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ART. I.—*A Practical View of Regeneration.*

*Archibald Alexander*

THAT human nature has lost that moral purity and perfection with which it was originally endued, is a truth which lies at the foundation of the Christian religion. Indeed, we see not how it can be denied by the deist, without casting a gross reflection on the character of God. It is only from the Scriptures, however, that we learn the origin of evil. Here we read, that God made man upright, but he hath sought out many inventions. Man being in honour continued not. When God created man he formed him in his own image and after his own likeness; and what that image consisted in, the apostle Paul informs us, when he speaks of the new creation. "And that ye be renewed in the spirit of your mind. And that ye put on the new man which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness." The phrase "after God," means after the image of God. This is expressed in the parallel passage, "Seeing that ye have put off the old man with his deeds, and have put on the new man, which is renewed in knowledge *after the image* of him that created him." By the fall this moral image was effaced. The mind which had been illumined by divine truth became spiritually blind; the heart whose exercises had been holy

other field for the exercise of her talents, and cease her efforts to untie the gordian knots of theology and metaphysics. As she has studied the art of education and is said to excel in that department, let her be content to shine as an eminent instructor of the youth of her own sex. Or if that would be too great a restraint upon her prolific mind, we sincerely advise her to follow the example of Hannah More, and expatiate as widely as she will in the extensive field of Christian Ethics, Practical Piety, and Christian Manners.

We trust that we have in no instance departed from Christian courtesy in this review. As reviewers, we have been placed in a new attitude, and if we have in any respect violated the laws of politeness, we are very sorry; for although we differ widely from Miss B. on many points, we entertain a high respect for her talents and her amiable temper. But we hope she will consent to leave theological, and ecclesiastical contention to male polemics, who delight in such warfare; or, who feel that it is a work which they are bound in duty to perform; and if our advice should have any influence in inducing her to adopt a course so well suited to her sex and her profession, our end will be attained; for as to converting her to our opinions, we are not so presumptuous as to cherish such a hope.

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ART. IV.—*Martin Luther at the Diet of Worms.\**

*Archibald Alexander*

As soon as it was determined that Luther should appear at Worms, his enemies endeavoured to bring it about that he should go thither without the imperial safe-conduct, but with that of the elector alone. In this way, they thought that Luther would either be deterred, or that he might more easily be seized. But the elector did not countenance this proposal of the emperor, and upon this was issued on the 26th of March, 1521, the imperial citation to appear at Worms within twenty-one days, with a safe-conduct, together with the Bull and the discourse of Aleander. The former had this remarkable superscription: "To the Reverend, Pious, and beloved Doctor Martin Luther, of the Augustinian order;" and neither of the instruments contained any

\* From the German of Marheineke. 1831.

mention of a recantation to be demanded. He was furnished with letters of protection from the princes through whose territories he was to pass, as well as from the Elector of Saxony and his brother John, and Duke George. As his personal escort Caspar Sturm was appointed Herald, under the title of Germany. On the same account the elector expressly wrote on the 12th of March to the bailiff and council of Wittenberg, commanding them to provide that no hinderance in word or deed should occur, and that, if necessary, he should have a guard, and a respectable outfit. Luther then set out, in God's name, with his herald, for Worms, accompanied by Justus Jonas, afterwards Prebendary at Wittenberg, Nicholas von Amsdorf, Peter von Schwaven, a Danish nobleman, and Jerome Schurf, a civilian of Wittenberg.

At the same time it was that the pope, in excess of contentious zeal, repeated the excommunication of Luther in another form. On Maundy Thursday, the 28th of March, in the notorious Bull *In coena Domini*, he included Luther among the other heretics who are annually condemned anew in the same way at Rome. "In the name (so it runs) of Almighty God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and by authority of the holy apostles Peter and Paul, and also our own, we do hereby denounce and curse all manner of heretics, (among whom are included the Arnoldists, Wiclefites, Hussites, and Fratricelli,) and also Martin Luther, lately condemned by us, for like heresy, together with all his adherents and such as show him favour that he may escape punishment, whoever they be, and all other heretics, as they may be named, and all their fautors, adherents, and retainers. We excommunicate and curse all pirates, all who in their territories institute new taxes or exact such as are forbidden; all who furnish horses, arms, iron or wooden work or other forbidden articles to Saracens, Turks, and other enemies of the Christian name, enabling them to contend with Christians," &c. This new anathema, however, did Luther no injury, especially as every one knew how it must be regarded by him. At a later period, he published it himself, with keen and vehement notes, pungent sarcasm and sparkling wit, under this title: "The Bull *Abendfressen*\* of our most Holy Father the Pope." At that period it was not uncommon to attack human passion and hypocrisy in religion, with these weapons of sarcasm and coarse wit; indeed

