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ART. I.—1. *Des Propheten Jesaja Weissagungen. Chronologisch geordnet, übersetzt und erklärt von* Carl Ludwig Hendewerk, Doctor der Philosophie, Licentiat der Theologie und Privatdocent an der Universität zu Königsberg. Erster Theil. Die protojesajanischen Weissagungen. Königsberg. 1838. 8vo. pp. cxxxi. 731.

2. *Notes: Critical, Explanatory, and Practical, on the Book of the Prophet Isaiah; with a New Translation.* By Albert Barnes. Boston and New York. 1840. 3 vols. 8vo. pp. 517, 438, 770.

3. *The Book of the Prophet Isaiah, translated from the original Hebrew: with a Commentary, Critical, Philological and Exegetical: to which is prefixed an Introductory Dissertation on the Life and Times of the Prophet; the Character of his Style; the Authenticity and Integrity of the Book; and the Principles of Prophetical Interpretation.* By the Rev. E. Henderson, D. Ph., Author of "Lectures on Divine Inspiration," "Biblical Researches and Travels in Russia," "Iceland," etc. London: 1840. 8vo. pp. xxxvi. 450.

HERE are three books on Isaiah, published within as many years, and in as many different countries. This shows,

ART. II.—*Huldreich Zwingli's Werke. Erste vollstandige Ausgabe durch Melchior Schuler und Joh. Schulthess.* Zurich.—*Huldrici Zuinglii Opera. Completa Editio prima, curantibus Melchiore Schulero et Jo. Schultessio.* Turici. 1828—1836. Seven volumes royal octavo. James W. Alexander

THE History of the Reformation, after all the volumes which the event has produced, is still to be written. To the complete view of such a revolution, extending over so great a portion of the civilized world, there is indispensably necessary a body of evidence which it takes generations to bring together. During the progress of great actions, men's minds are so absorbed in the changes of which they are a part, that little care is bestowed upon matters of record. Papers and books are allowed to perish, and witnesses die off with all the valuable knowledge which they possess. After many years, when the sources of exact information, like the books of the sibyl, become precious from their rarity, a few antiquaries lead the way in searching among the rubbish of libraries, and sometimes succeed in awakening a general zeal for the same object. It is to such endeavours that we owe the numerous publications which are now in progress of documents pertaiaing to the Reformation from popery. Among these a high place is due to the correspondence of the Reformers themselves. We bring before the view of our readers the first complete edition of the works of the great Swiss Reformer.

The first two volumes contain the German works: all the rest are in Latin. Most of these works are on the cardinal doctrines of Christianity. This will surprise such as have read Dean Milner's assertion, in derogating from the excellence of Zwingle, that "his time and thoughts were for years entirely taken up with the sacramental controversy, and with disputes respecting baptism."* If this were true, it would only show his zeal against unscriptural teaching: it is however so far from the truth, that out of six volumes, averaging 600 pages each, all the writings on the subjects named by Milner do not occupy 500 pages.

There is reason to believe that a part of the correspond-

* Vol. V. page 584.

ence is yet to appear, as the latest date in the seventh volume is December 1526. No memoir of the author is given, but we shall endeavour to supply this deficiency from other sources. For this our chief reliance will be upon Gerdesius, Hess, and the recent life of Zwingle in the fifty-second volume of the Biographie Universelle, which is known to be from the pen of Labouderie.* But we shall draw largely from the works themselves, especially the correspondence, and the historical and bibliographical prefaces of Schuler and Schultess.

Ulrich Zwingle was born on the first day of January, 1484, at Wildenhausen, in the county of Toggenburg.† His father, though a peasant, was Amman, or magistrate of his little Alpine village, and gave the son the opportunity of acquiring a good education. The youth received his elementary training at Basle and then at Berne, under Henry Lupulus, a scholar of great celebrity. The Dominicans discerned his genius, and sought to gain him for their order, but his father, in order to remove him from their seductions, sent him to finish his studies at the university of Vienna. Here he seems to have learnt little more than the astronomy, physics and metaphysics of that age. On returning to his native land, after an absence of two years, he went again to Basle, where he was soon made regent. Scarcely eighteen years old, he devoted himself with ardour to the studies of the place, and acquired a profound knowledge of the languages in which he was expected to give lessons. We shall see that he was through life regarded as one of the most eminent classical authorities of his country, which is confirmed by the tone of the correspondence between himself and Erasmus, then the very coryphæus of literature. A number of the letters in this collection are in the Greek language. We are told that he gave himself especially to the works of Plato, Aristotle,

* Danielis Gerdesii Historia Reformationis, 4to. Groningae, 1746.—The Life of Ulrich Zuingle, the Swiss Reformer, by J. G. Hess. Translated from the French, by Lucy Aikin. London, 1812.

