriotism gained for him the hatred of foreigners and the active hostility of that large party at home which loved the gold of foreign princes more than private honor or the independence of their country. It also imperiled from the very beginning the cause of the Reformation. Powerful factions were formed against him in all parts of Switzerland, and although the real animus of their attack was personal rather than religious, nevertheless religion furnished a convenient and respectable covert under which to mask their hostility.

In the canton of Lucerne the Romish and mercenary parties held undisputed control, and Schwyz, where Zwingli, Leo Jud, and Myconius had labored, and which at one time showed hopeful signs of reform, came ultimately into subjection to the enemies of Zwingli and the Reform movement. In Bern, the largest and most powerful of the Swiss States, the forces of Rome and the Reformation seemed quite equally divided, and consequently Bern became for a time the center of chief interest in the struggle.

Formidable as was the opposition which Rome raised against the Reformation, Zwingli declared it "child's play" compared with the opposition that he encountered from another source. No

reform movement has ever arisen, embodying a great vital principle, but that there has sprung up with it a party of ultra-radicals, devoid of mental equipoise, breadth of vision, and common sense, from whose vagaries and fanaticism it has had more to fear than from its avowed enemies. The Reformation had several foes to contend with at once—Romanism, rational philosophy, and mysticism. These it openly met and vanquished on their own grounds. The fanaticism of the Anabaptists, however, coming, as it appeared, from within its own ranks, furnished trouble of the most serious nature. Hase thus summarizes the situation: "While the Reformers justified their opposition to the papacy by appealing to the Scriptures, or to clear and manifest reasons, it was not surprising that others, on the contrary, decidedly arrogated to themselves as individuals what the Church claimed for herself in general, and that fanatical persons mistook their passionate impulses for divine inspirations. Their rejection of infant baptism, in consistency with the Protestant doctrine of faith, and on account of its want of Scriptural authority, together with their consequent repetition of the baptism of adult believers, became the distinctive badge of their party. These Anabaptists, who made their first appearance at Zwickau and Wittenberg,

were nearly all put to death in the Peasants' War, but in almost every part of the country a class of enthusiasts resembling them, but very unlike each other in moral and religious character, became the pioneers and freebooters of the Reformation. Some of them were persons who had renounced the world, and others were the slaves of their own lusts; to some of them marriage was only an ideal religious communion of spirit, to others it was resolved into a general community of wives; some did not differ from the Reformers with respect to doctrine, but others rejected original sin and the natural bondage of the will, denied that we are to be justified by the merits of Christ alone, or that we can partake of his flesh, and maintained that our Lord's body was not from heaven, and not begotten by the Virgin. As they acknowledged no call but that which came directly from God within them, they despised the ministerial office in the Church, and though they denounced all historical records, they justified themselves by isolated passages of the Bible for overthrowing all existing relations in social life. In their assumed character of men moved by the Holy Ghost, they were, of course, exalted above all law, and frequently exhibited a spirit of rebellion against every kind of government. Hence among both Catholics and

Protestants it was thought right to punish them even with death." *

Luther on his return to Wittenberg had practically succeeded in suppressing the Anabaptist movement in Germany. Thomas Münzer, the leader, was compelled to leave Saxony, and when driven out he sought an asylum in Switzerland. Here he fell in with Conrad Grebel, a young man descended from one of the best families of Zurich, brother-in-law of Vadian, and a former friend of Zwingli. He was a man of fine scholarship, having studied at the universities of Paris and Vienna; morally, however, his career had been anything but creditable. At school he had led a life of such wild dissipation as to ruin his health and squander a considerable fortune. Felix Manz, the son of a canon, and a fair Hebrew scholar, also became one of the number. These men rather expected that Zwingli would find positions for them as teachers in the cathedral schools, but this Zwingli could not honorably do, nor had he such confidence in them as to be inclined to help them had the way been open. Defeated in one quarter, they sought to gratify their ambition in another. Several others joined their number, prominent among them Simon Stumpf,

**History of the Christian Church*, translated from the seventh German ed. by Charles E. Blumenthal, p. 431.

of Honegg, and George Blaurock, a monk, of Coire. In November of this year (1524), Andrew Carlstadt, Luther's quarrelsome and erratic opponent at Wittenberg, came to Zurich. Münzer and he visited Balthasar Hubmaier, pastor of Waldshut, and in the course of the interview completely won him over to their views. Together they set to work to effect some sort of organization. It was decided to make *rebaptism* the distinguishing mark of the new society. Baptism received in infancy was regarded invalid. "It is a horrible abomination, a flagrant impiety, invented by the Evil Spirit and the Pope of Rome." "It surprised us much," remarks Zwingli, "that they were so zealous against it, but at length we observed that it was for the reason that, on infant baptism being rejected, they might have a pretext for organizing their church under the banner of rebaptization."

As appears from his "Exposition," Zwingli at this time could hardly have found serious objection to the main doctrinal contention of the Anabaptists. He says: "Although I am aware, as the Fathers prove, that infants were at times baptized by the early Church, nevertheless it was not so general a custom as now, the common practice being to gather the children into classes for Gospel instruction as soon as they arrived at

the age of understanding. Then, after they had been firmly grounded in the faith, and had confessed the same with their lips, they were baptized. I would that this custom were revived to-day, for if children are not well instructed after baptism they suffer great disadvantage.”* It is not surprising that by this statement the Anabaptists were led to think that Zwingli was on their side, or could at least be counted on as a defender.

As the errors of this sect were rapidly spreading, especially among an ignorant class who hated “popery,” but loved not the moral restraints of true religion, Zwingli endeavored to check it as best he could by means of public instruction. He frequently met and disputed with the Anabaptist leaders, in the hope that by the use of argument and Scripture he might be able to turn them from their erroneous views. He found that they were not open to conviction. Baptism, as presently appeared, was only one, and the least important, of many points in which they differed doctrinally from the Reformers. The Lord’s Supper they degraded to an unseemly evening revel. They rejected regularly ordained ministers on the plea that a paid clergy

*Op. Zw., I., 239, 240.

could not preach the truth. "No Christian," they said, "can assume a civil office, carry a sword, or be judge." From this they were not long in arriving at the corollary proposition which denied all the rights of civil authority. "No one," said they, "is obliged to pay rents, tithes, or dues." Community of goods was proclaimed, and Zwingli states that this freedom was also extended to the social relations. Anabaptism in Switzerland grew up under the leadership of a few ambitious men of scandalous lives, and the fruit proved no better than the tree upon which it grew. This sect soon became a powerful menace to both state and society. Zwingli recognized that in the persons of these fanatics the cause of Reform had met a more dangerous enemy than in Rome itself. He began at once to plan prudent measures for their eradication, and considering their violence and lawlessness his patience and moderation are something marvelous, and form an interesting contrast when compared with Luther's harsh and summary treatment of them in Germany.

Grebel having failed to induce Zwingli to adopt his views, and impose them upon the Reformation, next sought to lay the matter before the people for final decision. Zwingli, knowing how ignorant the people were, and how susceptible

to error when attractively presented, regarded this an unsafe course and would not permit it. In prosecuting his own reforms he had appealed to the Council of the Two Hundred as the representatives of the people and the Church at large. He held that the ultimate authority in both church and state rested with the people, but that the legislation of the Church, except on extraordinary occasions, could best be enacted by the people's representatives. Ecclesiastical authority was thus delegated by the people of Zurich to their legally appointed representatives on condition that in all things they should conform to the Word of God. It is here that we discover for the first time the germs of a presbyterian, or republican, form of church polity.

Zurich has been criticised for her harsh treatment of the Anabaptists. Fairness demands that the peculiar perils of the political situation should be borne in mind, coupled with the fact that the offenses for which the members of this sect were punished were of a civil rather than a religious nature. Certain deeds of violence at Zollikon on Pentecost, 1524—the breaking of the images, altars, and baptismal font of the Church—were the first acts which brought the Anabaptists into conflict with the civil authorities. This affair particularly annoyed Zwingli, because it occurred

at the very time when he was deliberating on means for the legal and orderly removal of abuses. The Council promptly punished the offenders with prison and banishment. The sentence was regarded by them and their friends in the light of a persecution, and accepted in a manner well becoming true martyrs. Fuel was thus added to the fires of fanaticism, and the streets of Zurich were made to ring with the cries of the persecuted. Wild scenes of disorder were publicly enacted. In the midst of this state of affairs the Council appointed a public disputation in the Town Hall, and summoned the Anabaptist leaders to meet Zwingli there in defense of their views. They excused themselves on the ground that they had already disputed sufficiently with Zwingli, alleging, furthermore, that his speeches were so long as to be unendurable. They were compelled, however, to appear, and on the 17th of January, 1525, the first disputation with the Anabaptists took place. It was of brief duration, and the victory remained with Zwingli. The Council at the close published the following decree:

“An error having arisen in respect of baptism to the effect that infants should not be baptized until they arrive at years of discretion and knowledge of the faith; and some having in consequence thereof left their children unbaptized, we

have ordered a disputation on this matter on the ground of Holy Scripture; and have ordained that without regard to this error children must be baptized as soon as born; and that those who have left their children unbaptized must have the rite performed within the next eight days. Who-soever will not conform to this decree shall, with wife and child, with purse and property, quit the city of our lords, their jurisdiction and territory, or take what further may befall him." *

Zwingli did not approve of this decree. He felt that the Council, moved by fear for the safety of the state, had exceeded its authority, and foresaw that the effect of this measure would be to augment the violence of the Anabaptists and spread their error all the more widely. This is what actually came to pass. The leaders circulated the report that they had defeated Zwingli in debate, and many of their followers were credulous enough to believe it, and were encouraged to demand a second public disputation. They asserted their readiness to stake everything—their property and their lives—upon the Word of God. They requested that their banished leaders might be allowed to return under safe conduct to defend their cause. Zwingli heartily sup-

*Egli, *Actensammlung*, No. 622.

ported this petition, and the government granted it, fixing upon November 6, 1525, as the date for the conference. The Anabaptists assembled in great numbers from all the villages of the canton, and their cause was defended by Grebel, Manz, and Blaurock. The debate lasted three days and was confined principally to the doctrine of baptism.* Once more the victory remained with Zwingli, and this time it was more decided than before. When the disputation was ended the Council published in substance the following decree:

“The Anabaptists and their followers having for three successive days disputed in the Town Hall, in our presence and in the presence of the whole community, and each and every Baptist without any hindrance having spoken his quarrel, dispute, and opinion, it hath from first to last appeared that Master Ulrich Zwingli, with his followers, has completely overcome the Anabaptists, demonstrated the invalidity of Anabaptism, and on the other hand established the validity of infant baptism. Therefore we hereby command and enjoin all persons, man or woman, young man or maiden, to abstain from such Ana-

*Bullinger states that *Zwingli's Baptism, Anabaptism and Infant Baptism* (Op. Zw., II., 1, pp. 230-303) contains substantially the arguments employed by him in this discussion.

baptism, and we authorize infants only to be baptized.”

The three Anabaptist leaders were called upon to publicly confess their errors. This they persistently refused to do, and the Council ordered them to be placed in prison. All this time Zwingli was laboring diligently in his sermons and writings for the extinction of the Anabaptist errors, persuaded that in this course only lay the hope of final success. Gradually the turbulent and insurrectionary spirit ceased. The public disputations had served to expose the error, and the Anabaptists and their cause became more and more unpopular. The credit of suppressing the uprising is due almost wholly to Zwingli's untiring efforts. When the movement had been so thoroughly quelled that it no longer attracted public attention, the leaders were released on Zwingli's petition, with the admonition to watch their ways more carefully in the future. It was not long, however, before they began once more to hold meetings and incite the people. Manz and Blaurock were again imprisoned, and Grebel would have suffered a like fate had he not fled.

A revolting crime, committed by a frenzied Anabaptist in the canton of St. Gall, aroused public indignation to such a pitch that the people earnestly petitioned the government to put a stop

to the disorders. Blaurock was publicly whipped and sent out of the country, and Manz, because of his stubborn resistance to the civil authority, was put to death by drowning. Zwingli was opposed to such severe measures, but the Council and people were not in a frame of mind to listen to petitions of mercy. The Anabaptist uprising was a serious menace to the Reformation and for a time checked its progress. The Romanists pointed to these wild excesses as the natural fruit of the evangelical preaching, and in many places the Gospel suffered from this charge. Out of it there grew also what is known as "The Supper Controversy," between Luther and Zwingli, which terminated in the permanent division of the evangelical movement into two branches, the Lutheran and the Reformed.

Through the influence of Zwingli and his friends the Reform doctrines had already penetrated the Toggenburg valley. The Gospel cause in that region made steady progress through the faithful labors of the Reformed preachers. In 1524 the Council of the community passed an ordinance requiring the ministers to preach only what could be clearly proved from Holy Scripture. As early as 1528 the Reformation had been generally adopted throughout the district.

In the Grisons a like progress had been made. John Comander, a friend of Zwingli, was preaching successfully in Rhaetia, where the Anabaptists had preceded him and had brought about conditions that made his work doubly hard. At Ilanz a public disputation was held, January 7, 1526, between the Reformers and the Romanists. Sebastian Hofmeister, of Schaffhausen, was present as a listener, and to him we are indebted for the report of what took place at the meeting. Comander propounded as a basis of discussion eighteen theses—an abridgment of Zwingli's Sixty-seven Articles—and led the discussion. His chief opponent in the discussion was the Abbot of St. Luke. At the close, several priests declared openly for the Reformation. In many churches the Roman worship was abolished, and religious liberty was everywhere proclaimed. Salandronius, in a letter to Zwingli, says of Blas, the successor of Comander: "In teaching and life he was to Rhaetia a fountain of blessing. Christ grew up among us as the tender herb, and he so led his sheep to Him that the mass was abolished, the images removed, and we began to live in a more Christian manner than any among whom the Gospel has been preached." *

*Op. Zw., VII., p. 485.

The partisans of Rome perceived with alarm the wide reception that was being given to the Reform doctrines. Each day the movement was acquiring new strength and momentum, and it became evident that unless a vigorous blow was struck at once still greater gains would be made. There was a growing feeling that the conferences held at Zurich were largely responsible for the misfortunes of their present state, and that an effort must be made to counteract this influence if possible. What more effective stroke could be made than to hold a similar conference in some Romish city, where, with the outward show of liberty and fairness, such precaution might be exercised that the victory of Rome would be assured? Such was the plan decided upon by three leaders of the papacy—Hug and Stein, of Lucerne, and John Faber, of Constance. Through their instigation the Roman Catholic Cantons sent a deputation to Bern, who laid certain complaints before the City Council. They charged that God was blasphemed, the sacraments, the Virgin, and the saints despised, and the whole Confederacy threatened with dissolution. The Roman party on all previous occasions had maintained that discussions were unlawful, and the Reformers had always taken the initiative in assembling them. Rome defended her

action in this instance by saying that her object was to check and condemn the doctrines of Zwingli. John Eck, of Ingolstadt, the boasted champion of the Leipzig disputation, volunteered his services as defender of the Church. Zurich sought to have the conference held in some one of the Reform cities, and the Council offered Eck a safe-conduct if he would come to Zurich.* This he refused, saying that as to the place of the meeting he would conform to the wishes of the Diet. Zwingli then offered to meet him at St. Gall or Schaffhausen, but this offer the Council of Zurich compelled him to withdraw, knowing that he would virtually be on trial for his life, and the Federal compact in such cases provided that the accused must be tried in his place of abode. Baden, the Catholic city in which John Wirth and his sons had been recently executed, was selected by the Diet as the place for the conference. Zwingli's friends entreated him, as he prized his life, not to go.† Myconius says that a conspiracy had been formed to seize, gag, and carry him away secretly.‡ The Council of Zurich decreed that he should not be permitted to attend. This action threw the burden

*Os. Myc. *Vita et Obitu Zw.*, X.; Bullinger, I., 334 sq.

†Op. Zw., VII., p. 483.

‡*Vita et Obitu Zw.*, X.

of the discussion upon the faithful but not overconfident *Æcolampadius*, who had hesitated long as to whether he should appear. At first he earnestly desired that Zwingli should be present, but after reaching Baden he became convinced that Zwingli's presence there would have incited the Romanists to such a degree as greatly to endanger the lives of the Reform leaders, himself included.

In a letter* to the Council of Bern, dated April 16, 1526, Zwingli sets forth in detail his reasons for refusing to attend the disputation in their city. In substance they amount to this: (1) That under the circumstances the safe-conduct offered him would be absolutely worthless; and (2) there was not the slightest chance of his obtaining a fair hearing.

Although Zwingli was absent, from the seclusion of his study in Zurich he virtually superintended the discussion on the part of the Reformers. For weeks previous, he labored unceasingly outlining arguments for the use of those who would represent him in the conference. The gates of Baden were strongly guarded by sentinals during the session, but means were found of eluding their vigilance, and letters were reg-

*Op. Zw., VII., pp. 493-496.

ularly exchanged each day between Zwingli and *Æcolampadius*. Myconius declares that "Zwingli labored more by his meditations, his sleepless nights, and the advice which he transmitted to Baden, than he would have done by discussing in person in the midst of his enemies."*

The conference opened on the 21st of May, and was entered upon and conducted throughout with great pomp and ceremony on the part of Rome. The discussions lasted about four weeks. Eck did all the speaking for the Old Church party, and in much the same manner in which he had combated Luther at Leipzig. *Æcolampadius* was the very opposite of Eck in appearance and in the manner of his address. Haller, of Bern, was also present during part of the discussion, and spoke against Eck, but his natural timidity put him at great disadvantage. The doctrines discussed were: The real presence, invocation of saints, images, purgatory, original sin, and baptism. Before the conference closed the Romish party began to claim the victory, but the more sober-minded auditors felt that from the standpoint of Scripture and logical argument the victory rested with *Æcolampadius* and his party. Toward the close of the conference a

**Os. Myc. Vita et Obitu Zw., X.*

monk of Lucerne came forward and read forty charges against Zwingli. When he had finished he paused for reply. No reply being made, he feigned great surprise at Zwingli's absence, and proceeded to rate him for his cowardice in failing to appear. When the vote was taken Eck received a large majority, the only opposing votes, in fact, being those of Œcolampadius and his few friends. As a concluding act, the conference passed a decree that Zwingli and the ministers of like views, since they had resisted conviction, were cast out of the bosom and communion of the Catholic Church.