\* In allusion to the title of the bull, *in coena Domini*.

it was but a little before the appearance of this Bull that the famous painter, Lucas Kranach, published at Wittenberg a series of wood-cuts, entitled "The Passional of Christ and of Antichrist," with titles by Philip Melancthon. In general, all that Germany could then boast of poetry and art was arrayed on the side of the Reformation, and voluntarily came into its service. The two greatest masters of the imitative arts, Albert Durer and Lucas Kranach, were friends and followers of Luther, and celebrated by their productions the name of this reformer and of the chief defenders of the pure faith. In 1523, Hans Sachs, the Nuremberg minstrel, composed in honour of Luther the pleasing song which even now is everywhere familiar, under the title of the Wittenberg Nightingale.

The vehicle in which Luther travelled to Worms was given to him by the Council of Wittenberg, and drew from him a letter of courteous thanks. At Weimar, he received from Duke John a sum for his travelling expenses. At Erfurt his reception was particularly honourable. Crocus, at that time rector of the university, accompanied by Eobanus Hessen, Euricius Cordus, John Draco and others, forty being mounted and a large number on foot, received him two German miles from Erfurt, and escorted into the city the carriage or wagon in which Luther and his friends were journeying. Here and in all the streets through which the procession passed the throng became still greater. At the request of many he preached in the Augustinian convent. This entry and visit to Erfurt has been celebrated in four beautiful Latin poems by his friend Eobanus. At Eisenach he was sick. He was bled, and the mayor of the town gave him an excellent potion, after which he enjoyed a night's rest, and on the next day was able to continue his journey. Whenever he entered a town, multitudes of people met him, in order to see the brave man who had dared to withstand the pope. Some there were who gave him but poor encouragement, saying, that as there were so many cardinals and bishops at Worms, he would certainly be at once burnt to powder, as was Huss at Constance. But he replied, that if they should make a fire, between Wittenberg and Worms, that should reach up to heaven, he would nevertheless appear there, in the Lord's name, and in the jaws of Behemoth, between his very tusks, confess Christ, and recognise his dominion. From Frankfort he wrote to Spalatin, that he had heard of the promulgation of the imperial edict: "We are

coming, dear Spalatin, although Satan has laid a variety of ailments as stumbling-blocks in the way; for all the journey from Eisenach hither I have been indisposed, and am so even now, in a manner altogether unwonted. I hear likewise that a mandate of the emperor Charles has been published to alarm me. But Christ still lives, and in his name will we enter Worms, in spite of all the gates of hell, and the powers of the air. I have made up my mind to brave and to despise the devil. Prepare us a lodging forthwith.”\*

An attempt was made, by the practices of the Archbishop of Mentz, as Luther afterwards proved, to dissuade him from taking the direct road to Worms, in order that he might go to the castle of Ebernburg, and confer there with the wily Glassio. Possibly this took place in good faith, as that castle belonged to Francis of Sickingen, who in like manner sought a conference by means of Bucer. Luther, however, looked upon the worst side of the affair, being apprehensive of snares, and thought that they meant to detain him until the three remaining days of his safe-conduct should have elapsed. He therefore answered firmly, that he would go forward to the place whither he was called, and that he might be found at Worms. In Oppenheim he was counselled by Spalatin not to proceed directly to Worms, and thus place himself in so great jeopardy. But he replied to him, that he would go to Worms even if there were as many devils there as tiles upon the houses. In recounting this, a few days before his death, he added: “Thus reckless of consequences, can God make a man; I know not whether I should now be so light-hearted.”

On the 16th of April he arrived at Worms. Before the wagon rode the imperial herald with the eagle's arms, accompanied by his servant. Behind these came Justus Jonas with his academical Famulus. They were met by a number of the nobility, and at ten o'clock, when he entered the city, he was accompanied by more than two thousand men to his lodging, which was near the Swan, where Louis the Elector Palatine had his abode. In the same house with him were the Saxon Counsellors Frederick von Thunau and Philip von Feilitsch, both knights, and also Ulrich von Pappenheim the imperial marshal. This we learn from Veit Warbeek, a canon of Altenburg, who on account of his familiarity with the French language, was retained at the court of the Elec-

\* Ep. 309. De Wette. Ap. 14, 1521.—Tr.



tor Frederick; he gave an account of Luther's entry into Worms to Duke John the brother of the elector.