† We do not say *Ulricus Zuinglius*, any more than *Martinus Lutherus*. The form *Zwingle* is as well settled by English usage, as that of *Luther* or *Calvin*. Perhaps no name or surname in history has been written more variously than this. We have noted the following in works cited hereafter: Ulrich, Ulricus, Udalricus, Huldrychus, Uldricus, Hulderych, Huldrichus, Uldaricus, Huldericus, Uldericus, Huldrich, Urech, Urich; and Zwingli, Zwingle, Zuingle, Zuinglius, Zwinglius, Zuingli, Zuynglius, Zinlius, Zwinglin, Zinglin, Zwingel, Cinglius. Strange to say, a large number of these are used in his own signatures.

Demosthenes, Sallust, Horace, Seneca, and Pliny, studying them night and day; a fact which may account for the elegance of his style. He also studied theology, under the direction of Thomas Wyttenbach, of whom he always spoke with veneration, and by whom, as he often declared, he was first brought to understand that Jesus Christ by the will of the Father provided righteousness and satisfaction for us, and for the sins of the world.*

In the midst of his most assiduous labours, says one of his biographers, Zwingle never lost his engaging gaiety of temper, nor ceased to cultivate the art of music, which he had learnt in his childhood. This was an essential part of clerical education in Switzerland; but Zwingle considered it as a resource for the mind when jaded by study. He accordingly recommended music to men of sedentary and laborious occupations. We know how earnestly Luther and Milton did the same. The second of these volumes contains several of his musical compositions, one of which accompanies a poem made by him when he was suffering from the plague.

In 1506 he took the degree of Master of Arts, and was presented to the cure of Glaris, in which he remained ten years. The benefice suited him well, as it brought him near to his parents; and it was honourable to a young man of twenty-two years to be pastor in the chief town of a canton.

The bishop of Constance readily gave him orders, and subscribed his installation. From this moment Zwingle began his theological education anew, on a plan of his own. After having reperused the classical authors of ancient Greece, in order to familiarize himself with their language and their beauties, he devoted himself with enthusiasm to the study of the New Testament. For the writings of Paul, in particular, he had a profound regard. He not only made a copy of all his epistles in the original with his own hand, but committed them to memory, as Beza and others are known to have done.† He then betook himself to the Fathers, especially Origen, Chrysostom, Ambrose and Jerome. Nor did he altogether neglect the moderns, even those who had been anathematized, such as Wiclef and Huss. At first he contented himself with sighing in secret over the abuses of the

* Gerdesius, i. 100. ii. 251.

† Zwingle's copy of the epistles is still extant in the public library of Zurich. Hess, p. 15.

church, but he soon began to speak out his convictions, and his example had its effect on many others.

One of the earliest of Zwingle's writings is a poetical effusion entitled the 'Labyrinth,' which is referred to the year 1510; a little later is the 'Fable of the Ox and other Beasts.' Both these apologues were the expression of that Swiss patriotism which always actuated him, and of which he became the martyr. The verse is of ten syllables, and the dialect is that uncouth High-German which prevails in Switzerland.* In 1512, when twenty thousand Swiss, at the summons of Julius II. marched to Italy to bear arms against Louis XII. Zwingle accompanied the contingent of Glaris in the capacity of an almoner. After the battle of Novara, at which he was present, he returned to his parochial duties, which however he quitted again in 1515, to march with his countrymen to the succour of the Duke of Milan, who was attacked by Francis I., and he was witness of the battle of Marigniano, which was as disastrous as the other had been glorious. Zwingle had forseen this result, and predicted it in a discourse to the soldiery delivered at Monza, near Milan, where he implored the chiefs to sacrifice their rivalries, and the soldiers to obey their superiors. This battle confirmed him in his opposition to all offensive war.† It has been clearly ascertained, that as early as the year 1516, Zwingle began to preach the pure gospel, and this as an independent reformer. Let us hear his own words: "In the year 1516, when as yet the name of Luther had not been heard in these regions, I began to preach the gospel of salvation. It was my custom, when the mass was celebrated, to explain the gospel for that occasion, not by the comments of men, but by comparing scripture with scripture." It will be observed