The results of the Conference of Baden were, on the whole, favorable to the cause of Reform. The deputies of evangelical sympathies returned to their homes filled with new zeal for the Gospel. The two great cantons of the Confederacy, Bern and Basel, from this time took a stand which ultimately brought them out fully on the Reformed side. Œcolampadius on his return to Basel met with determined opposition from his enemies, who were intent on driving him from his post. Their attempt utterly failed, and the courage of the reformer grew, and his faith strengthened under their attacks. He preached with greater energy, and his ministry was attended by larger congregations than ever before.

Haller met with a similar experience in Bern. The enemy were determined to drive him from his pulpit. He was summoned before the Small Council and ordered to celebrate mass. He declared that he would resign his post rather than conform to this request. The people, hearing that their pastor was in danger, assembled in great numbers to protect him, and the Council was compelled to withdraw its demand. In doing so, however, it deprived Haller of his canonry. From this time his office was simply that of cathedral preacher.

In St. Gall also the Gospel displayed new vigor after the Baden Conference. The preachers became more fearless; images were removed in some of the churches, and the relics sold for the benefit of the poor.

Zwingli was filled with joy as he noted these signs of progress. "Bern," said he, "is firmer after the disputation than she was before; so also is Basel. In the city and canton of Zurich there is admirable unity in favor of the Gospel. By the prayer of faith we shall overcome all things."*

The initial step leading to the conflict that occurred a few years later was taken by the Forest Cantons when they refused to sit in diet with

*Op. Zw., VII., p. 519.

Zurich. Being thus excluded from her lawful rights in the national assembly, Zurich naturally looked for sympathy among those cantons which had a similar faith but were less bold in asserting it. A diet was accordingly assembled at Zurich, to which representatives of these cantons were invited for the purpose of considering plans looking to the formation of a league for the defense of the Gospel. Zurich's proposal was favorably received, and her sister cantons promised to give the matter careful consideration. The Forest Cantons were alarmed and greatly irritated when they learned what had taken place. Deputies were sent immediately to Bern, who demanded of the Council the dismissal of her teachers, the suppression of the new doctrine, and the maintenance of the "ancient and true Christian faith." They even went so far as to threaten violence unless Bern acceded to their demand. Bern replied with dignity that she was able to manage the affairs of her own jurisdiction without help from others. This reply was hardly calculated to conciliate the deputies, or mollify the existing bitterness, and they returned to their mountain homes with the angry determination to seek measures for the humiliation of this powerful and haughty state. How they set to work to achieve their purpose will subsequently appear.

CHAPTER VII.

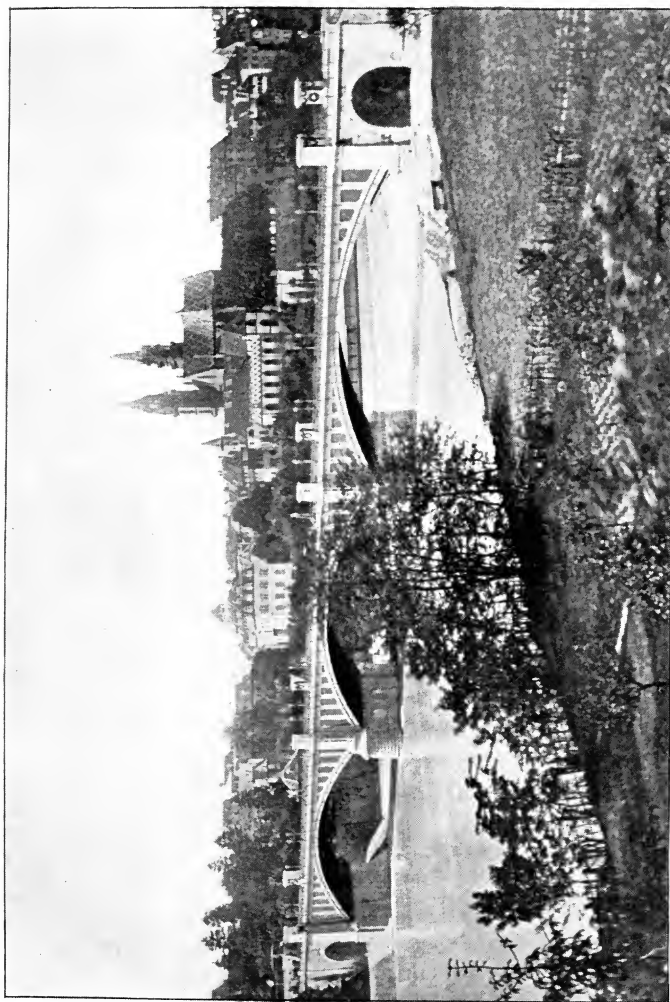
ZWINGLI'S VIEWS ON THE LORD'S SUPPER.—THE SACRAMENTAL CONTROVERSY, AND THE MARGBURG COLLOQUY.

THE great conflict which the Reformers waged against the Catholic Church was maintained amid great discouragement, owing to differences of doctrinal opinion which had arisen, dividing for a time the ranks of the Reformers into two hostile camps, which became hardly less bitter in their feelings toward each other than both were toward Rome. Separation from a lifeless and corrupt Church, however necessary, was a work not to be accomplished without great danger to the living part. It could not be expected that absolute uniformity of belief would prevail among those who withdrew from the mother Church, yet it was to be hoped that their differences would be confined to non-essentials, and that toward these such mutual charity and forbearance would be shown that the bond of Christian brotherhood would remain intact, and that all parties would unite in presenting an unbroken front to their opponents. This hope was

not to be realized; for no sooner had the Reformation begun to be victorious, and to manifest a potency which carried consternation and alarm to the leaders of the hierarchy, than a large measure of its force was dissipated and lost through internal dissension, and expended in a war of words which weakened and disgraced the Reform cause.

In the eyes of the Catholic Church, responsibility for the wild innovations and excesses of the Anabaptists was seen to rest upon the Reformation. A broad and thoughtful study of the facts is more likely to place the burden of blame upon the combined, hate-producing tyranny of the mediæval Church and State. The Reformation was simply the divine emancipation of men from the double serfdom under which they had suffered for ages, and it is unfair to hold it accountable for the wild doings of a people frenzied by ages of civil and ecclesiastical oppression.

The Anabaptists departed from the teachings of Luther on other doctrines besides baptism. With respect to the Lord's Supper they held views of so radical a nature as to create intense alarm among Reformers and Catholics alike. In some instances they went so far as to degrade the sacrament to a mere social feast. Andrew Carlstadt, Luther's troublesome asso-



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ciate at Wittenberg, though denying any connection with these turbulent radicals, was nevertheless the originator of many of their vagaries of belief. Being of a garrulous and contentious disposition, and being somewhat jealous of Luther's popularity, he strove to outdo him as an evangelist, and his radicalism and incaution so incensed Luther that he unsparingly classed him among the Anabaptists, whose views he truly shared to a limited extent, but whose violence he ever repudiated. Carlstadt, being an erratic and unbalanced character, had little influence in shaping the views which finally evolved as the result of the Sacramental Controversy. He interests us merely as the occasion of the discussion and conflict which resulted in the permanent division of the Reformed hosts on the doctrine of the Lord's Supper.

The German and Swiss Reformers developed their particular views independently, though Luther was probably led to take his extreme conservative stand through his dislike for Carlstadt and the Anabaptists. The doctrine of the corporeal presence of Christ in the Supper as held by the Catholic Church, and in a modified form by Luther, was to Zwingli a denial of the plain declaration of our bodily senses, a violation of reason, and altogether unwarranted by the Word

of God. Furthermore, such a view appeared dangerous to the highest welfare of souls, since if Christians imagined that they received Christ in the consecrated bread, they would less earnestly strive to receive him by faith, through which alone they could be effectually sanctified. "Faith," said he, "is *reality*, not knowledge, opinion, or fancy."* It was therefore a love of practical religion, and not an unconscious yielding to a rationalistic tendency of mind, that led Zwingli to oppose the views of Luther and the German Reformers on this important subject. There can be little doubt that Zwingli, through his study of the Scriptures, had formed at an early period in his career independent views respecting the Eucharist, but it is equally evident that in the final development of those views he was impelled by certain influences which can be definitely traced.† In the year 1521 he was visited at Zurich by two Hollanders, Rhodius and Sagarus by name, who brought with them certain manuscripts of John Wessel, and a letter of Cornelius Hoen in which he explained the significance of the Lord's Supper by reference to the sixth chapter of John's Gospel. He

*Op. Zw., III., p. 230.

†Hess states that he was acquainted with the writings of Ratramnus on this subject. Definite proof to that effect seems to be lacking. Vide J. G. Hess, *Life of Zwingli*, p. 17.

argued as follows: "Christ gives himself to us by means of the bread: but let us distinguish between the bread we receive by the mouth, and Christ whom we receive by faith. Whoever thinks that he receives only what he takes into his mouth does not discern the body of the Lord, and eats and drinks his own condemnation, because by eating and drinking he bears testimony to the presence of Christ, whilst by his unbelief he remains far from Him." Zwingli was deeply impressed by this letter and afterward published it. In 1523, in a long letter to his old teacher, Thomas Wytttenbach, he refutes the doctrine of transubstantiation, maintains the symbolic character of the sacrament, and among other things says that "the bread and wine are to the Supper what water is to baptism, in which we might vainly plunge a man a thousand times if he did not believe. Faith is the one thing needful." * Zwingli was also affected by the great humanist; for Melancthon states that while at Marburg Zwingli confessed that his opinions on the Lord's Supper were originally gathered from the writings of Erasmus.† Luther's conservatism has already been contrasted with the liberal progres-

*Op. Zw., VII., p. 298.

†Cinglius mihi confessus est, se ex Erasmi scriptis primum hausisse opinionem suam de Coena Domini. Corp. Ref., IV., p. 970.

siveness of Zwingli. Nowhere does the contrast appear more striking than in the views which each held respecting the Lord's Supper. Luther's final position seems utterly inconsistent with the logic of the Reform movement, and with his own earlier and unbiased utterances on this subject. His terror over the wild extravagances of the Anabaptists led him to dismiss reason and take a stand which having once assumed he felt it impossible ever to abandon.

To Luther's mind the bread and wine were not only symbols of a spiritual grace to be appropriated by faith, but a testimonial of the Divine will, containing the real body and blood of our Lord, through the partaking of which believers found the full assurance of salvation. The bread remained bread and the wine, wine, but, said he, "Just as iron and fire, which are distinct substances, are mingled together in red-hot iron, so that in every part there are at once iron and fire; in like manner, and with greater reason, the glorified body of Christ is found in all parts of the bread."* Luther made no attempt further than this to explain or justify his theory in the light of reason. He rested wholly on the words found in our Lord's formula of

**De Captivitate Babylonica Ecclesiae Praeludium* D. Martini Lutheri. Wittenb., 1520, Erl. ed. Op. Lat., vol. V., pp. 13-118.

institution, "This is my body." Following the teaching of one of the later schoolmen, William of Occam, he abandoned the doctrine of transubstantiation held by the Catholic Church, and accepted instead Occam's theory of a universal miracle, worked by Christ himself once for all, viz., the ubiquity or omnipresence of his body.

Zwingli sought to draw from Scripture alone the true meaning of the sacrament. Less fettered than Luther by the dogmas of previous ages, there was even a touch of Platonism in his free handling of profound spiritual truths. He studied the opinions of others with that largeness of mental grasp which left him even more independent than before in the formulation of his own views. In the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, as he studied it in the light of Paul's teaching, he saw a beautiful symbol of the spiritual union of Christ with his true followers. To his mind the Church was not so much an institution as a vast brotherhood, and he was fond of quoting the words: "For we being many are one bread and one body (I. Cor. 10:17). He rejected the doctrine of transubstantiation and Luther's compromise theory of the real presence, and saw in the sacred elements the symbol of Christ's redemptive work, to be partaken of in commemoration of him, and with such faith that

the Savior himself should be made present to the soul. "Whoso receives bread and wine," says he, "is as near to Christ as if He now died for him on the cross; and since Christ is so mighty and at all times present, therefore His sufferings are eternally fruitful." From his *Confession of Faith*, addressed to Charles V. (1530), which contains his latest and most mature belief on this subject, are taken these words:

"I believe that in the holy Eucharist—*i.e.*, the supper of thanksgiving—the true body of Christ is present by the contemplation of faith; *i.e.*, that they who thank the Lord for the kindness conferred on us in His Son acknowledge that He assumed true flesh, in it truly suffered, truly washed away our sins in His own blood; and thus everything done by Christ becomes present to them by the contemplation of faith. But that the body of Christ in essence and reality—*i.e.*, the natural body itself—is either present in the Supper or masticated with our mouth or teeth, as the Papists and some who long for the flesh-pots of Egypt assert, we not only deny, but firmly maintain is an error opposed to God's Word.

"Moreover, that the natural body of Christ is not eaten with our mouth, He Himself showed when He said to the Jews disputing concerning

the corporal eating of his flesh: 'The flesh profiteth nothing'—viz., for eating naturally, but for eating spiritually much, as it gives life.

“ ‘That which is born of the flesh is flesh; and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit.’ If, therefore, the natural body of Christ is eaten by our mouth, what but flesh will be produced from flesh naturally masticated? And lest the argument should seem unimportant to anyone, let him hear the second part: ‘That which is born of the Spirit is spirit.’ Therefore, that which is spirit is born of the Spirit. If, then, the flesh of Christ is salutary to the soul, it should be eaten spiritually, not carnally. This also pertains to the substance of the sacraments, that the spirit is generated of the Spirit, and not of any corporeal matter, as we have previously indicated.

“ Paul teaches that if he once knew Christ according to the flesh, henceforth he will know Him no more according to the flesh.

“ By these passages we are compelled to confess that the words: ‘This is my body,’ should be received not naturally, but figuratively, just as the words: ‘This is the passover.’ For the lamb that was eaten every year with the celebration of the festival was not the passover, but signified that the passover and omission had been formerly made. To this is added the succession,

since the passover was succeeded by the Lord's Supper, which teaches that Christ used similar words; for succession observes imitation. The same composition of words is an additional argument. So is the time, since at the same Supper the old passover is discontinued and the new Eucharist is instituted. The proper signification of all memorials is a further confirmation which gives it its name, whereof they make mention as 'commemoration.' " *

A precautionary step taken by the Council of Zurich in the interest of sound doctrine brought the advocates of these opposing views face to face in a contest for the defense of truth, with Scripture and logic as the chosen weapons,—a contest in which many poisoned shafts of violent passion were exchanged, to the lasting shame of both parties. The writings of Carlstadt were being sold on the streets of Zurich, and the Council, believing that they contained errors that were a menace to the peace of the community, forbade their sale. Although Zwingli disapproved of much which these writings contained, he thought the act of the Council prohibiting their sale unwise, and so expressed himself publicly. He even defended Carlstadt from the

*Op. Zw., IV., pp. 3-18. Quoted from Dr. H. E. Jacobs' translation, *Book of Concord*, II., pp. 159-179.

pulpit, so far as he was able to agree with him.

To Matthew Albert, pastor of Reutlingen, who had entered with certain brethren upon a discussion, involving the doctrine of the eucharist, Zwingli addressed a long letter in which he expressed himself with great clearness and force on this subject.* In it he blames Carlstadt for having circulated among the people "a violent and ill-timed pamphlet," and although he acknowledges that it contained many truths, he laments that they were put in a way calculated to offend rather than edify. This letter to Albert appears to have been Zwingli's first formal contribution to the great controversy.

Simultaneous with this appeared Luther's treatise, *Against the Celestial Prophets*, a wrathful attack on the views of the Sacramentarians in which Carlstadt is ridiculed without stint. Pomeranus, Luther's friend, also published about this time a letter against the *Novel Error of the Sacramentarians*, written in much the same style as Luther's larger work. When, in 1525, Zwingli dedicated to Francis I. his *Commentary on the True and False Religion*, he added a lengthy appendix on the doctrine of the eucharist, in which he makes a clear and concise state-

**Ad Mathaeum Albertum De Coena Dominica*. Op. Zw., III., p. 589.

ment of his position. Œcolampadius, who until this time had remained silent, after the publication of Pomeranus' letter could restrain himself no longer, and plunged boldly into the fight in support of Zwingli. He gave to the world an exposition of the words, "This is my body," in which he adduces arguments to prove, as Zwingli had previously done, that the word *is* in this and other passages of the New Testament, notably the discourse on the bread from heaven in the sixth chapter of John's Gospel, is properly interpreted *signifies*. This work he dedicated to a company of Swabian pastors, many of whom had at one time been his pupils. Luther and his party were greatly astonished and grieved when they learned that Œcolampadius had taken an active stand with Zwingli. The Swabian pastors to whom he had dedicated the work came together and formulated a reply, *The Swabian Syngamma*, in which, while they opposed the views set forth by Œcolampadius, their language was less violent than that commonly employed. Luther was highly delighted with it, and prepared an introduction for a German translation, in which he ridiculed the Sacramentarians as having had recourse within a year to no less than six different expositions of the words, "This is my body." Zwingli, on the other hand, regarded it as a

product of ignorance, inspired by haughty conceit, and a most shameless exhibition of disrespect and ingratitude toward Œcolampadius, their former teacher.