On the very next morning he was cited by Pappenheim, the hereditary marshal of the empire, to appear before the imperial council the same afternoon, and this gentleman himself called for him at four o'clock, and joined the herald in conducting him. So great was the throng in the streets, that many ascended the housetops to get a sight of him, and to avoid the press, they went through several houses and gardens. As Luther was about to enter the assembly-hall, the famous general George Frundsberg clapped him upon the shoulder and said: "Monkling, Monkling, thou art now on thy way to take a stand, the like of which I and many other captains have never taken in the fiercest conflicts. Now if thou art in the right, and sure of thy cause, go forward in God's name and be of good cheer, God will not forsake thee." Ulrich von Hutten had likewise encouraged him by two noble letters, inscribed "to Martin Luther, invincible theologian and evangelist, and my pious friend." The former of these opens thus: "The Lord hear thee in the day of trouble; the name of the God of Jacob defend thee; send thee help from the sanctuary, and strengthen thee out of Zion; grant thee according to thine own heart and fulfil all thy counsel; hear thee from his holy heaven with the saving strength of his right hand. For what else, at this time, should I wish for you, most worthy Luther, my honoured father? Be of good cheer; be strong. You see what a game lies before you and how much is at stake. From me you have every thing to hope. If you stand firm you shall have me by your side until my last breath." Even in the assembly of chiefs, princes, counts, barons, bishops, and other deputies, there were those who gave public expression to their sympathies. According to the account of an eye-witness, there were more than five thousand spectators, German and Italian, in the hall, and ante-chamber, and around the windows.\* On every side Luther was encouraged, to be confident and not to fear such as could only kill the body. Marshal Pappenheim (the Pappenheims became counts at a later date) reminded him that as now standing before the emperor and other dignities, he must speak nothing except as he might be questioned. John von Eck or Eckius, the official of

\* George Vogler, secretary to the Margrave of Brandenburg. *V. Mensel's Hist. lit. Mag.* 1802. I. p. 207.

Treves, then came forward, and in the name of the emperor asked whether he acknowledged for his own certain books which were pointed out as lying before him, and whether he was willing to recant their contents. Upon this, Dr. Schurf, who had been assigned to him as his advocate, cried out, that the books ought to be designated by name; and when this was done, Luther answered affirmatively to the first question, but prayed for more time to answer the second, which was allowed by the emperor. Indeed it was in the highest degree becoming to his own dignity, and that of this illustrious assembly, to evince the greatest caution, in these high and holy affairs, and utterly to exclude every thing that might betray levity, want of solemnity, or stormy passion.

As he was now summoned to a second appearance before the diet, the interest and avidity of public expectation were increased, with regard to his decisive answer. To this audience he was again conducted by the herald, about four o'clock. He was however under the necessity of standing and waiting in the midst of a great multitude, until six o'clock. At this hour the torches in the council-hall were burning. When he was at length introduced, and allowed to speak, he delivered himself in the German language as follows:

“Most serene Emperor, and you, gracious Electors, Princes and Lords; as an obedient subject I appear at the limit yesterday assigned to me, and pray, by the mercy of God, that your majesty and serene highnesses, as I hope, will graciously hear these true and righteous things. And if peradventure, from ignorance, I should withhold from any one his due title, or in other respects should exhibit an uncourtly demeanour, I crave your forbearance, inasmuch as I have never been at court, but always confined to the cloister; and of myself can offer only this, that in whatsoever has been heretofore taught and written by me in the simplicity of my heart, I have intended and sought only God's glory, and the profit and salvation of Christian believers, to the end that they might be rightly and purely instructed.” And here he made a distinction among his books. Some there were, in which he taught correctly and in a Christian manner concerning faith and good works, his adversaries themselves being judges. These he could not revoke. Yea, said he, even the pope's bull, hot and hasty as it is, nevertheless makes some of my books harmless, though by an unnatural and monstrous decision it denounces the same. In a second class of