* As a specimen we give a few couplets: they will show how undesirable a task it is to read the German works of Zwingle.

Von einem garten ich uech sag,
Umzuent und bhuet mit starkem ghag,
Mit bergen hoch an einem ort,
Am andren fluess man ruschen hort;
In welchem dickes koerpers wont
Ein ochs mit roter farb geschont,
Ein gharer krusen schoenen stern,
Einer breiten brust mit wytem ghuern,
Ein hals mit laempen, grossem lust,
Vom kinn behenkt bis an die brust.

Fabelgedicht, u. s. w.

† Hess, Ursprung, u. s. w. p. 45.

that this was before Luther made his public opposition to Indulgences. Capito likewise testifies, in a letter to Bullinger: "Before Luther emerged into light, Zwingle and I conferred together about casting off popery; even while he was yet living in his cloister." That the assaults of these two heroic men on the superstitions of popery were not by agreement, is plain enough; and from this almost simultaneous impulse in distant regions, we may learn, that the work of reformation was not the result of human counsel but was in a peculiar manner begun under the guidance of divine providence. Far be it from us to detract from the fame of Luther. He and his associates must forever be held in honour by the church; but as all the glory which comes to them proceeds from God, so it should redound to God.*

The first mention of Luther in these volumes, so far as we have been able to discover, occurs in a letter from Beatus Rhenanus to Zwingle, of date Dec. 1518: *De Lutherio nihil dum comperti habemus.* In the next year the same person writes his earnest wish that some books of Luther, especially his popular exposition of the Lord's Prayer, should be widely circulated in Switzerland, *oppidatim, municipatim, vicatim, imo domesticatim.*†

But, returning to our narrative: soon after his return from the Milanese in the autumn of 1516, Zwingle having become famous as a preacher was nominated to the cure of a Benedictine monastery at Einsiedeln. This abbey was then under the direction of Theobald, baron of Geroldseck, who administered in consequence of the old age of the abbot Conrad von Rechberg. Though more a soldier than a monk, Theobald was able to appreciate the gifts of the young ecclesiastic. Here Zwingle was associated with several persons of views like his own, and who were afterwards helpers in his work. Among these were Oswald Myconius, Francis Zingg, John Oechsler, and Leo Juda, an Alsatian, celebrated as a translator of the Bible. In their society he spent his time in studying the fathers and the writings of Reuchlin and Erasmus. One of his first acts was to procure the removal of an inscription over the principal door of the abbey, which promised plenary remission.‡ He introduced altera-

* See this point well established in Gerdesius, by pertinent authorities, against such assertions of over-zealous Lutherans, as Milner has reiterated. Vol. i. p. 130 sq.

† Zu. Op. vii. pp. 57, 81, 82.

‡ Hic est plena remissio omnium peccatorum a culpa et poena.

tions into the discipline of a nunnery which was under his direction. He wrote to Hugo von Landenberg, bishop of Constance, to procure the suppression of many puerile and ridiculous practices in his diocese. He unfolded the same plans in an interview with the Cardinal of Zion, and urged the necessity of a general reform. Bossuet acknowledges, in his Variations, the need of these reforms.