The Strasburgers, who found themselves situated between the hostile camps, maintained, as far as they were able, a neutral policy, and displayed a genuine Christian spirit in their efforts to mediate, and repair, if possible, the breach which was daily widening between the Lutheran and Helvetian churches. They sent one of their most distinguished scholars to Wittenberg with instructions to employ his good offices for the promotion of peace between the contending factions. He was kindly received by Luther, but the answer that was given to his friendly overtures in behalf of Christian union and brotherly love revealed at once how deep-seated and bitter was the contention and how hopeless the prospect of immediate settlement. Luther professed to be desirous of peace, and claimed, furthermore, that he had done everything in his power to effect it. He put forward the puerile excuse that he did not begin the quarrel. Zwingli and Œcolampadius, he said, by their pamphlets were raising a disturbance and weakening his authority, and it was not to be expected that he would submit to it in silence. He was requested to

refrain from railing, yet how could he be milder in his language when his opponents had traduced him and his followers as worshipers of a "bread god"? Such blasphemy, he declared, he would denounce in such language as it deserved. He asserted that although he was anxious for peace, he would not purchase it at the expense of peace toward God. To his mind either he or Zwingli was the servant of Satan, and consequently there could be no compromise between them. Luther's chief strength as a Reformer consisted in his stubborn and courageous adherence to the demands of conscience; his chief weakness, in the dogged intolerance which he cherished toward views that did not square with his own mode of thinking. In Luther's composition, even after he had passed through the fierce reformatory fires, there was still a marked residuum of the old Romanism. A dogma which he considered false, however honestly held, was to him proof of a wicked and unregenerate heart. He cautioned the brethren against the pernicious errors of the Sacramentarians, and warned them of the lengths to which Zwingli was disposed to go in his false teaching. Although in his calmer moods he commended the personal piety and integrity of the Swiss Reformers, he asserted that

their errors would accomplish an infinite amount of harm, though they could never prevail.

These shameful dissensions in the Reform camp had a comforting effect on the partisans of a dismembered and terrified Church. "How perilous to leave the Church, the mother of truth! Doubts and difficulties, dissensions and wars must inevitably ensue." The doctrine of "consubstantiation," as held by the Saxon Reformer, being a less violent departure from the standards of the Church than the position taken by the Swiss, caused the Romanists to regard the Lutherans with much less bitterness than their doctrinal opponents. Nothing, however, was farther from the thoughts of Luther than compromise with Rome.

The controversy so wrought upon Luther's intense and combative nature that the year 1526 found him in a state of nervous collapse. His physical condition made him slave to the most violent fits of melancholy. He felt himself at times in Satan's grasp, and declared that he and his people were being punished for their ingratitude and contempt of the Word of God. At Wittenberg he preached and published a sermon on the sacrament of the Supper, in which he attempted to refute his opponents and set forth his own views in language so simple as to be under-

stood by the common people. "The great cause and fountain of error is this," he says: "Men do not adhere strictly to the words of Christ. In these there is no ambiguity whatever; but men give way to their own roving imaginations. Factious spirits always act in this way. They first form to themselves an opinion which is purely imaginary, and then torture Scripture to support that opinion.* This sermon was followed in the early part of 1527 by an elaborate treatise in the German language on the words: "Take, eat: this is my body," entitled *Against the Fanatics*.†

✓ Turning now to the Swiss, we find Œcolampadius' views clearly set forth in a letter to Zwingli.‡ "I have no hesitation," he says, "to own that the body of Christ is present with the bread in the same manner in which it is present with the Word itself, by which the bread becomes a sacrament, and the Word becomes visible. Those express themselves well, and in a religious way, who say that they come to the Lord's Supper, even to eat of the body of Christ. Those talk profanely and contemptuously who say that they obtain nothing there except bread and a sign of their Christianity. A believer con-

**De Eucharist.* Op. Luth., VII.

†Op. Luth., Walch ed., XX., p. 53.

‡Op. Zw., VIII.

siders himself as treated like a traitor if he is represented as having eaten the sacrament only, and not the thing itself which the sacrament implies, although it be true that he receives the former with the mouth, and the latter with the mind of faith." We find here the doctrine of the "spiritual presence" clearly expressed, and although Ecolampadius lays greater stress upon it than Zwingli, it is unfair to say that Zwingli took from the Supper the spiritual element because he placed a certain emphasis on its commemorative use. "We extol," he says, "the Lord's Supper by the presence of Christ, for by means of faith He is present to our souls, even as the image of His crucified body and shed blood is presented to our consciousness."

A careful and dispassionate study of the Sacramental Controversy cannot fail to impress one with the utter needlessness of its disastrous termination, permanently dividing as it did the entire evangelical body into two factions, Lutheran and Reformed, thus crippling through a division of forces and a perversion of religious energy the progress of the reform work, which, up to this time, had been prosecuted with such vigor and success. In the early stages of the contest the specific differences of belief between the Germans and the Swiss were not of sufficient im-

portance to preclude essential harmony. The fact is, these excellent men were at the start ignorant and suspicious of each other's views. The true state of the question was lost in the heat of passion, constantly augmented by some new violence of language or mutual recrimination. Luther, who in his heart of hearts hated the mystical and verbose quibbles of the scholastic philosophers, when pressed to the wall by the clearer reasoning of his opponents, became a veritable Zeno in his use of subtle and sophistical distinctions. In violence he was not a whit behind Paul the persecutor. He permitted himself to become "exceeding mad" against his opponents, and condescended to employ epithets so gross as to put even that rude age to blush. The candor and moderation which Zwingli displayed in the Supper contest has added not a little to his fame. It must not be supposed, however, that Zwingli was entirely free from those excesses of language for which Luther has been so justly blamed. More than once in his letters he refers to his opponents in terms of doubtful courtesy. The difference in education between these men may account in some measure for the marked contrast between their methods of disputation. Zwingli was a scholar, and had a mind saturated with the learning and culture derived from a life-

long study of the ancient classics. All this had a mellowing effect upon his heart, and gave grace to his manner. He was such a master of language that under shelter of polite phrases he could inflict wounds much deeper than by resorting to the coarse invective of Luther. Zwingli's methods were quite like those of the modern pamphleteer. He was an adept in detecting fallacy, in pulling arguments to pieces, and understood well the art and advantage of concession where it was impossible to withhold assent.

While the two great parties of the Reformation were thus warring against each other, the Emperor Charles and his brother Ferdinand, backed by the Roman hierarchy, were busily engaged formulating plans by which they hoped to suppress the new doctrine and restore the Church to her former power. But the secret negotiations of the papal and imperial representatives were frustrated and brought to naught at a moment when to human eyes it seemed that the Gospel cause would be forever crushed. The courageous and dignified utterances of the Protest of Speier, breathing in every line the calm fearlessness of an unconquerable faith and absolute loyalty to the Word of God, proved mightier than the intrigues and decrees of kings and emperors.

Germans and Swiss alike had united in this public protest, or had given assent to it, and Philip of Hesse, the young and ardent defender of the Reformation, realizing the perils of the situation, and moved equally by considerations of church and state, was anxious to cement the union still more closely. At the second Diet of Speier, April, 1529, preliminary steps had been taken for the formation of an evangelical alliance. The Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse entered into a "secret agreement" with the cities of Nürnberg, Ulm, Strasburg, and St. Gall for mutual defense. Strasburg and St. Gall sympathized with Zwingli on the eucharistic question, and so great were Luther's suspicions of them on this account that he prevailed on the Elector to annul the compact. Convinced that the indifference of the Lutherans to all schemes of union was due to the ill-feeling and misunderstanding engendered by the doctrinal dispute over the real presence, which had raged for a long time, Philip now proposed to settle this bitter and protracted warfare by inviting the leaders of both sides to meet each other at a conference, where, coming face to face in friendly relations, and having ample opportunity for a free and mutual exchange of views, it was to be hoped that a final settlement of the existing dif-

ferences would be reached. To Philip the only hope of political safety seemed to lie in the speedy union of all the Reform states for purposes of defense; but the failure of the previous attempt rendered it certain that no alliance could be effected until the questions that vexed and separated them doctrinally could be amicably disposed of. Philip's proposal of a friendly conference, inspired, as we have good reason to suspect, by motives somewhat mixed, was, nevertheless, most laudable and altogether Christian, and at the same time a thing which required no little courage to execute; for the asperity of Luther by this time had become alarming. "Cursed be concord; down with it to the bottomless pit!"* was his last answer to the pleadings of the Swiss for Christian unity and charity. To this astonishing display of passion Zwingli opposed a coolness quite out of keeping with the occasion, and a certain respectful formality of tone which justified the suspicion that he was dealing in irony. This Luther found hard to excuse. It stung him to the quick, and hurt all the more because he realized at once the advantage of his adversary's method, and his own clumsiness and inability to retaliate. Such was the state of affairs when

**Vide* Luther's *Wider die Schwarmgeister*, Op. Luth., Walch ed., XX., p. 53.

Philip stepped forward as mediator. He invited the leading theologians of both parties to meet at Marburg. Luther and his friends were jealous of the Landgrave and disliked the friendly attitude which he assumed toward the Zwinglians. They greatly feared that Philip would become tainted with the seductive error of the Sacramentarians, and bitterly complained among themselves of his cordiality toward them. The Lutherans were not at all desirous of accepting the invitation, and various subterfuges were resorted to as means of escape. They finally acceded, however, to the Landgrave's request, but with the threat that unless the Swiss yielded his trouble would be in vain. Zwingli manifested an altogether different spirit. He hailed with joy the opportunity afforded by the Prince, and promised to be present in spite of all the difficulties and dangers of the journey. He communicated the invitation to the Council of Zurich, and respectfully entreated permission to visit Marburg, but the Council fearing some political complication which might disturb the existing peace, refused to grant his request. Without a moment's hesitation he determined to go in spite of the Council's refusal. Accordingly, on the night of September 3, after preparing a brief letter explaining to the Great and Small Councils

his reasons for disregarding their authority, he departed secretly for Marburg, accompanied by a single friend, Rudolf Collin, professor of Greek in the Carolinum, or Great Minster school. It is to Collin that we are chiefly indebted for the record of what took place at the conference. To save his wife from needless anxiety respecting his personal safety, Zwingli, on his departure, allowed her to think that he was going no farther than Basel.* The journey to Basel was made on horseback, the distance from Zurich being about sixty miles, and Zwingli and his friend arrived there safely, September 5.† Thence, in company with Œcolampadius and others, he proceeded by boat to Strasburg, where he arrived the next day, September 6.‡ Here he tarried eleven days to confer with his friends and lay plans for the coming conference, and also to await the arrival of Ulrich Funk, Zurich's official delegate. Leaving Strasburg September 18, the company, consisting of Zwingli, Collin, and Funk, of Zurich; Œcolampadius, of Basel; Butzer and Hedio, of Strasburg; and delegates of the last named cities, was conducted overland by a strong escort of Hes-

*For the correspondence relating to the Marburg Conference *vide* Op. Zw., VIII., pp. 312, 319, 320, 329, 331, 333, 336, 340, 351, 352, 354, 394, 663, 664.

†*Ibid.*, p. 361.

‡*Ibid.*, p. 362.

sian cavalry, through dense forests and dangerous mountain passes, to Marburg, where they arrived September 27.* Luther, in company with his Wittenberg friends, Philip Melancthon, Caspar Cruciger, and Justus Jonas, entered the city the day following.

Thinking that a spirit of friendliness would be promoted by throwing the two parties into each other's society as much as possible, Philip invited all the disputants to accept the hospitality of the castle. He had also arranged for private interviews between the parties, preliminary to the public and more formal discussion which was to follow. He deemed it unwise, however, to bring the two leaders together at the start, and accordingly arranged that the preliminary interviews should take place between Luther and Œcolampadius on the one hand, and Zwingli and Melancthon on the other. Thus matched, several hours were spent in the discussion of various Christian doctrines, on all of which there was substantial agreement except on the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. It was Zwingli's desire that the general conference should be open to the public. Many priests and scholars from the surrounding districts had come to Marburg with

*The distance from Zurich to Marburg is about 250 miles.

the full expectation of being present at the debate. Strange as it may seem, the Saxon champion, hitherto strenuous in his insistence on an open court whenever his doctrines were on trial, now completely reversed his position. He firmly opposed and succeeded in defeating Zwingli's proposal that the conference be made as public as possible. After some discussion on this point, a compromise was finally agreed upon by which princes, nobles, theologians, and deputies, and these only, were admitted to the sessions. Zwingli also wished to have a written report made of all the arguments and speeches. Luther would not consent to this. Those present were not even permitted to take notes.*

The conference took place in one of the large halls † of the old castle, which stands on an eminence in the outskirts of the city, overlooking the valley of the Lahn. The Landgrave was present as an interested listener, dressed in the garb of a common citizen. Those present on the Zwinglian side were: Ulrich Zwingli, of Zurich; Johann Œcolampadius, of Basel; Martin Butzer

*The disputants made notes from memory at the close of the sessions. On these notes we are obliged mainly to depend for our knowledge of what was said and done. *Vide* Op. Zw., IV., pp. 173-204; Bullinger, II., pp. 223-239.

†The many changes which in the course of 350 years have been made in the interior arrangements of Marburg Castle render it impossible at the present day to identify with any degree of positiveness the room in which the conference was held.

and Caspar Hedio, of Strasburg. On the Lutheran side: Martin Luther, Philip Melanchthon, Justus Jonas, and Caspar Cruciger, all of Wittenberg; Friedrich Myconius, of Gotha; Johann Brenz, of Hall in Swabia; Andreas Osiander, of Nürnberg, and Stephen Agricola, of Augsburg.

The first general meeting of the conference occurred Saturday, October 2. At the very outset Luther gained an important advantage over Zwingli when, in deference to Luther's wish, it was decided that the colloquy should be conducted in the German language. Compelled to rely upon his Swiss-German, Zwingli found himself seriously handicapped in the discussions, for the dialect which he spoke differed so from the German of his opponents that he found it difficult to understand and to make himself understood. He had all along hoped that the colloquy would be conducted in Latin. After the introductory address by the Chancellor of the Landgrave, Luther arose, and seizing a piece of chalk, in the presence of the whole assembly, inscribed the words, "*Hoc est corpus meum,*" on the drapery of the table which stood in the center of the room. The act was symbolical. Luther thus unsheathed the one weapon on which he was to rely for the defense of his views. To these words, in their literal significance, he was again and

again to revert when all else failed him. Luther opened the discussion, and in a long speech protested that he differed from his opponents on the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, and furthermore, would always differ, since Christ clearly says, "Take, eat: this is my body." "They must prove," said he, "that a body is not a body." He maintained that there could be no question about the meaning of words so plain. He refused to admit the validity of any arguments based on reason or mathematics.* "God," said he, "is above mathematics, and his words must be received with reverence and obeyed." †

Œcolampadius replied to Luther by quoting certain passages from the sixth chapter of John's Gospel. With the words, "This is my body," he compared, "I am the true vine." From a carnal manducation he led up to a spiritual, and declared that his view was not groundless or isolated, but rested upon the faith of Scripture.

Luther admitted that Christ used figurative language in the sixth of John and elsewhere, but denied that the words "This is my body" were

* *Quaestiones nullas in tam apertis verbis admittit. Rationem omnem et communem sensum excludit. Argumenta carnis, item argumenta Mathematica rejicit.* Op. Zw., IV., p. 175.

† The account which follows is based on the report of Rudolf Collin, Zwingli's friend and companion, who was present at the Colloquy. Op. Zw., IV., pp. 173-182. The letters of Melancthon, Luther, Œcolampadius, Butzer, Brenz and Zwingli have also been freely consulted and drawn upon.

a figure of speech. "Since Christ says 'This is,' it must be so."

Æcolampadius: To believe that Christ is in the bread is opinion, not faith. There is danger of attributing too much to the mere elements.

Luther: We are bound to listen not so much because of what is spoken, as because of Him who speaks. Since God speaks, let us pigmies of men listen; since He commands, let the world obey, and let all of us reverently kiss the Word.

Æcolampadius: Since we have the spiritual eating, what need is there of the corporal eating?

Luther: I care not about the need, but since it is written, "Take, eat: this is my body," we must believe, and do it without question.

Æcolampadius quoted from the sixth chapter of John the words, "The flesh profiteth nothing." "If the flesh," said he, "when eaten profits nothing, it must appear to us"—here Zwingli interposed and accused Luther of prejudice, because he protested that he would not be driven from his views. "Comparison is necessary," said he, "in the study of the Scriptures. It is the Spirit that gives life. The Spirit and the flesh are at enmity with each other. God does not propound to us things that are unintelligible. The disciples were mystified by the thought of the carnal eating. Therefore Christ

explained to them the spiritual significance of his words."

Luther: The words are not ours, but the Lord's; let them be obeyed. By means of these words the hand of the priest becomes the hand of Christ. I will not argue as to whether *is* means *signifies*. It is enough for me that Christ says, "This is my body." To raise questions about this is to fall away from the faith. Wherefore believe the plain words, and give glory to God.

Zwingli: We indeed implore that you glorify God by abandoning your main proposition. I would ask whether you believe that Christ in the sixth chapter of John desired to reply to the question addressed to him?

Luther: We take no account of that passage; it has no bearing on the subject in hand.

Zwingli: No? Why, that passage breaks your neck.*

Luther's proclivity for literalness of interpretation now took an amusing turn. He received Zwingli's jocose remark as a threat of personal violence, and addressing his friends complained bitterly of the murderous intimation of his opponent.† Zwingli laughingly explained that his

**Nein, nein: hic locus (puta Iohan. 6 cap.) bricht euch den hals ab.* Op. Zw., IV., p. 177.

†*Rühmt euch nicht zu sehr, ihr seit in Hessen, und nicht in Schweitz. Die häls brechenä nicht also.* Ibid.

language was figurative, and had reference to his opponent's arguments.