works, he attacked popery and popish doctrine, which by false teaching and bad example had desolated Christendom in body and soul. For experience shows, and all pious hearts bewail, and hence no man can gainsay or dissemble it, that by the pope's law and doctrines of men, the consciences of believers have been entangled, burdened and tormented in a way the most lamentable and horrid; and their property, lands, and possessions, especially in this renowned German nation, exhausted and devoured with incredible tyranny, as indeed they continue to be devoured in the most unrighteous way up to this present hour. These books, therefore, he could not revoke, for by so doing he should strengthen tyranny and corruption. "And O," cried he, "what a tool should I thus become to hide the shame of all villany and despotism!" The third class of his books comprised those aimed at certain private persons, who presumed to defend Romish tyranny, and to falsify or suppress the godly doctrine which he had taught. In these he had sometimes evinced more heat than became his calling, yet he could not revoke even these, lest he should give occasion hereafter for the defence of every ungodly thing, and lead the way to new abomination and fury. "Nevertheless," continued he, "since I am man and not God, I can no otherwise support or defend my books than as my Lord and Master did with regard to his doctrine; who when he was examined before the high priest Annas concerning his teaching, and was smitten by one of the officers, answered: If I have spoken evil bear witness of the evil. If then the Lord, who knew that he could not err, refused not to hear testimony against his doctrine, even from a poor sorry menial, how much more should I, who am dust and ashes, easily liable to error, crave and await whatever witness may be alleged against my teaching. Therefore I pray your imperial, electoral, and princely highnesses, as also all others high or low who may be able, by the mercy of God, that you would bear witness, and prove by prophetic and apostolic Scriptures that I have erred, and when I am convinced I will be willing and ready to recant all my errors, and be the first to commit my poor writings to the flames. And here I clearly and publicly declare that I have fully considered the distress and danger, the stir and variance, which will be awakened by my doctrine, and of which I was severely reminded yesterday. And of a truth it is to me the greatest pleasure and joy to see that contention and discord arise about God's word, for this is the very



way and course and fortune of God's word. Wherefore we should well consider how wonderful are the counsels and judgments of God, lest perchance that which we pretend leads to discord and contention, should result, (if in the confidence of our own strength and wisdom we should begin by persecuting God's word) in a frightful flood of invincible peril of both bodily and spiritual misfortune and injury. And we should beware lest the reign of this famous and excellent young prince, the Emperor Charles, (in whom under God our hope rests) have not only its beginning, but its middle and end, evil and ungodly. I could much more fully explain and illustrate this point by examples from the holy Scriptures, as for instance by the case of Pharaoh, the kings of Babylon and of Israel, who involved themselves in the greatest misfortune and destruction, mainly because they thought to quiet and sustain their realms by most wise plans and counsels. For there is one who taketh the wise in their own craftiness; who removeth the mountains and they know not. Job 5: 13. 9: 5. Therefore it is needful to fear God. This, however, for the sake of brevity I now omit. And even what I say, is not from the notion that such great princes stand in need of my instruction or advice, but because I ought not and will not withhold my bounden duty from the German nation, my dear native country; and with this I do most humbly and submissively beseech your highnesses, that you will not suffer me to be disturbed without cause by my adversaries."

Thus, and at much greater length, Luther spoke in German. It was well known, however, that the emperor understood Spanish better than German, and moreover could not endure the German language, "and therefore (so Luther himself relates) as I so spake, they begged that I would repeat the same once more in Latin words; but I was sorely overheated by reason of the throng, and from standing below the princes. Then said Frederick von Thunau, If you cannot do it, Sir Doctor, that is enough. However, I repeated every word in Latin; this pleased Duke Frederick the elector exceeding well."\*

All this was uttered by Luther in the most humble and submissive maner. He elevated his voice but little in speaking, evinced no passion, but spoke courteously, modestly and

\* It is to be regarded as a mere failure of memory, when Spalatin, otherwise well-informed, says: "Luther made his speech first in Latin then in German."

discreetly throughout, but with great cheerfulness and resolution. But when the official of Treves now interposed and sharply demanded a plain direct answer, Luther replied: "Since then your highnesses demand of me a simple, unequivocal and direct answer, I will give you this, which has neither teeth nor horns; I believe neither pope nor councils alone, since it is clear as day that they have often erred, and contradicted themselves. Therefore, until I am overcome and convinced by testimony of holy Scripture, or by open, plain and clear grounds of reason, my belief is so confirmed by the passages I have produced, and my conscience so bound by the word of God, that I cannot and will not retract any thing. Here I stand, I cannot do otherwise. May God help me! Amen!"