It has been asserted by Romish writers, that the reforming zeal of Zwingle was not awakened till the time when Samson came into his neighbourhood to sell indulgences; but the contrary is well ascertained. His works contain the discourse which he delivered at Einsiedeln, against will-worship, invocation of saints, and the like. Its effect was astonishing: for though some were scandalized, the greater number gave tokens of entire assent. It is even said that some pilgrims who had brought their offerings to our Lady of Einsiedeln, took them back again. This, however, diminished the revenues of the monks, and excited their enmity. Yet about this time Leo X. sent by his nuncio Pucci a brief, in which he gave Zwingle a pension, with the title of chaplain of the Holy See. The discourse abovementioned was pronounced some time in the year 1516, and of course a year before the similar demonstration of Luther. Myconius relates, that when Luther's books first came into that region, Zwingle recommended them cordially to his hearers, but refrained from reading them, lest he should seem to derive from Luther those doctrines which he had in truth imbibed from the Scriptures, and from the Holy Spirit.

In 1518, the chapter of Zurich presented him to the cure of the first parish of that city. This was partly owing to the solicitations of his friend Myconius, who was master of the academy there. Zwingle repaired thither in the latter part of the year, and a few days after his arrival presented himself to the chapter, and declared it as his intention to abandon in his discourses the order of the Sunday-lessons, which had been followed from the time of Charlemagne, and to expound the books of the New Testament without interruption.* This was approved by the majority, though some of the canons thought it a dangerous innovation. Zwingle replied to these, that he was only returning to the usage of the primitive church, and the method observed by the Fathers, in their homilies; and that, with divine assistance, he would

* Bullinger Schw. Chr. tom. iii. ap. Labouderie.

preach in such a way that no portion of gospel truth should be neglected. His sermon on New Year's Day, 1519, shows that he was faithful to his plan; and the commentaries on the New Testament in the sixth volume of this collection, testify to the labour of his preparation and the faithfulness of his preaching. While he thus unsealed the fountain of divine truth from which the people had been so long debarred, he took occasion to inveigh against the abuses and superstitions and enormities of the church and clergy with a keenness which made him many enemies.

It was at this time that there came into the canton, under the auspices of Leo X., a cordelier named Bernard Samson, a seller of indulgences. He had for eighteen years been in the habit of pursuing this traffic in Switzerland. The insolence of this man was equal to that of Tetzel. He used to cry with a loud voice: "Let the rich come first, who can pay for pardon! When they are satisfied we will hear the prayers of the poor!" Even the most tolerant were offended. The bishop of Constance forbade the curates to receive him into their parishes. This, however, was not enough for Zwingle, who had anticipated the prelates, and caused him to be expelled from the canton. He took this occasion to declare more fully the scriptural doctrine of the remission of sins, only through the merit and death of Christ. He further pleaded the cause of evangelical truth before Pucci, the pope's legate, declaring it to be his unalterable purpose, to go on inculcating pure doctrine, and impugning the errors of popery.

The labours of Zwingle at Zurich were attended with such success, that at the close of the year 1519, two thousand persons professed their adherence to the truth, and the town-council passed a decree, that within their jurisdiction nothing should be preached which could not be established by the word of God. And in this, or in the following year, it was resolved, that all preachers and pastors under their authority were at liberty to reject the mass and other human inventions. In 1520, Zwingle renounced the pension which he had been receiving from the Romish See, "bidding," to use his own expressions, "the Pontiff, and his gifts, a long farewell." He was about this time made one of the canons of Zurich, on the resignation of Engelhard.

It was in the midst of these troubles that Zwingle addressed a letter to Myconius, which will show the temper of the man better than any relation of a third person: "The attacks are so incessant, the blows so vehement, of those who try to

overthrow the house of God, that one might justly think them not merely wind and rain, but hail and thunder; and unless I plainly perceived that the Lord keeps the city, I had long ago abandoned the helm. But when I behold Him strengthening the cords, adjusting the yards, spreading the sail, and, in a word, controlling the winds, I should be a dastard unworthy the name of man if I deserted my station, even at the risk of perishing ignominiously. I will, therefore, leave all to his benignity. Let him rule, conduct, hasten, delay, or immerge, at his pleasure! I will not rebel. I am his poor vessel, which he may use, either to honour or to dishonour."*