Æcolampadius now gave the argument a Christological turn. "The Church," said he, "was founded on the words, 'Thou art the Son of God,' and not on the words, 'This is my body.'"

Luther: I do not hold to this in vain. To me it is sufficient that Christ says, "This is my body." I confess that his body is in heaven, and that it is in the sacrament also. I care not if it be contrary to nature, provided it is not contrary to faith.

Æcolampadius: In all things He was made like unto us. As He is wholly like the Father in His divine nature, so He is wholly like us in His human nature.

Luther: "The poor always ye have with you; but me ye have not always," is the strongest argument you have advanced to-day. Christ is as substantially in the sacrament as when He was born of the Virgin. Faith needs no figures of speech.

Æcolampadius: We know not Christ after the flesh.

Melanchthon: After *our* flesh.

Æcolampadius: You will not admit a metaphor in the words of institution, and yet con-

trary to the Catholic conception you allow a synecdoche.

Luther: In a sword and its scabbard we have an example of synecdoche. "This is my body." The body is in the bread, just as the sword is in the scabbard.

Zwingli (quoting from the Epistles): "God sent his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh." "He was made like unto his brethren." Therefore we must conclude that Christ had a finite humanity, and if his body is on high it exists in one place. [He here quoted from Augustine, Fulgentius, and others.] We must affirm, therefore, that Christ's body is in one place, and cannot be in many.

Luther: In like manner you might prove that Christ had a wife, and that his eyes were black.* As to his being in one place, I have already declared to you, and I now repeat, I care nothing for mathematics.

Zwingli began quoting additional passages from the Greek text to prove the finiteness of Christ's nature. Luther, interrupting him, requested that he employ either Latin or German instead of Greek. "Pardon me," answered

**Per omnia similis; Ergo habuit uxorem, und schwarz öuglein.*
Op. Zw., IV., p. 179.

Zwingli, "for twelve years I have read the New Testament in Greek."

Luther: As in the case of a nut and its shell, so in the case of Christ's body. I concede its finiteness. But God can cause it to exist in a place and not in a place at the same time.

As soon as Luther conceded that Christ's body was finite, Zwingli caught him up and said: "Therefore it is *local*, exists in a place, and if so, it is in heaven, and hence cannot be in the bread." Luther would not admit that it existed in a place, saying: "*Ich will es nicht gehebt haben, ich will sie nichts.*" (I will not allow it, I positively will not.)

Zwingli retorted: "*Muoss man dann grad alles, was ihr wollend?*" (Must everything be as you will it?)*

Fortunately, as Collin informs us, they were interrupted at this exciting juncture by a servant of the Prince, who announced that dinner was served.

When the theologians assembled at the next session, Zwingli resumed the discussion where they had left off. "Christ's body is finite," said he, "therefore it exists in a place."

Luther: Although it is in the sacrament, it is

*Op. Zw., IV., p. 179.

not there as in a place. God could so dispose of my body that it would not be in a place; for the sophists say that a body can exist in several places at the same time; *e.g.*, the earth is a body, yet it does not exist in one place.

Zwingli: You argue from the possible to the impossible. Prove to me that the body of Christ can exist in several places at the same time.

Luther: "This is my body."

Zwingli: You repeatedly beg the question. I might thus contend that John was the son of Mary, for Christ said, "Behold thy son." We must ever teach, forsooth, that Christ said, "*Ecce filius tuus, ecce filius tuus!*" Behold thy son, behold thy son!)

Luther: I do not beg the question.

Zwingli: Scripture must be compared with Scripture and expounded by itself. Tell me, pray, whether Christ's body exists in a place.

Brenz: It does not.

Zwingli: Augustine says that it must exist in a single place.

Luther: Augustine was not speaking of the Supper. The body of Christ is present in the Supper, but not *locally* present.

Ecolampadius: If that is so it cannot be a true body. [Ecolampadius began quoting from Augustine and Fulgentius.]

Luther: You have Augustine and Fulgentius on your side, but the rest of the Fathers support our views.

“Please name them,” said *Æcolampadius*. Luther refused, but afterward prepared a list of references to passages in the Fathers which he thought favorable to his views.

It became evident to all that further discussion would be vain, and it was agreed to close at this point. The fruitlessness of the conference was a great disappointment to the Landgrave. He urged the disputants to come to some partial agreement at least. “There is but one way to effect that,” said Luther. “Let our opponents accept our views.” “That we cannot do,” replied the Swiss. Thus ended the discussion. Zwingli had looked forward to this meeting with strong hope of a final settlement of the differences which divided the Protestant Church, and was now overcome with disappointment. He sat apart from his friends and shed tears in silence, while the Landgrave and the Hessian divines redoubled their activities in a final effort to bring about an amicable agreement. The Landgrave summoned the theologians in turn to his private apartment and was unremitting in his entreaties that they recognize each other as brethren, and thus put an end to the

great scandal of Christendom. At the final meeting Zwingli, who was even more desirous of peace than the Landgrave, came forward and said: "Let us confess to the world the points in which we agree, and as for the rest, let us treat each other as brethren." This speech met the approval of the Prince, and he urged the Lutherans to comply. With tears in his eyes Zwingli approached Luther and held out his hand.* Profound emotions stirred the hearts of all present as they watched in silence the movements of their respective chiefs. Luther rejected the proffered hand, saying as he did so: "You have a different spirit from ours." † After a brief consultation with his friends he added: "You do not belong to the communion of the Christian Church. We cannot acknowledge you as brethren." Melancthon expressed amazement that the Swiss, believing as they did, should desire at the same time to maintain fraternal relations with them. ‡ "What fickleness!" exclaimed Brenz. "These men who a little while ago charged us with being worshipers of a bread god, desire now to fraternize with us." §

*Op. Zw., IV., p. 190.

†*Ihr habt einen anderen Geist als wir.*

‡*Mirum nobis videri, qua conscientia pro fratribus habere nos possint, quos errare in doctrina statuunt. Mel. ad Prin. Elec. Sax. Op. Zw., IV., p. 186.*

§*Nos admirati hominum illorum varietatem, qui paulo anti suis scriptis nos tanquam adoratores panifici Dei traduxerant, nunc vero fraternitatem et communionem nostram peterent. Ibid., p. 203.*

Far from entertaining any such vindictive and unbrotherly feeling, the Swiss were willing to forget all the sharp things that had been said in the heat of the argument, and to make every consistent advance in the interest of peace. While they refused to surrender their convictions, and boldly asserted as their honest belief that the doctrine of their opponents struck at the glory of Christ, they had the Christian charity to concede that conscience compelled the Lutherans to differ from them, and that being true, they acknowledged that they had no right to force their views upon them. Zwingli and his friends had done all that it was possible for them to do. "We are conscious," said Butzer, "of having acted as in God's presence. Posterity will be our judge." * Philip and the Hessian divines once more urged the Lutherans to accept the hand of friendship proffered by the Swiss. "While I cannot recognize you as brethren," said Luther, "I confess that I ought not to refuse you the charity which a Christian owes even to his enemies." Such a concession was nothing less than an insult. The noble and kindhearted Zwingli was stung by it, but his magnanimity enabled him to thrust his feelings aside and accept with

* *Ipsi quidem nobis coram Deo consci sumus, acti. . . .*
Id testabitur posteritas. Op. Zw., IV., p. 194.

fervent heartiness the hand which Luther offered him. At the sight of this the theologians of both sides advanced toward each other and the hand-shaking became general. Luther himself, hard and unyielding as he had proved, was touched by what he witnessed. "Truly," said he, in writing to a friend, "much of the scandal has been done away by the suppression of our violent debates. It is more than we could have hoped for." The Landgrave, greatly pleased by what he saw, now tactfully urged the Reformers to draw up a report of the colloquy, embodying the principal doctrines of the Christian faith on which they agreed. To this they readily assented, and Luther was chosen to draft the articles. He retired to a room and carefully wrote out fifteen articles on the points of the Reformed doctrine which seemed to him the most essential. They read as follows:

1. We believe and maintain that there is only one true and natural God, the Creator of all things, one in essence and nature, three in person—Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, as decreed by the Council of Nice and as it has been read and sung by the whole Christian Church in the Nicene Creed.

2. We believe that neither the Father nor the Holy Spirit, but the Son of God the Father, who was true God, became man, and through the

working of the Holy Spirit without the act of man, was born of the pure Virgin Mary, after the flesh, perfect in body and soul like other men, yet without sin.

3. That this God and Son of Mary, Jesus Christ, inseparable in person, was crucified for us, was dead and buried, arose from the tomb, ascended into heaven, and sits at the right hand of God, Lord over all creatures, from whence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.

4. We believe that original sin propagated from Adam to us through natural generation is such in nature as to involve the condemnation of all men, and that unless Christ had intervened by his life and death, eternal death must have been our lot, and we could never have entered the kingdom of God, nor attained eternal blessedness.

5. We believe that we are redeemed and freed from original sin and all other sins, and from eternal death, through faith in the Son of God, Jesus Christ, who died for us; without this faith we cannot be freed from any sin, through any work or ceremony whatever.

6. That this faith is the gift of God, which we acquire by no innate or outward merit or work, nor through any power of our own, but that the Holy Spirit gives it, and works it in our hearts,

how He wills, when we hear the Gospel on the word of Christ.

7. That this faith is our justification before God, on account of which God regards us as just, righteous, and holy, without any meritorious works of our own; and that through this faith He frees us from sin, death, and perdition, receives us into favor, and saves us for his Son's sake, on whom we believe, by which belief we are made partakers of the benefits of justification and life through Christ. Therefore all ceremonies and vows which are deemed necessary to salvation are damnable.

8. That the Holy Spirit, to speak spiritually, grants this faith and His gifts to none without the previous preaching of the Word, or Gospel of Christ; but that through and with the Word He works faith where, and in whom he wills. (Rom. X.)

9. That baptism is a sacrament, appointed of God for the awakening of such faith. And since God commands, "Go ye and baptize," and His promise, "He that believeth," etc., is included in baptism, it is not a mere sign and mark among Christians, but a sign and work of God in which our faith is required, and through which we are regenerated.

10. That this faith through the work of the

Holy Spirit, after we have arrived at justification and sanctification, produces good works through us, *e.g.*, love for our neighbor, devotion to God, and patience under affliction.

11. That confession or the seeking of counsel [and absolution] from a pastor or neighbor is not required, but ought to be done freely, since it is useful for anxious, tempted and perplexed consciences, principally on account of Gospel consolation, which is the true absolution.

12. That the magistracy, civil laws, courts, and state ordinances, wherever they exist are legitimate and wholesome, and not forbidden, as certain papists and Anabaptists believe and teach; but that the Christian who is chosen and born to a civil office can be saved through faith in Christ, just as in the case of family government the father or mother as ruler of the household can be saved.

13. So-called traditions, and churchly ordinances appointed by man, when they do not conflict with the revealed Word of God, we are at liberty to hold or abandon, according to the beliefs of those with whom we are surrounded. And here it is our duty to avoid giving offense, and to endeavor to promote peace. The prohibition of the marriage of priests is a doctrine of devils.

14. That infant baptism is necessary, since thereby children are received into God's grace and into the bosom of the Church.

15. We all believe and hold in regard to the Supper of our Lord Jesus Christ, that it ought to be dispensed in both kinds according to its institution; that the mass is not a work by which one can obtain for another, be he dead or alive, mercy; that the sacrament of the altar is the sacrament of the true body and blood of Jesus Christ; and that the spiritual partaking of this true body and blood is especially needful to every Christian. In like manner we agree in regard to the use of the sacrament, that just as the Word, so the sacrament delivered and ordained of God moves weak consciences to faith and love through the Holy Spirit. And although we cannot come to an agreement at this time as to whether the real body and blood of Christ are corporeally present in the bread and wine of the Lord's Supper, yet each party will manifest toward the other Christian love, so far as conscience permits, and both will earnestly supplicate Almighty God to confirm us in the true belief by His Holy Spirit. Amen.*

In drafting these articles Luther adhered rig-

*Op. Zw., IV., pp. 181, 182.

idly to his own doctrinal views, hardly expecting that they would be accepted by the Swiss. To his great surprise the Swiss accepted the results of his work without question, and even expressed themselves as highly pleased with it, thus proving what Zwingli had ever maintained, *i.e.*, that he agreed with Luther on every point of doctrine except the Lord's Supper. The few changes which the Swiss suggested were of a rhetorical nature, and in no way affected the doctrinal sense of the propositions.* The theologians of both parties now solemnly subscribed their names to this document, that the world might be informed of what had taken place at Marburg. Both parties agreed that there should be an end of the violent and abusive language which had characterized the controversy from the beginning. Thus the chief reproach was done away. The faith and courage of the Reformers, moreover, were greatly strengthened by witnessing at this meeting the wondrous way in which God had led both parties independently to substantially the same result in the development of the truth. Henceforth there could be no doubt that the Lutherans and Zwinglians were fighting for the same ends; and although they were unable to

*Op. Zw., IV., pp. 181, 182.

come to entire agreement on the doctrine of the Supper, they succeeded in defining their position with respect to the papacy.

Philip of Hesse had failed to unite the Germans and Swiss in a defensive league, and was therefore disappointed in his main purpose. Notwithstanding this, the Marburg Articles, as a declaration of doctrinal agreement, afforded a large measure of consolation, and caused him to feel that the colloquy had not been in vain.

On the last day of the conference the Landgrave invited all the theologians to dine with him at the Castle. In this friendly manner the conference closed. Luther and his party left Marburg the next day, October 5. His journey home was not a pleasant one, if we accept his own account of it. He says in a letter that he suffered the torture of intense spiritual dejection, and was so vexed by Satan that he despaired of ever seeing his wife again.*

Zwingli reached home on the 19th of October. In reporting the conference at Zurich he claimed the victory for himself. "The truth," said he, "has so manifestly gained the victory that if the shameless and obstinate Luther be not beaten, there never was anyone beaten, although he

*Luth. Ep., III., p. 520.

never ceases boasting to the contrary." Despite the boasting of both leaders, they refrained, as they had agreed to do, from the unseemly abuse in which they had so freely indulged previous to the conference. Both branches of the Protestant Church now enjoyed a season of comparative peace. This calm was of short duration, for, in the spring of 1530, the Emperor Charles V., after passing the winter at Bologna as guest of the Pope, crossed the Alps for the purpose of holding the Diet of Augsburg, having previously promised the papal ambassador to use all the means in his power for the extirpation of heresy throughout the empire. Neither of the great Protestant leaders attended the Diet, but both were represented by leading theologians. After Melancthon had presented to the Emperor the Augsburg Confession, Butzer and Capito offered a creed which they had drafted in behalf of the four imperial cities of South Germany—Strasburg, Constance, Memmingen and Lindau—and hence called the Tetrapolitan Confession. Zwingli also sent to the Diet, by special messenger, a confession of his own.* Strenuous attempts were made to bring about a reconciliation between the Lutherans and Romanists. A

**Ad Carolum Romanorum Imperatorem Germaniae Comitum Augustae Celebrantem Fidei H. Zuinglii Ratio.* Op. Zw., IV., pp. 1-18.

commission was appointed for this purpose, and Eck and Melanchthon, who were members of it, strove together for some plan of compromise. All efforts in this direction proved unavailing, and Butzer and Capito seized upon this circumstance as a favorable opportunity to attempt once more the complete union of Lutherans and Zwinglians. In the Tetrapolitan Confession, without denying Zwingli's view, they had adopted the following ambiguous formula on the doctrine of the Lord's Supper: "Christ gives in the Supper his true body and true blood, to be truly eaten and drunk, as a food of the soul." With this creedal statement before him Butzer drew up a formula in which he set forth the doctrine with clearness, but made no attempt to define the nature of the presence, thus leaving each party free to interpret it according to its own views. Melanchthon and Brenz seemed favorable to this proposal, and Butzer accordingly set out to visit Luther at Coburg and obtain his assent if possible. Luther received him kindly, but influenced by the suspicion that the Swiss would not consent to such a statement, and chiefly by his dislike for the factitious character of the whole affair, he firmly declined to subscribe to it. To his mind the dispute was far from one of mere words. Zwingli was even more



emphatic than Luther in his rejection of Butzer's plan. His truth-loving soul was repelled by anything that had the appearance of sham. While admitting that he could find his views expressed in Butzer's formula by accepting the adjective *true* in the Platonic sense in which John uses it in his Gospel—"That was the *true* light," etc., *i.e.*, the supersensual and eternal, as over against the sense-perceptible, and the scholastic realism of Luther—nevertheless Butzer's attempt was plainly artificial, and Zwingli's Christian sense would not suffer him to countenance such manifest equivocation. Thus, while recognizing the friendly and well-meant efforts of the Strasburgers, both Reformers rejected their proposals with the hope and prayer that at some time a real union might be effected. After Luther's death, Melancthon, who had all along entertained a more liberal view than his distinguished colleague, arrived at conclusions which approached very nearly the doctrine of Zwingli. He contented himself with Paul's words, "The bread that we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?" He deprecated all further discussion of the subject and advised his Prince, the Elector Frederick, of the Palatinate, to dismiss all strife-loving clergymen from their pulpits.

CHAPTER VIII.

POLITICO-RELIGIOUS COMPLICATIONS. — DEVELOPMENTS PREJUDICIAL TO THE REFORM CAUSE. —BEGINNING OF EVENTS WHICH PRESAGED DISASTER.—THE FIRST WAR OF CAPPEL.