"When I had thus spoken, (says Luther in his narrative) I was permitted to withdraw, and two persons were appointed to accompany me. Upon this a tumult was excited, and some of the nobles cried out to inquire whether I was led out under arrest; but I replied that these simply accompanied me. And so I came again to my lodging, and returned no more to the imperial council."

The cheerful confession of the truth which Luther here made in the face of the whole German empire, won him the hearts of many nobles and princes, even those who subsequently did not stand firm in professing the gospel, and also such as for other reasons had hitherto concealed their approbation. The old Duke Erich of Brunswick sent him for his refreshment a silver tankard of Eimbeck beer. Luther asked what prince it was who showed him this grace, and when he was told who it was, and that he had himself previously drunk out of the tankard, he was relieved from all suspicion, and said while he partook of it: "As Duke Erich has remembered me to-day, so may our Lord Christ remember him in his final conflict." The duke called to mind these words in his last moments, and desired Francis von Kramm, one of the pages who attended at his bedside, to strengthen him with evangelical consolation.\* It is certainly true, says the excellent Spalatin, that God honoured Doctor Martin in such manner at the diet, that he was the object of greater attention than all the princes and gentry. As long as he sojourned at Worms, his inn was full of people. Besides other counts and gentlemen, I have with my own eyes seen at his lodg-

\* Seckendorf. German, p. 354.

ings, Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, William, Duke of Brunswick, and Count William of Henneberg. And our gracious Duke Frederick, Elector of Saxony, was so full of admiration at the christian, intrepid answer of Doctor Martin, uttered both in German and Latin before his imperial majesty and the high estates of the empire, that just before supper, as he was about to retire to the bath, casting his eye on me, he gave me a sign to follow him into his closet, and when I entered, his grace said with every mark of admiration, "Well indeed has Father Martin spoken before the emperor and the estates of the empire; perhaps with too much fire."—"My noble master (adds Spalatin) was somewhat timorous; for while he certainly loved Doctor Martin, and would have suffered greatly if any evil had befallen him, and also was unwilling to offend against the truth of God, still he was not prepared to commit himself with the emperor."

We perceive how truly Luther's affairs were an object of the elector's care and attention, from certain letters which this prince wrote with his own hand, during the diet, to his brother John. In one of these, dated January 16th, and of course before Luther was cited, he says among other things, that he discerns how Luther is daily plotted against, in order that he may be put under the ban of outlawry by the pope and the emperor, and that every means was employed to get him into their power. "This," he adds, "is the work of the men who swagger in red hats, and the Romans with their retainers." He further says, that on that very day the Landgrave Philip had arrived with six hundred horsemen, many of them valiant men, and that this prince had immediately come to see him, and his father-in-law Duke George. The latter conversed in a friendly way with the elector. How his heart really stands, he adds, God only knows. On the 30th of January he writes, that Martin's affairs were in the same condition as when he had lately written, but he hoped that God's truth would eventually come to light. In another letter of March 25th, he laments the onerous business to which he was subjected, and that he spends eight or nine hours every day in the council-hall. "Doctor Martin is cited hither, but I know not whether he will come. Every thing goes on tediously and I am unable to promise much good." On the 16th of April, he writes, "I know not whether Luther will come; orders have been promulged against him;" meaning those concerning the surrender of his books. "The cardinals and bishops are sternly opposed to him; may God

turn all to the best! Would God I could render Martin some service; I should not fail so to do." On the 23d of April, when Luther had been admitted to his audience, he writes, "If it lay in my power I would gladly uphold Luther in every thing righteous. I assure you, that you would be astonished if I were to relate how I have been harassed on account of these matters. It seems that they have no other intention than to hunt him down, and drive him to extremity. Whoever betrays the least favour towards him is accounted a heretic. May God, who surely will not forsake the righteous cause, direct it for the best! Concerning his discharge I will write in my next." On the 5th of May; "Martin's affairs have come to such a pass that he must be driven into exile; it cannot be prevented; but the event is with God. If by God's help I come to you I will relate wonders. For you must know that not only Annas and Caiaphas, but also Pilate and Herod are against Luther."\*

Not long after this, further attempts were made by various persons to induce Luther to recant. Among these was the popish theologian Cochlaeus, (his true name was Löffelmann, or Löffler, and Luther often called him Rotzlöffel, or *impertinent coxcomb*); he was afterwards Luther's bitter enemy, although he made a merit of having shed tears in the greatness of his desire that the recantation should take place. There were not a few who thought that the best way of dealing with Luther, was to deny him a safe-conduct on his return.† Among these was the Elector of Brandenburg, but not only the emperor and elector Palatine, but also strange to say Duke George of Saxony, resolutely opposed this. In this controversy, Louis the elector Palatine, with whom, as Mathesius says, German tranquillity and peace were buried, fell into such a quarrel with Joachim the elector of Brandenburg, that, as Luther relates, they drew their knives. Duke George declared frankly, that the princes of Germany would never allow so gross a scandal as that a safe-conduct should be violated, at the very first diet of their emperor; that this was not consistent with ancient German honour; what one promises he must perform. This was well said, and in a princely spirit, though by one, who in other respects was a zealous foe.

It was still hoped that Luther might be influenced by pri-

\* Seckend. Weim. Arch. lat. p. 158. Germ. p. 365.

† Sleidan. l. p. 148.



vate conversation. In a conference of this nature, in which Richard, archbishop of Treves, Joachim, Elector of Brandenburg, Duke George and certain counts and imperial delegates took part, Dr. Vehus, chancellor of Baden, led the discourse; and afterwards the Elector of Treves took him into a chamber apart, where were present Cochlaeus and the official Eck. On the next day, April 25th, Vehus brought forward the same business, morning and afternoon, with Dr. Peutingger. But the Elector Frederick was unwilling that Luther should deal with these alone, and sent some of his own council. Finally the archbishop of Treves undertook the matter himself, on which occasion Luther said, that he knew no better advice than that of Gamaliel: "If this counsel or this work be of men, it will come to nought; but if it be of God ye cannot overthrow it." He added, "If my work be not of God, it can endure only two or three years, but if it be of God, it cannot be overthrown." And when the elector inquired whether something could not be effected as to the recantation of certain articles, Luther answered, "Yes, gracious sir, provided they are not those which were condemned at Constance." "Those" said the elector "are the very articles I intend." "As to these," said Luther, "I cannot move, happen what may."\*

At length the desired discharge from Worms was granted to him. The official of the electorate of Treves and the emperor's private secretary explained to him, that as he had refused to yield himself to the unity of the church, notwithstanding many admonitions, their majesties must henceforth regard their character as defenders of the catholic faith; they therefore commanded him to betake himself to some place of safety, under safe conduct, within twenty-one days, and meanwhile not to disturb the people by preaching or writing. Luther answered, "As it seemed good unto the Lord so hath it happened, blessed be the name of the Lord." He further gave hearty thanks to the emperor, electors and princes of the empire, in the most humble and submissive terms, for the audience he had enjoyed, and for the safe-conduct which had been accorded to him and was now continued. For he said he had sought nothing save that the Reformation according to holy Scripture for which he had been instant in prayer, should be set on foot and completed. In all things else, he was ready to do and suffer any thing for their majesties and

\* Spalatin, I. 46.

the empire; life and death, honour and disgrace, and to count all these nothing if only he might freely declare the word of God. And finally he solemnly and respectfully recognised his entire subjection to the emperor and the realm.\*

In this manner Luther left Worms on the 26th of April, taking leave of his friends after an early meal. From Friedberg, where he arrived on the 28th, he sent back the herald who had accompanied him, being now in the Hessian territory; and gave him two letters, of which one was to the emperor, and the other to the states of the empire. In these, after a relation of all that had occurred at Worms, he laments that his doctrine had not been examined by means of the Scriptures, and renders courteous thanks for the *salvum conductum*. He concludes his letter to the emperor with these words: "These things I pray most submissively, not in my own name merely, for I am of no account, but in the name of the whole church; which has also moved me to send back this letter. For with all my heart I desire that your imperial majesty, the whole empire, and the illustrious German nation may be prosperously directed, and kept happy in the grace of God. Nor have I hitherto sought any thing but God's glory and the common salvation of all, not consulting my own profit; whether my adversaries condemned me or not. For if my Lord prayed for his enemies when he was upon the cross, how much rather ought I, with joy and trust in Christ, to be solicitous, to pray and to supplicate for your majesty, for the whole empire, and for my dear progenitors and the whole German nation, for whom I entertain every good hope, confiding in the foregoing representation."†

At his departure from Worms he was strictly commanded to forbear preaching; but he by no means consented to this condition, reserving to himself that God's word should not be bound, and that he should be free to profess and declare it. He therefore preached at Kirschfeld; where the abbot who was a Benedictine, and one of the princes of the empire, received him with extraordinary honour and even constrained him to preach, although Luther reminded him that he might thereby lose his abbacy. At Eisenach also he delivered a discourse. As he now turned aside from his course in order to visit certain friends near Salzungen, he was suddenly seized by a number of horsemen in disguise, taken

\* Spalatin, I. p. 48.