At the close of a previous chapter it was intimated that the inhabitants of the Forest Cantons, or "Five Places," impressed with a sense of their weakness and inability to resist the encroachments of a movement which was winning new triumphs daily and boldly threatening to exterminate the ancient and time-honored faith, began in their distress to cast about for succor. Involuntarily they began to look beyond the Swiss border and to conjure up pleasant pictures of the advantages to be derived from a defensive alliance with some powerful neighboring State. But let us first pause to recount certain doings of deep significance in the camp of the Reformers which may have been in no slight degree the provocation of the dishonor into which the Five Places fell when they negotiated an alliance with their hereditary enemies and sought their aid against their own

brethren and confederates. Hitherto the Zurichers had placed their trust in God alone, assured that he would show himself strong in defense of his truth, and in vindication of the pure Gospel which they were seeking to establish. In the first year of his Zurich ministry Zwingli's voice was frequently heard earnestly exhorting the people to rest upon God alone as their rock of confidence. But the Reform had made marked progress in certain neighboring towns of Switzerland and South Germany, and Zwingli's natural instinct for organization led him to feel that much could be gained by effecting some sort of union or alliance with those municipalities which had declared for Reform. Accordingly, Zurich, at the instance of Zwingli, proposed the formation of an alliance for the defense of civil privileges.* "God is well pleased," writes he in referring to the matter, "when those of one mind combine in unity and fidelity in the Lord's contest. . . . The word of God cannot indeed be upheld by human power, but by God's power alone; notwithstanding, God uses man as an instrument to grant the aids of his grace to other men. If God favors the forma-

*According to Hottinger, the Five Places (Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Zug, and Lucerne) by ancient treaty were precluded from entering upon an alliance with other States without the consent of all the Confederates. Zurich and Bern, when they joined the Confederacy, had reserved the right of so doing.

tion of a Christian union, it is evident that he will employ it for a good purpose." In the imperial city of Constance the Gospel had made rapid progress through the active labors of John Wanner and Thomas Blarer, friends of Zwingli, with whom he kept himself in constant touch. Such strength had the Reform acquired that the Bishop and the majority of the canons, impelled either by disgust or fear for their personal safety, had abandoned the city and appealed to the Emperor for redress. In response to this appeal the Austrian vicegerent of the neighboring districts made a demonstration before the gates of the city, and Constance in this hour of peril applied to Zurich for assistance. The result of the negotiations was a secret treaty of alliance, concluded on the 25th of December, 1527.* This alliance was called the "Christian Burgher Rights." The parties pledged to each other mutual aid in case they were attacked for reasons pertaining to religious faith, and bound themselves to further and protect the free preaching of the Gospel within the bounds of their respective territories. Zwingli found that the immediate effect of this treaty was to add to his unrest, for it raised up a great host of personal

*Christoffel, p. 402. As early as July, 1527, the Five Places had begun treaty negotiations with Austria.

enemies. He had now entered upon the policy which was to prove so disastrous to the Gospel and fatal to himself, and the storm of opposition which it aroused might well have frightened a more resolute man and caused him to turn back in time to avert the impending calamity. The lion-hearted leader of Zurich, however, fully persuaded that he was following the counsel and will of God, without a tremor pressed onward in the course which culminated in his ruin. From this time forth his public labors are preëminently those of a statesman and diplomat rather than of a preacher of the Gospel. The deep patriotism which had ever characterized and animated his life, together with his republican training, made it easy for him to hopelessly confuse religion with affairs of state. A further extenuation of his course is found in the example and precedent established for centuries by the Church of Rome. Zwingli firmly believed that a crisis had been reached in which safety was to be hoped for in political measures only. He therefore assumed the rôle of a statesman, and from this time until his death was virtually dictator of Zurich, and exercised at the same time a commanding influence in other Reform cantons. He took a leading part in all public deliberations. His advice was sought in all matters of importance

and his services were required in the drafting of public documents. He combined in himself the functions of pastor and preacher of Zurich, leader of the state, and commander of the army. We cannot but admire the strength and varied genius of the man who, while standing at the head of the state and bearing all its burdens, could manifest at the same time such untiring industry as pastor, preacher, theologian, and author.

The inhabitants of the Five Places were filled with indignation when they learned of the secret alliance which had been formed between Zurich and Constance, and of the proposition to extend it until it included all the cities of the Reformed faith. At the next meeting of the Diet the Catholic deputies were unable to restrain their feelings, and the bailiffs of Thurgau, who had been appointed by Zug and Schwyz, manifested their hostility in acts of barbarous cruelty toward all who accepted the Gospel. They imposed fines and imprisonment, confiscation and banishment; they inflicted torture and scourge; they cruelly maltreated the ministers and condemned them to the block and the stake. All Bibles and evangelical books were burnt, and the Lutheran refugees who fled from Austria across the Rhine were promptly surrendered to their persecutors.

This violence, however, only aided the Gospel. The Bishop of Constance in alarm wrote to the Five Places that unless speedy action was taken the whole country would embrace the Reform. In response to his appeal the Five Places met in diet at Frauenfeld, and six days later at Wein-
feld, where, deputies from Bern and Zurich aroused their indignation still further by speeches demanding toleration.* When the vote was taken it was found that the Gospel had won, and the Rheinthal and Bremgarten were speedily thrown open to the free preaching of the Word.

This victory of the Reformers thoroughly aroused their opponents. Something must be done or the fertile valleys of the Five Places, for centuries the stronghold of Swiss Catholicism, would be overrun by the emissaries of the new doctrine. Of all neighboring states from which succor might be secured Austria seemed best adapted to render the necessary assistance. No other was so thoroughly under papal dominance, or so ready to lend itself to the furtherance of Romish designs. Although the hereditary enemy of the Swiss Confederacy, all political differences and animosities were for the time forgotten in the face of events which threatened the perpetu-

*Bullinger *Chron.*, II., p. 28.

ity of their common faith. The Five Places sent letters across the Austrian frontiers. Messengers were seen passing to and fro near the border. Finally in February, 1529, deputies from the Five Places succeeded in holding a secret interview with the Austrian governor and arranging for a conference to be held at Waldshut two months later. Although the rumor of these negotiations excited much dissatisfaction, even among the Romish adherents, the deputies of the Five Places, according to agreement, met the deputies of their old-time oppressors at Waldshut, and after a brief conference concluded a treaty of alliance. According to the stipulations of this treaty, death was to be meted out to any who should be found guilty of establishing new sects among the people. In case of emergency Austria agreed to send a fully equipped army into Switzerland, and, if necessary, assist in effecting a blockade of the Reformed cantons. The news of this alliance soon spread far and wide and filled the hearts of the people with dejection and alarm. Deputies from the Reformed cantons met at Zurich and decided to attempt a reconciliation. A deputation was appointed which visited in turn each of the Five Places. This mission, the discharge of which required no small degree of courage, was received in the first instance with cold-

ness and indifference. In Unterwalden the deputies were treated with marked hostility, and threats of violence greeted their friendly overtures. The insults offered by Unterwalden to the deputies of the Reformed cantons were deeply felt by Zwingli. "No peace shall be granted them," he cried, "until they renounce foreign pensions, the Austrian alliance, and all share in the government of the common bailiwicks." To this war-cry of the Swiss leader Bern refused to listen. Bern, in fact, though at this time ranged on the side of Reform, was so dominated by Romish authority and honeycombed by the corrupting influence of foreign pensions that it was only by the utmost effort that the stanch supporters of the Gospel succeeded in keeping her in line. Under such circumstances the assistance which she offered was in most cases of a tardy and half-hearted nature. In June, 1528, Bern joined the Christian Burgher Rights, and within a year St. Gall, Biel, Muelhausen, Basel, and Schaffhausen followed her example.

Zwingli, however, was not yet satisfied. Impressed with the imminence of the danger that threatened the Reformed cantons, he cast his eyes longingly beyond the Swiss borders in the hope that the free cities of Germany might also be prevailed on to add their strength to the

newly formed league. With Jacob Sturm, the burgomaster of Strasburg, he maintained an active correspondence and kept himself informed as to the designs of the Emperor. In a similar manner he had long maintained a secret correspondence with his friend, the Landgrave of Hesse, and Philip, on his part, had endeavored to bring about a union of the German towns, but was defeated in his efforts through Lutheran prejudice, which displayed itself in an unwillingness to coöperate with the Zwinglian "Sacramentarians." He now rejoiced that Zwingli seemed in a fair way of effecting what he had hitherto failed to accomplish. Together with Duke Ulrich, of Würtemberg, Philip asked permission to join the alliance. In the correspondence which passed between the princes and the deputies of Zurich, Basel, and Strasburg regarding the matter, the Landgrave agreed on his part to endeavor to gain for the alliance the Protestant princes of the North German towns, while Zwingli agreed to strive similarly for the Reformed towns of South Germany.

France and Venice were hostile to the Emperor, and Zwingli was encouraged to think that this enmity might be utilized for the furtherance of the Gospel. The leaven of evangelical truth was already beginning to make itself felt in these

countries, a fact which lent additional strength to the hope that the proposition to join the new league would be favorably entertained. It will thus appear that Zwingli's plans were far-seeing and comprehensive. According to his idea the Protestant alliance was to extend from the Adriatic to the German Ocean. His design was to establish in Europe a power sufficiently strong to frustrate the maneuvers of Charles and his Austrian allies. Nay, further, he even hoped to organize a political league sufficiently powerful to punish the Emperor by compelling him to abdicate, should he rashly attempt to carry out the promise he had made to the Pope to suppress the free preaching of the Gospel in Germany, in which case Zwingli hoped that the Protestant Electors would choose his friend Philip of Hesse to succeed him. The secret correspondence which passed between Zwingli and Philip is startling in the freedom and boldness with which they plotted to checkmate the Emperor. Zwingli labored with all his might to win the South German towns for the new league. The Emperor's approach from Italy to hold the Augsburg Diet inflamed his zeal the more. "Base cowards alone," wrote he to a friend, "can idly look on without straining every nerve to put in arms a power that will make the Emperor sensi-

ble that he labors in vain to reëstablish Rome's supremacy, to destroy the privileges of the free towns, and to coerce us in Helvetia."

In December, 1529, Rudolf Collin was sent as secret ambassador to conclude, if possible, a treaty of alliance with the republic of Venice. He was kindly received by the Venetian senate, and in the address which he was permitted to make he urged the advantages that would accrue to both republics from closer relationship. The Doge divulged to him the unwelcome news that Venice had just concluded a treaty of peace with the Emperor. Regret was expressed that the overtures of the Burgher towns were not made earlier, and the ambassador was assured on leaving that in the event of war Venice would render what assistance she could.

About this time the King of France, through his ambassador, intimated his willingness to join the Burgher Rights. He was prompted to this step not through any sympathy with the Reformed doctrines, but through his hatred of the Emperor, and the hope that with the assistance of the Swiss he might be able to effect the conquest of Lombardy. Zwingli understood Francis too well to be deceived by him. He paid no heed to his overtures until, by his repeated applications, he was virtually forced to do so.

He then drafted a form of treaty sufficiently strong to test the king's sincerity, and placed it in the hands of the French ambassador for transmission to his sovereign. After a brief delay the king replied through his ministers that the time was not yet ripe to enter upon such far-reaching plans. The French ambassador added as a further reason for the king's reluctance to accept the terms outlined by Zwingli, that since the king's sons were held in captivity by the Emperor, negotiations of this kind, should they become known, might endanger the lives of the princes, or greatly delay their liberation.

The project which Zwingli so dearly cherished and labored ceaselessly to promote was destined for various reasons to fail of realization. Bern strenuously opposed the extension of the Christian Burgher Rights beyond the boundaries of the Confederacy. Strasburg clamored for admittance, but Bern's consent was for a long time persistently withheld, and it was not until 1530 that she was allowed to take the oath. Bern absolutely refused to admit Philip of Hesse to this privilege, and he was therefore compelled to content himself with such treaty as he could make with the two willing states, Zurich and Basel. Another thing that operated as a serious check on Zwingli's efforts to extend the alliance was

the widespread suspicion with which it was regarded by the nobility. This suspicion was induced by a remark of Erasmus, which obtained wide currency, to the effect that Zwingli was seeking to introduce democracy under the mantle of the Gospel. Furthermore, the papal party were not slow to perceive the advantage of this distrust, and by them it was effectively used to defeat the proposed union of the evangelicals. None of the South German towns, except Constance, became full members of the alliance. The national feeling of the German Protestants, plus Lutheran sectarianism, led them to form a defensive league of their own with purpose similar to that of the Christian Burgher Rights. This was done at Smalcald, February, 1530. For these reasons, to the deep regret of Zwingli and the Landgrave, the plan of a defensive alliance of all Protestants against their common foes, the Pope and the Emperor, proved abortive. Zwingli, with the clear vision of a prophet, foresaw the untold calamities which must eventually befall the Protestants if they refused longer on account of petty doctrinal differences to recognize their essential brotherhood, and unite as one man for the defense of their faith. The sequel proves that in the main Zwingli was right. After all due allowance is made for his apparent mistakes

and weaknesses, it is plain that the cause of Protestantism was permanently crippled by the refusal of a large party to accord to their brethren that confidence, charity, and fraternal fellowship which the Gospel enjoins.

The alliance which the Five Places had concluded with Austria and the Emperor for the suppression of the free preaching of the Word, and the counter movement undertaken by the Reformers for the defense of the Gospel, entailing in consequence a general feeling of suspicion, hatred, and distrust, made it evident that a condition of affairs was preparing dangerous to the permanency of the entire Confederacy. The Five Places visited every departure from the ancient faith with punishment, while Zurich and Bern sought to protect any and all who accepted the Gospel.

A peculiar political arrangement, whereby certain cantons in turn elected the administrative officers of the common lordships, furnished the conditions out of which it became increasingly apparent that open conflict must ultimately arise between the two great parties. The conflict of jurisdictions was an additional source of irritation. In the high valleys of the Bernese Alps a majority of the inhabitants rose in insurrection against the government of Bern, abolished the

reforms which had been introduced, and restored the Romish worship. This insurrection was promptly suppressed by Bernese troops under the command of the burgomaster of Erlach.

At Bremgarten the aged Dean Bullinger, after a pastorate of thirty years, publicly confessed to his congregation that during this period he had walked in blindness and had taught error instead of truth. He sought their forgiveness and promised henceforth to base his teachings on the precepts of the Word of God. For this step the town council deposed him from his office. His son Henry was soon called to succeed him, and the people by a resolution requested that his preaching be from the Old and New Testaments according to the Divine meaning. Bullinger preached to the satisfaction of the community, and it was not long until the Reformation had gained the ascendancy in Bremgarten and several of the neighboring communes.

One of the first sources of open discord between the Papal and Reformed parties was the rich cloister of St. Gall, the abbot of which by reason of his wealth and devotion to the imperial house was especially dangerous to the Reformation. The election of 1529 placed the government of St. Gall in the hands of those who sympathized with reform, and the abbot, who was

now dangerously ill and unable to offer any resistance to the changes which he had good reason to suspect the Reformers would attempt to make, and out of fear for his personal safety, had himself removed to the fortified castle of Rorschach. Here he soon died, but his death was kept secret until his successor, a monk of the Toggenburg district, was elected and publicly proclaimed. In the meantime, however, the burgomaster, Vadian, had taken possession of the cathedral and removed all the images. Although the new abbot had secured his election in an irregular manner, he received recognition from Schwyz and Lucerne, and what was of far more importance, the promise from Austria that he would be maintained in his position. Thus fortified, he peremptorily demanded that the convent be restored to its rights, the images replaced in the cathedral, and the sacrifices of the mass reinstated. Zurich stoutly refused to recognize the new abbot, and acting on Zwingli's advice, demanded that he establish his right to recognition by proving from Scripture that "monkery is well pleasing in the sight of God." Thus, while Zurich and St. Gall endeavored with all their power to effect the dissolution of the cloister, the abbot, through the secret assistance of Austria and the Five Places, endeavored to

recover the lost rights and dignities of his office. The situation was daily becoming more threatening when certain acts of violence perpetrated in the district of Gaster, between lakes Zurich and Walenstädt, led to the formal outbreak of hostilities. This district was governed jointly by Schwyz and Glarus. The Reformation had made its appearance there, and had won popular disfavor through certain well-meant but misguided acts of iconoclasm. The Schwyzers threatened war and ordered the images restored. The perpetrators of the violence applied to Zurich for protection, and received ample assurance that help would be rendered if they should be attacked on the ground of their faith. In this crisis of affairs Zwingli was ready with a well-defined policy and plan of action. It was warfare, prompt and decisive. He earnestly desired that the military strength of the evangelical cantons should quickly and resolutely invade the Five Places from different quarters, in order that the enemy thus hemmed in on every side by an overwhelming force might be convinced at once of the futility of all resistance, and yield without a blow. It seemed to him that his country might be purged by a bloodless campaign, if the campaign were promptly and resolutely executed. So deeply did he feel the disgrace of certain portions of

his native land, and the necessity of radical measures, that he transmitted these vigorous words to a friend in Bern, who had ventured to warn him against war: "Be steadfast, be not afraid of war; for the peace which some would force upon us is war, while the war which we desire is peace. We thirst for no man's blood and seek no interest of our own; our object is to tame these upstart tyrants who rise against God and suppress His Word, and to tear their usurped power from their grasp. If this be not done, neither the evangelical truth nor its heralds and followers are safe. We have no cruel thoughts; what we do is with a benevolent and paternal spirit. We wish to save some who, led away by the wicked, will perish in their ignorance. The liberty of preaching the Gospel and of believing it I wish alone to gain." *

The immediate occasion of the outbreak of hostilities was the unlawful arrest of Jacob Kaiser (or Schlosser), an evangelical preacher. Kaiser was a resident of Zurich, who by his zealous preaching against images had aroused the vehement hatred of the Schwyzers. He had received a call to the parish of Oberkirch in Gaster, and one day while on his way to preach there

*Op. Zw., VIII., p. 294.

he was set upon by six men, bound, and carried away prisoner to Schwyz. It presently transpired that the arrest was made in obedience to the express orders of the Five Places, since they had issued instructions to all officers of their appointment to take and deliver over to them as prisoners all preachers and adherents of the new doctrine. Zurich when apprised of this outrage despatched a deputy post haste to Schwyz with a remonstrance so emphatic as to amount to a demand that Kaiser be set at liberty. Schwyz turned a deaf ear to all attempts at intervention. Kaiser was tried for heresy, found guilty, and condemned to immediate execution at the stake. He met death courageously, praising Christ who had counted him worthy to die for the honor of the Gospel.