† We have, of course, preferred the original Latin letter, De Wette, vol. 1. ep. 312. date Ap. 28, 1521.

out of his wagon, set on a horse, and after a circuit of some hours in the forest, brought about eleven o'clock at night to the castle of Wartburg near Eisenach. It was here that the ancient landgraves of Thuringia had their residence. Luther soon found that his captors were kind foes, acting agreeably to a plan of the elector, and with the privity of John of Berlepsch governor at Wartburgh, and Burkhard Hund lord of Altenstein and Waltershausen.

The emperor being a young Spaniard, rather than a German, perpetually surrounded by foreigners, and practised upon by the popish legates, had sent a schedule to the diet, immediately upon Luther's audience, of the following import: "Inasmuch as Luther will not retract, the emperor following the example of his predecessors must defend the ancient faith, and the see of Rome, and pronounce a ban upon Luther and his adherents, nevertheless securing the safe conduct."\*

As the young and impetuous prince, however, acted in this matter contrary to all the precedents of the diet, and without previously collecting the suffrages of the princes, it was deemed proper to take the business into consideration. Yet this sufficiently evinced the mind of the emperor and of his advisers and what might be expected to ensue.

The Elector of Saxony, on account of indisposition, had left Worms, and a number of other princes had also departed. The emperor passed immediately into Spain, where war and insurrection required his presence.† On the 26th of May this imperial edict was published, bearing the appearance much more of a papal bull than a decree of the empire. By virtue of this, Luther (and his adherents were included) was declared to be an open heretic, under ban and outlawry, his books were prohibited, and all who should protect him were subjected to the same penalty. All his crimes are rehearsed, and his books and their theological contents reviewed. Among other things it is said, that Luther's doctrine is contrary to the doctrine of the seven sacraments, of holy matrimony, the holy eucharist, confession, priestly orders, the see of Rome, the mass, fasting and prayer, the fathers and councils. Moreover, he had written nothing but what tended to uproar, discord, war, murder, robbery, conflagration, and the total downfall of the Christian faith. For he inculcated a

\* Seckendorf. p. 355.

† Sleidan, p. 170. Robertson ii. p. 250.

licentious, self-willed life, loosed from all law, utterly brutish, —showing himself to be a licentious, self-willed and brutish man, who condemned and trampled on all laws, as he had been neither ashamed nor afraid to denounce decrees and spiritual enactments. “And, in fine, to omit the remainder of Luther’s innumerable wickednesses, he has, not like a man, but rather the evil spirit himself, in man’s form and with the assumption of a monkish cowl, gathered together sundry gross, long-hidden and condemned heresies of many heretics, into one stinking pool, and added to these others of his own invention; and all this under pretext of preaching that faith which he uses his utmost labour to impair, and under the name and guise of evangelical doctrine to overturn and suppress all evangelical peace, love and good order.” It was also said, that the powers now convened at Worms had agitated the subject with the greatest care, and with the clearest determination had concurred in this decision.\* But in reality the diet had been already dissolved with all formality before this edict saw the light. The subsequent meetings of those who adhered to it were held not in the council-hall, but in the emperor’s private chamber. They moreover appended to the edict the date of May 8, to cause a belief that the assembled electors, princes, and states of the empire had taken part in it. That this could never have been the case, is plain enough from the nature of the transaction, and still more from the unfavourable reception which the edict met almost throughout all Germany, even before the ink with which it was written was dry, as the cardinal Julius de Medici, afterwards Pope Clement VII. expressed himself. Sleidan says explicitly, that it was the work of a few.† The contents and temper of the instrument may be judged by any one who is informed that it was drafted by Aleander.‡ He had here expressed and made public, as if officially, all the venom which had been boiling in his breast. For what though a league of more than four hundred nobles (as Pallavicini relates) was formed for Luther, or that the troops of Francis of Sickingen were in readiness, or that Hartmuth of Kronenberg, one of the most accomplished cavaliers of the age, had in utter disgust renounced his service to the emperor, which had brought him in two hundred ducats; still as this imperial-papal edict exactly reached the end of setting the Ger-

\* Luth. Op. XV. 2264.