Seven days after the martyrdom of Kaiser came the startling news that the Austrian deputies on the Swiss frontier were enlisting men and arming them for insurrection. Acting promptly on this intelligence, the Council of Zurich resolved on war, and a formal proclamation of hostilities was issued on the 9th of June, 1529. It was addressed to Schwyz. "We have received," said the Zurichers, "your haughty and contemptuous letter and have understood it. You reproach us with not keeping treaties. We have

kept them better than you. You have persecuted and delivered up to enemies, martyred and slain many an honest man because he gave God the glory and joyfully confessed his faith. You have abused, reviled, and maltreated our people who, by God's grace, are pious, worthy Christians. A holy priest, a resident of our city, and under our protection, you have fallen upon outside of your jurisdiction, carried off, and for the Word of God's sake and to God's high displeasure and in contempt of us, have insolently and in defiance of law condemned to death. Since, therefore, we see that neither law nor justice has place among you, we resolve, for the salvation and maintenance of Divine truth, for His and our own honor, to punish such arrogance and evil-doing. You have driven us to this by your violent procedure." *

The military forces of Zurich were immediately called out. Four thousand picked men, fully armed and well furnished with provisions marched against Cappel. Five hundred men, under Ulrich Stall, were joined by a hundred more from Bremgarten, and together they occupied the cloister of Muri, thus guarding the approach from Unterwalden. The Council of

*This proclamation, which was printed for public distribution, was doubtless drawn up by Zwingli. *Vide* Bullinger, II., pp. 164-167.

Zurich appointed Zwingli field-chaplain, and he went forth with the main body of troops, bearing upon his shoulder the halberd he had previously carried in the battle of Marignano.

The Governor of Kyburg, Rudolf Lavater, was instructed to march with a detachment against Wyl and to take prisoner the abbot of St. Gall; but the abbot was forewarned of the Governor's design and made good his escape into Swabia.

The Zurich warriors advanced eagerly to the defense of their faith. The evening of the 9th of June found them encamped near Cappel. The combined forces of the Five Places had assembled at Zug. On the morning of the 10th the Zurich army sent its declaration of war to the leaders of the enemy, and made immediate preparations for battle. The leader of the vanguard marshaled his forces for attack, and was on the point of leading them into the enemy's territory when Landammann Aebli, of Glarus, approached, and earnestly begged that they advance no farther until opportunity had been given for a hearing. "The Five Places," said Aebli, "are armed; but it is terrible to think of the shedding of blood. I entreat you for a few hours delay; for I know that the Confederates have despatched messengers to negotiate peace. Surely peace ought to be possible between those who have stood shoul-

der to shoulder against a common foe.* Owing to the universal respect in which Aebli was held, his speech had the effect of inducing the leaders to send messengers to Zurich for instructions as to what they should do. Zwingli was not at all pleased with this turn of affairs. He felt that the success of Zurich and the cause in which she had enlisted depended on prompt, resolute action. "You will have to answer to God for this mediation," said he to Aebli. "Because the enemy are in our power and unprepared to resist they give us fair words—they wish to mediate. Afterward, when they are armed, they will attack and not spare us." †

The attitude which Bern and some of the other allies of Zurich assumed in this campaign exerted an influence which was anything but advantageous to the Reformed cause. In the city of Bern proper and in the isolated districts of the surrounding country there were many who were unfriendly to the alliance and who in the Council did all they could to hinder coöperation with Zurich.

The situation in Bern was such that Haller wrote to Zwingli in the most despairing strain. "We are," said he, "as corrupt in our govern-

*Bullinger *Chron.*, II., pp. 169, 170.

†*Ibid.*, p. 170.

ment as ever, and it is to be feared that in the new election to the Council just approaching, all those who have shown themselves hostile to the Reform will come to the surface again." It thus happened that Bern, the most warlike of the cantons, was in this crisis constantly urging measures of peace; and when at length the Council of Zurich resolved on war and called on the allies for help, Bern replied that inasmuch as Zurich had begun the war without her assistance she might finish it in like manner. Undaunted by this answer, Zurich sent another and more urgent summons to her ally, to which Bern made the following reply: "We pray, we remind, and exhort you that you do not overstep with your host and banner the boundaries of your own territory and that you attack none. If you yourselves be first attacked, or are injured either in life or property, we shall not abandon you. We have in haste called a diet to meet at Aarau. If the Five Places give satisfaction for libels and vituperations, and renounce the alliance with Austria, we are inclined to peace. If you, however, or the Five Places, do not hold yourselves as we do, we shall apply force to you both."

Following immediately on this reply, Bern enrolled an army of five thousand men and sent them under burgomaster von Diessbach to Aarau

and Lenzburg, where they were presently joined by troops from Basel, Muelhausen, and Biel. Three hundred warriors from St. Gall, and twelve hundred from Thurgau marched to Cappel to reinforce the Zurichers. In the meantime the army of the Five Places had been steadily gaining in strength, so that the entire forces confronting each other on the field of Cappel numbered not far from thirty thousand men.

True to the prediction of Landammann Aebli, deputies from Appenzell, the Grisons, Freiburg, and Soleure arrived in Zurich as mediators, to negotiate terms of peace.

The Council of Zurich in reply to the question of their army encamped at Cappel, asking what they were to do respecting Aebli's request, advised that for the present they suspend hostilities. "We entertain strong hope," said they, "that through the mediation of these pious and upright men, an honorable and godly peace will be concluded." The final decision, however, was left to the army; for according to ancient custom the sovereignty of the state in time of war was held to reside with the troops who fought under the Zurich banner. The Council accordingly requested the army to forward any further resolutions to the Zurich deputies at the Diet of Aarau. Zwingli, in the name of the army, drew up and

transmitted to the Zurich Council the following resolutions, which expressed his idea of the necessary conditions of a lasting peace: *First*, that permission be granted to preach freely the word of God throughout the Confederacy; *second*, that all alliances concluded with foreign powers be dissolved and declared null and void; *third*, that the receiving of pensions and donations from foreign princes and powers be forbidden, and the authors and promoters of the pension system punished in person and property, on the ground that they were the originators of the present dissensions; *fourth*, that the Five Places bear the expenses of the war; *fifth*, that Schwyz pay an indemnity to the children of the martyred Kaiser. With these conditions Zwingli forwarded to the Zurich Council the following letter:

“I am very anxious that the proposals in question may not be treated with levity or carelessness. In order to meet in some measure the growing corruption of the times and to hold godly and believing people to the Word of God, I have been compelled, both by word and deed, to press for decisive measures; but I expressed to the Council that when I began to be warlike in my sermons they might be pleased to give no heed to it, for my wish was neither war nor bloodshed, but suppression of pensions and of all injustice. Now,

however, that it has come in the course of God's Providence to an outbreak, I trust in God that it will fall out to His own glory and to the honor of Zurich. When I press for harsh measures I do it solely to terrify the pensioners, that they may the sooner yield. Otherwise I am very well disposed to clemency, as I hope you are well aware. Wherefore, my gracious lords, be courageous and firm. Our confederates of Bern are faithful to the principle of freedom in matters of faith, and insist that the alliance with Austria be broken off. Have no anxiety on our account, for our men are obedient and well-behaved, friendly, and faithful to one another. Be brave and steadfast, and so we shall, with God's help, attain to unity and conclude an honorable peace. I hope God will once more set up our Confederacy, and this he will do if you only maintain a resolute attitude against pensions. Wherefore, be a wall of brass against this corruption." *

While these negotiations of peace were pending the soldiers encamped at Cappel, putting aside their animosity, deported themselves for the time more like brethren disunited by some transient quarrel than enemies who had come out for the purpose of taking each others' lives. The

*Op. Zw., VIII., pp. 296-298. Quoted from Christoffel [Cochran's translation], with omissions and slight variations.

advanced posts lived in harmony and sometimes took their meals together. Occasionally the soldiers of the Five Places when short of rations would venture beyond the lines and allow themselves to be taken prisoners by the Zurichers, who then led them into camp, fed them, and sent them back laden with provisions. This affecting cordiality, subsisting even in time of war, inspired some with the hope that Switzerland had nothing serious to apprehend. Unfortunately, this hope they were soon compelled to relinquish.

In the camp of Zurich strict order was maintained. Zwingli, Comthur Schmidt, of Küssnacht, and other clergymen preached daily. All cursing, gambling, and quarreling were suppressed. National and patriotic songs were sung, and many of the younger men indulged in athletic sports. Zwingli moved about freely among the troops and all felt the contagion of his presence. All signs of despondency and cherished hate disappeared at the first touch of his genial personality.

Under the favorable conditions existing there seemed every prospect of negotiating an honorable and satisfactory peace. Later developments, however, proved less encouraging. It was found that the majority of the captains and leaders, many of whom had grown rich through foreign pensions, were especially opposed to that article

of the proposed treaty which contemplated abolishment of income received from foreign sources. Even among the Zurich leaders there were those who ardently desired the removal of the prohibition against pensions. Among the Bernese the opposition on this point was much stronger than among the Zurichers. At a meeting of the Zurich captains, Nicholas Manuel was compelled to declare that for Zwingli's demand—"abolition of pensions by the Five Places," no support could be expected from Bern. The pensioners in both camps joined hands and hearts in opposition to this article. "It was generally known," remarks Bullinger, "that the pensioners defended one another with zeal, and would rather have seen the whole country brought to the verge of ruin than that a hair on the head of one of their party should have been touched." Zwingli was looked upon as their greatest foe, and they sought by every method of secret intrigue and base calumny to undermine his reputation and destroy his influence. To a friend Zwingli wrote at this time: "Treachery surrounds me on every side, and if I escape now, I have to thank the Almighty alone for my preservation, for all the wicked have conspired against me."

While negotiations of peace were pending

Zwingli composed the following hymn, in which, while free expression is given to the great anxieties that harassed his soul, there breathes in every line a stalwart faith and a trustful child-like dependence on God:

“Lord, raise the car
From out the ditch of war;
Or black as night
Will be our plight.
Our evils flow
From those that sow
Base treachery;
Who Thee despise
And 'gainst Thee rise
Insolently.

“Lord, shake off those
That are Thy foes;
But thine own sheep,
Guide Thou from off the steep
To pastures wide;
Within Thy fold may they abide,
Who Thy laws keep.

“Ordain that wrath
No longer burn;
That we to truth's old path
Again return.
These armies then shall raise
United praise,
And ever sing
To Thee, Eternal King.”*

*Op. Zw., II., pp. 2, 275, 276, 527; Bullinger, II., p. 182.

“*Herr, nun heb den Wagen selb'!*
Schelb wird sust
All unser Fahrt,” etc.

The poetical version here given is that found in J. Cochran's translation of Christoffel, and is a fairly successful English rendering of the original in sentiment and meter.

The untiring efforts of the negotiators were crowned with success. A treaty of peace embodying eighteen articles was drawn up, and received the signatures of the leaders of the two armies, June 25, 1529.* It was mutually agreed (1) that no compulsion should be exercised against each other in matters of faith. Thus, for the first time in Europe the principle of the equality of the Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches was officially recognized. It was also agreed (2) that those who abolished the mass, removed or burned images in the common lordships, should not be punished, and that in the future the majority should decide on the abolition or retention of the mass and other rites; (3) that only men of honor and integrity should be placed over these lordships; (4) that the alliance with Austria should be dissolved and the papers cancelled; (5) that the Five Places pay the cost of the war; and (6) that Schwyz pay an indemnity to the family of the martyred Kaiser. The treaty contained the recommendation that the Five Places abolish pensions and mercenary service. The closing words stipulated that in case the Five Places refused to pay the war ex-

*Bullinger, II., pp. 185-191.

penses the Reformed towns might close their markets against them.

The news of the treaty was received very differently by the two parties. Zurich and Bern celebrated the event with acclamations of joy. More had been accomplished by this bloodless campaign than they had dared to hope. Zwingli was especially elated. "We have brought home with us a peace," wrote he to his friend Conrad Som, minister at Ulm, "which is, as I hope, honorable; for we did not march out to shed blood. Notwithstanding, we have sent our foes home with a wet blanket about them. God has again shown that the lofty ones of this earth can accomplish nothing against him." * He took little satisfaction, however, in the treaty when he thought of the intrigues and profligacy of the pensioners. Myconius tells us that he was wont to say that "he had encountered in this campaign more intriguing and baseness of heart than he had ever met with in his whole previous personal experience." † It seemed to him that Zurich and her allies had committed a fatal blunder in not striking a more effectual blow when once they had the enemy completely in their power. Reflecting on the peace from this point of view,

*Op. Zw., VIII., p. 310.

†*Vita Zw.*, XI.

he thus gloomily expressed himself from his pulpit in Zurich: "The peace of Cappel will have this result, that we shall not have long to fold our hands idly over our heads."

CHAPTER IX.

THE SECOND WAR OF CAPPEL.—ZWINGLI'S DEATH.

WE now enter upon the narration of events which abundantly prove that Zwingli's gloomy forebodings as to the consequences of the treaty just concluded were not without foundation. To the inhabitants of the Forest Cantons the terms of the treaty were utterly unbearable. They had submitted to them to avoid war, but with a secret reserve which rendered that act altogether meaningless. The soldiers returned to their homes with hearts full of anger and chagrin, firmly resolved to continue steadfast in their faith, and to visit apostasy from it with such vengeance as their arms could inflict. Despite their professions, the Five Places did not intend to tolerate the Reform in their territory, nor would they grant to the common bailiwicks the right to introduce it by a majority vote. Of this the Zurichers loudly complained, but with like faithlessness they at the same time prohibited the celebration of the mass in their own city. Zwingli and his followers, flushed with their recent victory, manifested a zeal and aggressiveness extremely

irritating to the adherents of the Romish faith. "His eye and arm were everywhere," says a Catholic historian, speaking of Zwingli. "A few mischief-makers, penetrating the Five Cantons, troubled men's souls, distributed their frippery, scattered everywhere little poems, tracts, and Testaments, and ceased not from saying that the people ought not to believe the priests." The man whose gigantic labors at this time as theologian, statesman, and author, compel our admiration, manifested an equal zeal and activity as Gospel preacher and evangelist. In the interest of the Gospel he visited in person the neighboring cantons, and everywhere eager, interested throngs witnessed to the power of his preaching. The progress which the Reformation made through Zwingli's preaching in the common bailiwicks forced the already strained relation existing between the two parties to the point of open rupture.

In the summer of 1530 the Roman Catholic cantons made new approaches to Austria,* and sent a deputation to treat with Charles V. at Augsburg. "We shall have no peace," said they, "until we have broken these bonds and regained our former liberties." † While it does not appear

*Rullinger, II., p. 336.

†*Ibid.*, p. 324.

that the Emperor himself gave any assurances of aid, it is quite probable that the chief enemies of the Reformation there present—Eck, Faber, and the Pope's legate—did not withhold from this embassy such words of encouragement as they could give.

The Abbey of St. Gall was still a fruitful source of contention, and continued to embarrass all attempts to bring about a condition of peace. The fugitive abbot, Kilian German, appeared before the Emperor at Augsburg, and prayed for reinstatement to his former rights and dignity. The desired assurance was given, but on his return from Augsburg he was accidentally drowned near Bregenz. The monks at Einsiedeln hastily elected Diethelm Blaarer, of Wartensee, as his successor; but Zurich and Glarus on learning of the abbot's death, proceeded at once to dissolve the cloister. The jewels and ornaments were sold and the proceeds applied to the benefit of the poor. In these proceedings Zurich clearly transcended her authority and greatly accelerated the crisis which led to her punishment the following year. At a general diet which met at Baden, January 8, 1531, the Five Cantons declared that unless justice was done them with respect to the Abbey of St. Gall, they would not appear again in diet. Threats and insults were freely exchanged,

although the use of abusive language was expressly forbidden by the treaty. "Thief," "murderer," and "arch-heretic,"* were some of the epithets applied to Zwingli. But the Five Cantons did not content themselves with the mere use of invective. A vigorous persecution was raised against the poor people among them who loved the Word of God. They were fined, imprisoned, cruelly tormented, and expelled from their homes. Secret councils were held and threats of war were heard on every side. The evangelical cities, greatly alarmed by these warlike manifestations, assembled in diet at Basel, February, 1531, and again at Zurich in March. At the former of these meetings, the deputies of Zurich presented a long list of grievances alleged to have been suffered by them at the hands of the Five Cantons. "What can we do," inquired they, "to punish these base calumnies, and disarm our enemies?" "We understand," said Bern, "that you would resort to violence, but we bid you reflect that the Five Cantons are forming secret alliances with the Pope, the Emperor, and the King of France. Think also of the many innocent and pious people in the Five Cantons who would suffer in case of war. Think how

*Bullinger, II., p. 336.

easy it is to begin a war, but how hard to predict how it will end.* Let us rather send a deputation to the Five Cantons requesting the punishment, according to treaty, of those who have circulated these infamous slanders. Should they refuse to do this, let us break off all intercourse with them." "Such a mission would be useless," said the deputies of Basel, "let us rather summon a general diet." This proposal won general assent, and the diet was accordingly convoked at Baden on the 10th of April.