† Sleidan, p. 163.

‡ Sarpi Hist. du Cone. de Trente. ed. le Courayer. I. 35.



man princes with their people at variance among themselves, it accomplished precisely what Aleander had intended and declared: "Even though you Germans choose to cast off the Roman yoke, we shall nevertheless effect such a havoc in Germany by this edict, that you will tear one another to pieces, and be strangled in your own blood."\* It was not, as Frederick Schlegel says,† Luther's appearance at the diet, but the manner in which he was treated, that gave the first occasion for the dissolution of the German empire, and the disruption of the German people, which of necessity took place afterwards. At this diet there was seen no vestige of ancient German freedom, and of the laudable institution which made such diets truly national councils; for in order that it might not consist of mere secular lords and stupid dunces, there sat in the princes' council, archbishops, bishops and abbots.‡ But it was their duty to consult for the well-being of church and state in the German empire, and seriously and intelligently to discuss religious affairs. Even if this was not the proper time for disputation, yet both time and place were in the highest degree proper for considering the spiritual and eternal welfare of the German states, connected as for centuries this had been with their external prosperity. From the tenor of the imperial writs it had been expected that these religious affairs would constitute a leading topic of the discussions; for the words of the emperor imported that the diet was convened almost solely for this end. But now at length this edict was fabricated at the very close, as something supplementary; it was done in darkness, in a partial manner, and by few persons, and was then promulgated as the decision of the diet. "What grief has been experienced," says Ulrich von Hutten in a frank epistle to the noble counsellor Pirkheimer of Nuremberg, "by every German heart, at the wretched issue of this diet. His refusal to retract, is enough, it seems, to subject this man of God to extreme condemnation. Blessed God! where will these things end! I truly believe that it will now be made apparent, whether Germany is governed by princes, or by

\* Seckend. lat. I. p. 158. Eia, si nihil adeo praeclare his Comitibus effecimus, tamen certum est, nos magnam hoc edicto in Germania laniationem concitare, qua Alemanni, ipsi in viscera sua saevientes propediem in proprio sanguine suffocantur. Scult. Annal. I. p. 75.

† Vorlesungen u. d. neuere Geschichte.

‡ Besides the emperor and the archduke Ferdinand, there were 6 electors who were also prelates, 24 dukes, 8 margraves, 30 bishops, &c.

well-dressed stocks. For the ecclesiastics determine nothing in Luther's case, but superlative wickedness and villany. Over Luther's last letter to me, I could do nothing but weep, when I read how unjustly he had been treated. Among other things, this was one, that he received his discharge under a command not to preach the word of God on his way home. O abominable outrage! O crime demanding the remediless wrath of God! thus to trammel God's word, and to stop the mouth of an evangelical teacher. Look to this, ye Christian princes! What will foreign countries say of this? I blush for the land of my fathers."\*

In the preface to the Exposition of the 37th Psalm, Luther himself speaks thus concerning the transactions at Worms. "What a mockery have they introduced! I had hoped that the doctors and bishops there present would have given me a righteous examination; instead of this, the sole judgment was that I must recant. Through God's grace, this proposal was not agreed to by all the princes and nobles, or I should have been mortally ashamed of Germany, that she should have yielded herself to be thus befooled by the popish tyranny." He also wrote to Master Lucas Kranach, the artist, then at Wittenberg: "I supposed that his imperial majesty would have convened some fifty doctors, and have clearly refuted the monk. Instead of this, the whole transaction was no more than this, *Are the books thine?—Yes.—Wilt thou recant or not?—No.—Away with thee.* Alas for us blind Germans!"† And further to Spalatin: "It is no wonder that Charles is involved in war. The unhappy young man, who at Worms, at the instigation of evil counsellors, openly rejected the truth, will never more have prosperity, and will receive his punishment in the wickedness of foreigners; he will also involve Germany in his disaster, since she concurred in his ungodliness. But the Lord knoweth them that are his."

\* Luth. Works, XV. p. 2322.

† Luth. Works, XV. p. 2173.