Many of the principal men of the Wald towns acknowledged and disapproved of the violence complained of by the Reform party. "These insults affect us no less than you," said they. "We will do what we can to bring the guilty to justice." At the same time they pointed out that the Reformed cantons were themselves guilty of violence similar to that of which they complained.

While the discussions of the diet were at their height deputies arrived from the Grisons with the intelligence that the Castellan of Musso, at the head of a body of troops furnished him by the Emperor, had invaded Valtellina, a valley subject to the Grisons. The diet was earnestly petitioned to lend help in repelling this unlawful

*Bullinger, II., p. 346.

inroad. The Grisons had accepted the Reformation, and the mutual suspicions existing between the Reform party and the adherents of the old faith led Zwingli falsely to discern in this invasion evidence of a vast conspiracy between the Emperor and the Pope to stifle the Reformation in Switzerland. "We must not hesitate," said he; "the rupture of the alliance on the part of the Five Cantons and the insults with which they load us impose upon us the obligation of marching against our enemies before the Emperor shall have expelled the Landgrave, and subjugated even ourselves." *

The majority of the cantons and towns were ready to render instant assistance to their unfortunate allies, but the Five Cantons refused to have any share in driving out the invaders. The Reform party felt that such conduct could not be passed over with impunity without exposing the federal compact to contempt. None felt this more strongly than Zwingli, and from this time he advocated the duty of repressing and holding them in check. There is great danger that we shall misjudge or fail to understand Zwingli in the zeal and activity which he manifested in this regard unless we carefully bear in mind the lofty

*Bullinger, II., p. 366.

principle that animated and guided him. Zwingli proceeded on the assumption that the Word of God is the rightful possession of all men, because God has given it to all for salvation. He conceived it to be his plain right and duty to restore the Word wherever it was withheld. He recognized in the divine Word alone the authority for what he did, and found himself called of God to secure for his countrymen the right that it be freely preached. To the accomplishment of this, he found, as he explained in his sermons, that the pensioners were the greatest obstacle in the way. "Zurich owes to the Confederacy," said he, "to insist that disgraceful insults, breach of faith, and tyranny meet with due punishment, and to lend its aid in preventing pious and innocent people from being relentlessly expelled from their homes in defiance of treaty and all principles of justice." In Zwingli's opinion there were two ways in which his purpose might be accomplished. The first way, and that to which he inclined as the more safe and expedient, was a sudden invasion of the territory of the Five Cantons by a force so overwhelming that their enemies would have neither power nor courage to resist. His second method, in case the first was not approved, was to dissolve the Confederacy in respect to the Five Cantons, and to portion

out to the cantons, on the basis of population, the common lordships. In this way he hoped to defend the Reformed cantons and the greater part of the common lordships from the control of the Romanists and the vitiating influence of the pensioners. Zurich favored a warlike invasion; Bern, although she acknowledged that the action of the Wald towns justified so extreme a measure, refused to consent, on the ground that such a step was too hazardous, since the Five Cantons were brave warriors and had powerful allies. "Why inaugurate a bloody, fratricidal war?" said Bern. "The treaty provides, in case its terms are not complied with, a way of enforcing them. Let us close our markets against the Five Cantons, and allow neither wine, salt, nor steel to be imported among them until they allow the Word of God to be freely read and preached in their territory and in the common lordships, and until they shall punish the slanderers of the evangelical party." Zurich, under the leadership of Zwingli, met this proposal with determined opposition, convinced that an armed invasion, though apparently more violent, was, nevertheless, safer and more humane. "By accepting Bern's proposition," said he, "we would sacrifice the advantages we now possess by giving the Five Cantons time to arm themselves

and fall upon us first. A just war God does not condemn, but wanton cruelty—the starving of the innocent with the guilty, the taking of bread from the mouths of the aged and the little children. Let us beware lest by such a course we alienate those who might otherwise be our friends, and transform them into foes.”* The other allies, however, especially Bern, firmly adhered to the policy of a blockade. Under these circumstances nothing remained for the Zurichers but to fall into line. Zurich and Bern promptly notified the Five Cantons of their determination and at the same time commanded the free bailiwicks to suspend all intercourse with them. On the following Sunday, which was Pentecost, the resolution was read from all the pulpits. Zwingli’s heart was filled with profound sorrow. After reading the resolution to his congregation he made the following observations regarding it: “He who hesitates to treat his adversary like a criminal must take the consequences. One must be ready to follow words with blows. Men of Zurich! ye refuse the Five Cantons meat and drink as though they were criminals. Rather, I say, let the blow follow your threats at once than that the poor innocent

*Bullinger, II., p. 384.

people among them should be subjected to the horrors of slow starvation. Think you that no sufficient ground exists for their punishment? Why then do you refuse them food and drink? Depend upon it, you force them by such measures to take up arms, march across the frontier, and punish you. So it will be." * The assembly was deeply moved by these forceful words. To some they seemed seditious; to others they were the strongest proof of the Reformer's anxious concern for the welfare of his beloved country.

The blockade being once determined on and proclaimed to the Wald towns by Zurich and Bern, it was enforced by them with the greatest stringency. Even the free bailiwicks, governed conjunctly by the Five Cantons, were prevented from furnishing provisions to their starving rulers—a severity which seemed, even to some of the Reform party, cruel and unjust. From the mountains and valleys of inner Switzerland came the angry, despairing cries of the Waldstätters, starving in the imprisonment of their own homes. Their misery was greatly aggravated by the scantiness of the harvest. There was no reserve of provisions, and when the blockade went into effect they immediately found them-

*Bullinger, II., p. 388.

selves in a state of famine. To this was added the horrors of the plague. The women, the children, the aged, and the infirm succumbed in great numbers to the deadly conditions which environed them. Even the flocks were deprived of the necessary salt. The agonizing cry of the Waldstatters found an ominous echo in the free cities outside of Switzerland, in the common lordships, and even in Zurich itself. "It is unchristian," said many. "The Gospel says, 'If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink; for in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head.' But you not only refuse food to enemies; you also withhold from the innocent the things which God freely gives for their support."

But the loudest cries and most earnest complaints were those which issued from the Five Cantons. The friends of Reform inhabiting these mountains, when they found themselves thus cruelly and indiscriminately punished, were stirred with profound indignation. Zwingli's enemies, especially the pensioners, took advantage of the ill-feeling which the blockade engendered to foster popular discontent in the Reformed cities, and to direct all the blame and reproach of this cruel and unchristian measure upon the head of the one man who had opposed it from the start,

and who had striven most assiduously to prevent its adoption.

The Five Cantons in their desperate straits sent to Alsace, Brisgau, and Swabia to obtain provisions, but so great was the activity and vigilance of the Reformed cities that these attempts ended in utter failure. Supplies from Germany were intercepted by Zurich and her allies and returned to those who sent them. In their dire extremity, perishing from famine between the mountains and lakes, the Waldstätters gave themselves up to the observances of worship. All games, dances, and other amusements were prohibited for the time, and general devotions, pilgrimages to Einsiedeln and other sanctuaries were ordained. In the Five Cantons the blockade led to vigorous, decided action and a union much closer than had existed before. In the Reformed cities, especially Zurich, it had a directly opposite effect. It destroyed all unity of public sentiment, operating like some powerful disorganizing poison upon the measures and policies of the state. The people were divided; party spirit increased, and many became bitter through violent discussion; the Council grew vacillating and inert in its proceedings. While dangers multiplied without, the faith and courage necessary to meet the new dangers died out within. In

the hour of her greatest peril and deepest dependency Reformed Switzerland failed longer to rely on the Word of God, the weapon with which she had hitherto won her victories. With trembling hand she grasped the sword of carnal warfare, entailing thereby all the melancholy consequences which we are now to relate.

In Zurich, each day witnessed some new cause of dissension. At Zwingli's advice the number of nobles in the two councils was diminished because of their sympathy with the mercenary service and opposition to Reform. Through this measure Zwingli incurred the hatred of many influential families in the canton. The millers and bakers, whose trade had been greatly crippled by the blockade, grew restless and irritated. Rudolf Lavater, bailiff of Kyburg, was appointed captain-general of the military forces—an act which gave great offense to officers who had been longer in the service than he. Many who had labored zealously for reform now vehemently and openly opposed it. All enemies of the Gospel boldly raised their heads and united in pointing out Zwingli as the author of all the evils into which the state had fallen. In this morbid, chaotic condition of the public mind it is not surprising that the man who for more than a decade by his exhaustless energy and

daring enthusiasm had conducted the Reformation along dangerous paths to such a glorious height should now have fallen so low in the popular esteem. But we are saddened and oppressed by the cruel injustice which would make him responsible for the results of a measure which he had opposed with all his might. Everywhere he was represented by his enemies as the sole author of the misery and strife of the times. He was publicly denounced as a demagogue, insurrectionist, and tyrant, seeking the favor of the peasants in order to reduce through their assistance the power of the towns. And the ignorant burghers who in the present condition of affairs saw their chalets, their property, and the lives and fortunes of their families in constant peril were all too ready to credit the libelous stories which they heard. Thus it happened that the man who during all these years of active and intense public service had occupied a lofty position in the popular esteem, especially in his own canton, suddenly found himself the man of all men most hated. One unanimous voice of condemnation was raised against him. Zwingli was heartbroken. With profound grief the strong man of affairs beheld a sudden paralysis settling down upon his efficiency as a servant of God. His days of usefulness seemed at an end.

On the 26th of July, 1531, Zwingli appeared before the Great Council and, in a voice quavering with uncontrollable emotion, requested that he be released from the duties and responsibilities of his position. "For the space of eleven years," said he, "I have preached the Gospel among you, and as a father have faithfully warned you against impending woes. But no heed has been paid to my words. The friends of foreign alliances and the enemies of the Gospel are elected to the Council, and while you refuse to follow my advice I am made responsible for every misfortune. I cannot accept such a position, and I therefore ask for my dismissal." The Council was surprised and overwhelmed by this speech. The city was in imminent peril, and if Zwingli retired from the leadership who was to be its deliverer? The two burgomasters and a few of Zwingli's most intimate friends were commissioned to confer with him and endeavor to dissuade him from his purpose. Zwingli asked for three days in which to formulate his decision. At the expiration of that time he appeared again before the Council and said that "inasmuch as amendment had been promised he would remain and do his best, with God's grace, until death." Zurich now seemed to throw aside her irresolution and act with her old-time energy. But it

was not for long. Party spirit, with all its blighting effects, reappeared with even greater force; while from the Five Cantons came indubitable proofs of their determination to compel the raising of the blockade by force of arms.

In the summer of 1531 a general diet was convoked at Bremgarten in the hope that all parties might arrive at an amicable settlement of existing differences. It was opened in the presence of deputies from France, Milan, Neuchatel, Grisons, Valais, Thurgovia, and the district of the Sargans. Five sessions were held. At the opening session, which convened in June, the chronicler Bullinger, pastor of Bremgarten, delivered an oration in which he earnestly exhorted the confederates to make peace. Hopeful signs appeared while the diet was in session. The blockade was less strictly enforced and in many places the feelings of animosity which separated the people were almost forgotten. Supplies were conveyed to the hungry Waldstätters over secret mountain roads or smuggled in with merchandise. Bern punished lightly those who were convicted of bearing food to the blockaded cantons, and sometimes closed her eyes entirely to offenses of this kind. Every effort was made by the deputies to restore peace; but the demands of the two parties were so directly opposed

that it was impossible to mediate. As a preliminary to entering upon any negotiations the Five Cantons demanded the raising of the blockade. Zurich and Bern refused to consent to this, and demanded in turn that the reading and preaching of God's Word should be freely allowed, not only in the common bailiwicks, but in the Five Cantons also. "It is more cruel," said they, in defense of this demand, "to deprive hungry souls of the bread of life than to deprive them of mere food for the body." Zwingli, who was ever ready to lay down his life for the Gospel, beheld with deep anxiety that the dangers and embarrassments of the situation were increasing daily, but it seemed to him that the open rupture which he was striving to avert was preferable to further inactivity. For this inaction he felt that Bern was principally responsible, and thinking that perhaps he might do something to rouse her, he repaired to Bremgarten during the fourth session of the diet, and in company with a few friends, held a conference with the Bernese deputies. To insure secrecy the journey was made at night, and the conference took place in the home of his friend Bullinger.* Zwingli in the most earnest terms begged the Bernese deputies

*Bullinger, III., p. 48.

to ponder the dangers to Reform. "From the treachery that prevails," said he, "I fear that matters will have an unfortunate ending. The embargo laid on provisions was a very inauspicious measure for the towns. If it be given up the pensioners will only be rendered more arrogant; if it be persisted in they will attack us and you will behold the fields red with the blood of believers, the Church of Christ laid waste, and our adversaries more hardened and irritated against the Gospel than ever." The Bernese promised to do all in their power to induce their government to adopt a more decided course of action.

That it might not be known to the delegates of the Five Cantons that he had been in the city, Zwingli quitted Bremgarten before daybreak. Bullinger accompanied him part way homeward. When the time for parting came Zwingli was seized with forebodings that he should never see him again. He thrice bade him farewell. "God preserve thee, dear Henry; remain faithful to the Lord Jesus Christ and his Church," were his last words to his friend and successor.

The feeling of dread and impending evil which filled men's minds was very much deepened and intensified by certain astronomical events that occurred about this time. Rumor and supersti-

tion played their accustomed part, and the hearts of the people were weighed down with the most gloomy apprehensions. In August of the year 1531 a comet * of unusual size appeared in the heavens. One night Zwingli, in company with his friend, George Muller, watched it from the churchyard, near the Great Minster. "What does this star signify, my dear Ulrich?" inquired his friend. "My dear George, it will cost me and many another man his life; but God will not desert us," he replied.† It was reported by a Bernese official that at a certain place in Aargau blood had been observed flowing from the earth in streams.‡ Another reported that at Zug a shield, suspended in the air, had been seen, and that gun shots had been heard at dead of night on the river Reuss. At another place banners were seen waving in the air, and a phantom fleet, manned by ghostly warriors, had been sighted cruising on the Lake of Lucerne. All these rumored portents of war inflamed men's minds to the highest pitch. Zwingli, on his part, saw the most evident signs of coming disaster to the Church and country in the growing power of the mercenary party; in the general demoralization which they had produced among the Evangelicals; and in

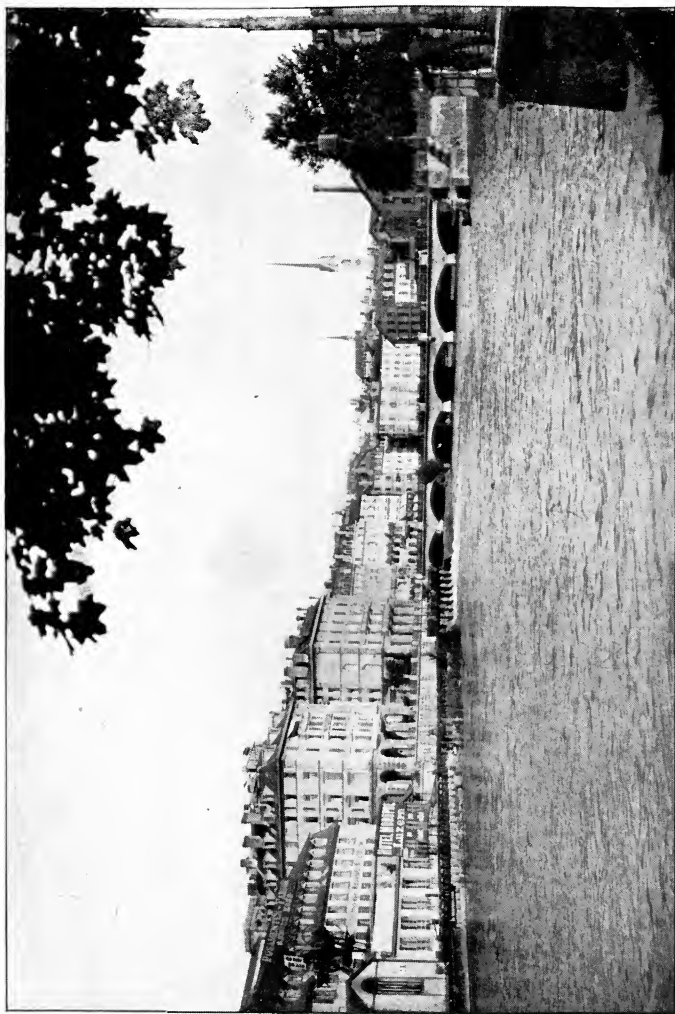
*Halley's comet.

†Bullinger, III., p. 46.

‡Op. Zw., VIII., p. 628.

the public faithlessness and treachery which they had everywhere induced. Nevertheless he thought that by remaining at his post he would recover, if not all, a large part at least, of his old-time authority and influence. In this he was deceived; for although the people wanted him as leader, they would not follow him. The Zurichers tamely adopted more and more the passivity and indifference of their Bernese neighbors, and became so stupefied, so motionless and dead, that the most inspiring counsels and vigorous exertions of the great Reformer could not rouse them. Once more, however, he raised his voice in earnest warning: "Be it so," said he; "no word of mine is of further use. You will not punish the pensioners who lift their heads so proudly. They have strong support among you; but for my strangling a strong chain is being forged and prepared. I am ready and submit myself to the will of God. But to thee, O Zurich, they will give the reward of iniquity, and will drive a stake through thy head; for so thou wouldst have it. Thou wilt not punish them, and they will punish thee. Nevertheless, God will preserve his Word, and will guide and protect his Church." *

*Bullinger, II., p. 52.



MODERN ZURICH.

View across the Limmat from the Platzpromenade, Landes-Museum.



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Once more the mediating cantons, assembled in diet at Aarau, endeavored to avert an armed conflict. It was proposed to leave the religious question just as it had been settled by the treaty of 1529. Zurich and Bern evinced a willingness to accept this proposal, but the Five Cantons haughtily rejected it. "We would rather die," said Lucerne, "than yield the least thing to the prejudice of our faith." This futile attempt of the mediators discouraged the reformers the more and gave confidence to their opponents. Although Zwingli never for a moment doubted the righteousness of his course, he became from this hour quite despairing concerning the conflict which he saw near approaching. Wearied and exhausted by the turbulence and anxiety of the times, a period of calm indifference now settled down upon him. Rumors of war ceased and men abandoned themselves to feelings of peaceful security. A very different condition of affairs prevailed in the Five Cantons. The Waldstatters were making quiet but vigorous preparations to recover their rights by force of arms. Assembled in diet at Brunnen, on the banks of Lake Lucerne, they had declared war against Zurich and Bern.

All the passes between the Five Cantons and Zurich had been carefully guarded so that no

news of the declaration or knowledge of their hostile movements could be carried from the valleys to forewarn their enemies. The scouts which Zurich had stationed about the Lake of Lucerne were made prisoners and could forward no information to their brethren. But notwithstanding the utmost exertion on the part of the Five Cantons, it was impossible entirely to conceal from Zurich the preparations for invasion that were being made. On the 4th of October the hostile movements of the Five Cantons were reported to certain friends of reform in the little town of Cappel. An earnest warning was despatched to Zurich; but no heed was paid to it. Zwingli himself refused to credit the report.*

On the 9th, an army of twelve thousand in number marched in the direction of Hitzkirch. Arriving in the free bailiwicks, the anger of the soldiers was kindled, on entering the churches, to see them stripped of their ornaments and the images and altars broken down. In a spirit of revenge they overran the country, pillaging and destroying in every direction. Toward evening of the same day the main division of the army, eight thousand strong, moved toward Zug, intending to march thence upon Zurich. Mean-

*Bullinger, III., p. 86.

while a scout who had been sent out by Lavater, the commander of the Zurich forces, to make a reconnaissance, returned after a most perilous journey with the alarming news that the Waldstätters were hastening to arms in great numbers near Zug.* It was high time for Zurich to awake from her sleep; but it seemed as if nothing could rouse her. On receipt of this news the Council assembled in small numbers, and, after despatching two of their number to Cappel to obtain information, adjourned. From the two messengers came the alarming report that on the borders of Zug the country people had already assembled to defend themselves and were complaining loudly of the negligence of Zurich. The messengers urged that troops be sent at once to meet the enemy, who were assembling at Baar. It was now evident to the dullest mind that an armed conflict was inevitable.

On the morning of October 10th the Great Council hastily convened, and after long and heated deliberation an agreement was reached to send Captain George Goeldli to Cappel with a detachment of six hundred men and a few pieces of field artillery. Goeldli and his com-

*Bullinger, III., p. 87.

mand reached Cappel that night.* After his departure, Captain-General Lavater summoned a council of war and urged that a general alarm be sounded calling all male citizens to the defense of the city and canton. But inasmuch as neither the captain-general nor the council of war had authority to issue such a call, it was necessary to await the action of the Council. The Council's consent was given, but it involved a delay of many precious hours. At seven o'clock in the evening the alarm bells began to ring. A storm of wind and rain accompanied by a slight earthquake added greatly to the terror and confusion of the hour. At midnight a detachment of troops was despatched to Bremgarten and another somewhat smaller was sent to Wädenswil. This was a grave mistake, as the events of the following day proved. Every man was needed at Cappel; for there the Five Cantons had concentrated all their forces.

In the morning the standard of Zurich was set up at the Town Hall, and under it Lavater stationed himself to muster in all who should gather about it. Slowly and half-heartedly the

*The little town of Cappel lies in a pleasant valley ten miles south of Zurich, and four miles north of Zug. Between it and Zurich rises the Albis range of mountains, the northernmost point of which is the Uetliberg, 2,865 feet above the sea. The highway from Zurich to Cappel winds along the Sihlthal, crossing the Albis at Albischochwacht, a point overlooking Cappel and the entire valley to the south.

Zurichers rallied about their leader. All was disorder and confusion. By ten o'clock a motley crowd composed of laborers, peasants, merchants, and ministers—without uniform, and bearing all manner of weapons—gathered about the standard. In the meantime messenger after messenger arrived in breathless haste from Cappel, announcing the terrible danger that threatened Zurich. With such a mob to command, Lavater found it impossible to maintain even a show of military discipline. Before the signal for departure was given a considerable number rushed off in the direction of Cappel. Zwingli, true to his custom on former occasions when the people of his parish had taken up arms, joined the standard in the capacity of field-chaplain. Clad in a shirt of mail, with a steel helmet on his head and armed with sword and battle-ax,* he issued from his house † near the Great Minster. Before mounting his horse a painful scene ensued as he bade farewell to his wife and children. Enervated by the

*Zwingli's sword, battle-ax and helmet have been carefully preserved, and repose at present in a glass case in the Armory of the Landesmuseum at Zurich. A ragged hole in the side of the helmet near the brim, from which a fracture extends to the crown, mutely testifies to the manner in which the Reformer met his death.

†The house stands in what is now Kirchgasse (No. 13), and is at present the residence of the sacristan of the Grossmünster. Over the entrance is a bronze tablet bearing the words: *Zwingli's official residence. From this house he went forth Oct. 11, 1531, with the forces of Zurich to Cappel, where he perished for his faith.* Zwingli's living-room and bedroom are shown to visitors, and it is probable that these have suffered little or no change since he occupied them.

severe strain of his recent labors and smarting under the reproaches and calumnies heaped upon him by his enemies, the presentiment that he should never see his dear ones again in this life proved almost too much for his stalwart heart. Summoning all his resolution, he turned to his horse, which reared violently the moment he touched the saddle—a bad omen as it seemed to the onlookers. But grasping the reins tightly in one hand and the banner in the other he applied the spurs and rode rapidly away to join Lavater and his nondescript command of seven hundred men. Oswald Myconius, who witnessed the departure, thus pictures it: “There was no order, no discipline, no heart; in short, there was the greatest confusion. The troops were scattered and were running hither and thither. Zwingli followed among the last horsemen, armed according to our custom. As I saw him, a sudden feeling of grief almost overpowered me.” *

Messenger after messenger from Cappel, meeting the troops on the way, urged them to hasten. On reaching the crest of the Albis, Captain William Tönig advised waiting until their column should be strengthened by further accessions

*Os. Myc. *Vita Zw.*, XII.

from Zurich, but the thunder of cannon came rolling up the valley, announcing that a battle was already in progress. Lavater led the troops forward at redoubled speed.

For the advance guard, which had left Zurich the previous afternoon, the night had likewise proved a stormy and eventful one. On arriving at Cappel the forces under Goeldli's command had taken up a strong position on the crest of a hill lying to the north of the town. The spot was, on the whole, admirably chosen; for there was a deep ditch defending the left flank, while not far distant from the right of their position, on the same ridge, was a piece of woods. In front of the Zurich line, reaching away to the south and east in the direction of Zug, was a swampy meadow the whole range of which could be easily commanded by the Zurich artillery planted upon the eminence. And it was here in this meadow that the Foresters, to the number of eight thousand picked men, had pitched their camp.

The troops of the Five Cantons having taken the customary oath of allegiance to the standard, an orderly was commissioned to carry the declaration of war to the commander of the Zurich forces. In the Zurich camp preparations for battle were already in progress when the orderly ar-

rived. A council of war was called and the declaration read. It was the unanimous opinion of the council that the forces at their command were inadequate to successfully withstand an attack. Some advised immediate retreat; others advised maintaining their present position until forced to retire; and when a vote was taken this was found to be the wish of the majority. But the session of the council was abruptly terminated by the arrival of a scout who reported that the enemy were advancing, and that the pickets stationed at the foot of the slope were falling back. There was no time for further deliberation. Far across the meadows and directly in front of the Zurich lines could be seen the Foresters, approaching as rapidly as the nature of the ground would permit. Before reaching fighting range they halted, finding the meadows well nigh impassable by reason of their miry condition and the tangled mass of vegetation that covered them. They retired to the slopes of the Ifelsberg, and having planted a battery there, at ten o'clock opened fire on the Zurichers. The Zurichers from their lofty position on the ridge promptly returned the fire. But owing to the great distance separating the hostile lines and the unskilful handling of the guns little loss was inflicted on either side. Perceiving this, the commander of the Five Cantons

once more ordered an advance across the morass. Slowly the Foresters moved down the slopes of the Ifelsberg. Again they found themselves hopelessly entangled, and this time exposed to the galling fire of the Zurichers. At this crisis of the action it seems probable that more competent leadership on the part of Captain Goeldli might have saved the day for Zurich and thereby profoundly affected the future religious history of Switzerland. As a field officer he committed a great blunder in leaving the wood on the right flank unguarded, and we are constrained to assert that it was something more culpable than a blunder when we consider that he was repeatedly and emphatically warned of this error by his fellow officers. Had Goeldli at this moment shifted his position to the wood and under its cover attacked the confused and struggling lines of the Foresters on the left flank he would have had them completely at his mercy. Meanwhile the reënforcements under Lavater had arrived upon the scene. The firing had now ceased. Councils of war were held on both sides, and, as evening was approaching, both decided to go into camp for the night. Unfortunately for Zurich, there was one man in the ranks of the Foresters who had not failed to note the fatal mistake of her commanders. This man, John

Jauch by name, taking with him a few trusty comrades, entered the wood, which, extending in a semi-circle, almost united the hostile lines, and creeping up within a short distance of the Zurich camp, perceived the melancholy disorder and general incaution that prevailed there. He hastened back to camp and implored his chiefs to advance through the wood and fall upon the right flank of the Zurichers without delay. The chiefs refused to listen. Brandishing his sword and exclaiming, "Let all true warriors follow me," * Jauch rushed off to the wood followed by about three hundred of his comrades. When they emerged from the cover of the forest night had settled down upon the valley, but the near glow of innumerable camp fires rendered other light or guidance unnecessary. Armed with spears and halberds, they fell savagely upon the Zurichers, who, taken wholly by surprise, were thrown into the wildest confusion. A frightful carnage followed. Lavater seizing his halberd rallied a few about him and led the charge. The Zurich artillery was trained upon the wood, but the aim was wild owing to the darkness and confusion. Nevertheless the Zurichers fought bravely and for a time held the enemy at bay.

*Bullinger, III., p. 125.

The bloody struggle was at its height when strong reënforcements hastening from the camp of the Five Cantons arrived on the scene. The Zurichers, resolutely contesting every inch of ground, were now driven back by the overpowering superiority of numbers. Their right flank had been turned and cut to pieces. The deep ditch which had protected their left flank was now in the rear, and toward it they were madly driven. Those who had escaped the slaughter turned and fled for their lives. In the darkness, confusion, and terror of the hour many fell into the ditch and there miserably perished. The Foresters were victorious. The battlefield was strewn with the pride of the inhabitants of Zurich to the number of five hundred. The list of dead included twenty-six members of the Great and Small Councils and sixty-five residents of the city. Zwingli had bravely maintained his place in the thickest of the conflict. In the faithful discharge of his duty as chaplain he was stooping down to offer a consoling word to a fallen comrade when a large stone, hurled by a Waldstätter, struck him on the side of the head, near the temple, and he sank insensible to the ground. When he regained consciousness and attempted to rise, a soldier who was passing by stabbed him with his spear. Contemplating the

wound, as his life-blood flowed from it, he exclaimed, "What does it matter! They may kill the body, but they cannot kill the soul." * These were his last words. After the battle, a Forester searching among the dead and wounded approached the spot where Zwingli lay. The Reformer's hands were clasped and his eyes, which were directed toward heaven, wore the fixed expression of one hovering between life and death. In the dim light of his torch the Forester perceived that the wounded man's lips were moving as if in prayer. Not knowing that it was Zwingli, he offered to fetch a priest to absolve his sins. Unable to speak, Zwingli declined the offer by a slight motion of his head. By this time a little group had assembled around the fallen but unrecognized Reformer, and inferring that he was of the Reformed faith from his continued refusal to accept priestly mediation, all joined in reviling him. At length one of the bystanders, an officer from Unterwalden, more zealous and cruel than the others, drew his sword and gave the dying man a fatal thrust. Thus, in the very prime of manhood, † in the very flower of his usefulness, perished the Reformer of Zurich, the

*Os. Myc. *Vita Zw.*, XII.

†Zwingli was 47 years, 9 months, and 11 days old when he died.

man who, as co-laborer with Luther in the Reformation of the Church, is entitled to share with him in large measure the credit and distinction of having been the founder of the movement.*

When morning came, the work of disposing of the dead began. A Forester discovered a body lying near a small pear tree † and was in the act of lifting it from the ground when he quickly let it fall. A glance at the face caused him to suspect that it was Zwingli. He called to his comrades and a crowd soon gathered, many of whom had seen Zwingli in life and were able, therefore, promptly to identify the body. A disgraceful scene, which reflects the religious rancor and bigotry of the times, ensued. A council was held over the body. Being adjudged a traitor to the Confederacy and a heretic to the Faith, formal sentence was given that it be first quartered and then burnt and the ashes scattered to the winds.‡ The sentence was promptly executed by the

*Bullinger, III., p. 136.

†In 1837 a monument was erected on the alleged spot where Zwingli expired. It stands but a short distance east of the highway and consists of a huge boulder embedded on a rock foundation. On one side is this inscription in Latin: *Here Ulrich Zwingli, who was with Martin Luther in the sixteenth century the founder of the emancipated Christian Church, died in the full hope of immortal life on the 11th of October, 1531, fighting bravely for truth and country.*

On the opposite side is this inscription in German: *You may kill the body, but you cannot kill the soul. So said Ulrich Zwingli, as on October 11th, 1531, he here lay dying for truth and for the freedom of the Christian Church.*

‡Myconius says that this disposition was made of the body to prevent its ever being recognized and recovered by friends and admirers. Os. Myc. *Vita Zw.*, XII.

hangman of Lucerne. "Men may destroy his body," wrote his friend, Leo Jud, soon after, "they may abuse and vent their rage against the innocent even after his death; but a brave man's death cannot be disgraceful, nor a saint's death miserable. He still lives, and will live, a hero forever, having bequeathed to posterity an imperishable memorial of priceless worth."

It was found that many of Zwingli's friends and co-laborers had shared his fate. Baron von Geroldseck, Abbot Joner, of Cappel, and more than a score of Reformed clergymen met death on the field. Captain Tönig was also among the slain.

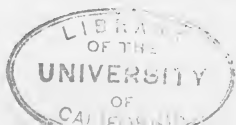
It was late evening of the fateful day when the dreadful news was brought to Anna Zwingli. She had spent the weary hours of that afternoon in prayer. Stunned by the message that her husband was slain, she seemed incapable of greater agony as fresh messengers from the scene of battle added blow on blow. Her son, Gerold Meyer von Knonau, her son-in-law and her brother-in-law were also numbered with the dead.

When Henry Bullinger became Zwingli's successor in the Great Minster at Zurich he proved his faithfulness and devotion to his friend's memory by taking Anna and her children into his

own home and treating them as members of the family.*

After Zwingli's death Romanists and Lutherans joined hands in vilifying his name and misrepresenting his work. Even in Zurich there were not a few who attributed to him all the misfortunes resulting from the defeat, and who therefore rejoiced over his untimely death. But in his native city and canton friends were more numerous than foes. In Bern, Basel, and the cities of Southern Germany, where the Zwinglian Reformation had gained a firm footing, were many who lamented his tragic end and loyally defended his memory. If, as the subsequent history of German Switzerland proves, Zwingli's followers suffered the work of reform to rest where he left it, it was not because they had ceased to believe in him or actively sympathize with the cause to which he had offered up his life. The battle of Cappel was a crushing blow to the Reform cause. The treaty which followed it, as dictated by the adherents of the Old

*Zwingli had four children—two sons and two daughters. The oldest, William, died at the age of fifteen. Ulrich, the next son, inherited in some measure his father's gifts as well as his name. As a clergyman and professor of Hebrew and theology he was for a long time actively connected with the Great Minster in Zurich. Regula, the older of the daughters, married Rudolf Gualther, pastor of St. Peter's in Zurich and editor of the first edition of Zwingli's works (1547). The younger daughter, Anna, died in infancy.



Faith and assented to by Zurich, removed forever all hope of further progress along the lines hitherto pursued.

While the dream of Zwingli—the extension of the Reformation to the Forest Cantons—failed of realization; while his theological views respecting the sacraments, because superseded almost immediately by the views of John Calvin, have had little influence on the doctrinal thought of Christendom; while as an aggressive movement the Reformation itself did not outlive the man to whom it owed its beginning; while the Protestant churches have so far forgotten their indebtedness to him as to be almost unacquainted with his name; nevertheless the labor of his life abides. The conquests made under his leadership remain unto this day; for German Switzerland at present is as dominantly Protestant as when Bullinger penned these words of triumphant eulogy: “Not to any person or age, but to God alone must be ascribed the victory of truth. Christ himself was put to death, but forty years later the ensign of the cross was raised over the ruins of Jerusalem. Truth, accordingly, does not triumph through not being tried; rather in trial does truth find its vindication. By the power of divine grace the Christian mounts to victory on wings of weakness. The victory follows in God’s

time; and with Him a thousand years are as one day. Nor are the rewards of victory bestowed on a single one, but every combatant receives a crown who suffers and dies for the truth."



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