During the season of Lent, in this same year, 1522, certain persons attached to the new doctrine had infringed the idle regulations of the church in regard to abstinence: they were imprisoned by the magistrate and refused to yield. Zwingle espoused their cause in a 'Treatise on the Observance of Lent,' which he concludes by praying all men versed in scripture, to refute him, if he had done violence to the sense of the gospel. This was regarded as a manifesto on his part. It opens with those words of Christ as a motto: "*Come unto me all ye that labour and are heavy laden,*" &c.; and it may afford a glimpse of the author's character, that he prefixes the same words to every work of any size, on whatever subject.† The controversy which ensued upon this gave great offence to Hugo, bishop of Constance, who left no stone unturned to bring about the removal of Zwingle, but without success. The latter joined with his colleagues in a petition to Hugo, which was couched in the most respectful language. This paper is the more memorable as being subscribed by the names of the first Helvetic reformers, to the number of eleven pastors, who besought the bishop, not to publish any edict against the gospel, and urged him to allow the marriage of priests as a means of removing the horrible impurities of the ecclesiastics.

While Zwingle was engaged in writing the treatise abovementioned, the Diet of Baden ordered the arrest of a village curate, who had preached the new doctrine, and caused him to be imprisoned within the diocese of Constance. Zwingle resorted to the governments of the cantons, and in his own name and that of nine others, addressed to them a syllabus of his doctrine, and a petition for freedom to preach the gos-

* Op. Zu. vii. p. 217.

† Op. Zu. vol. i. The title is: "Von erkiesen, und fryheit der spysen."

pel. "In granting us this liberty," said he, "you have nothing to fear. There are infallible signs, by means of which every one may recognise true preachers of the gospel. He who, to the neglect of his own personal interest, spares neither cares nor toils in order to render the will of God known and honoured, to bring sinners to repentance, and give comfort to the afflicted, is united to Jesus Christ. But when you see teachers offering daily to the people new saints, whose favour must be gained by offerings; when these teachers incessantly vaunt the extent of sacerdotal power and the authority of the pope, be assured that they think much more of their own riches than of the good of souls committed to their care. If such men counsel you to arrest by decrees the preaching of the gospel, close your ears to their insinuations, and know that their aim is to prevent any attempt on their benefices and honours; tell them that this work, if it be of men, will come to nought; but that if it be of God, the powers of earth will combine against it in vain."

Zwingle next addressed a request to the bishop of Constance, that he would put himself at the head of the reform, and allow "that to be demolished with caution and prudence which had been erected with temerity." This called out all the fury of the priests and monks, who denounced him from the pulpit as a *Lutheran*, a name of ignominy at that crisis. The scandal was now at its height. The bishop addressed a letter to the senate, full of complaints, in which, however, he artfully avoids the name of Zwingle or any of his colleagues, but informs the people that pope Leo and the emperor Charles V. had forbidden any change to be made in religious rites, even the smallest, until they to whom it properly belonged should take the whole matter in hand, by a general council or otherwise; he also forbids all dispute on the existing questions. But he was obeyed by neither party, and the contest was renewed with more acrimony than ever. And it was not long before Zwingle prepared an answer to the episcopal exhortation, entitled 'Archeteles,' in which he inveighed against the impositions by which the sheep of Christ were misled; denouncing the prelates as false bishops, such as Isaiah predicted under the name of dumb dogs, and our Saviour as wolves in sheep's clothing.*

About this juncture, the new pope, Adrian VI., addressed a letter to Zwingle. He was seeking aid from the allies, and

* Vol. iii. p. 26, sq.

particularly desired the favour of Zurich, in order to which it was obviously needful that Zwingle should be won over. How much he had this at heart appears from a letter of the pontiff to Francis Zingg, a friend of Zwingle's, in which he commands him to leave nothing untried in order to gain the bold reformer. When Zingg was once asked by Myconius, what Adrian had promised Zwingle, he replied, "*Omnia usque ad thronum papalem. Omnia vero sprevit Zuinglius.*" The letter runs thus:

"Beloved son, Health and the Apostolic benediction! We send the venerable brother Emius, bishop of Verulanum, prelate, and nuncio of the apostolic See, a man of great wisdom and fidelity, to that unconquered nation, hitherto joined to us and to this holy See, in order that he may treat of great affairs, concerning us, our See and the whole Christian commonwealth. And though we have given him in charge to discuss these matters publicly and with all persons, yet in consideration of your high excellence which is well known to us, and our special love for your devotion, and certain peculiar confidence which we repose in you, we have given command to the aforesaid bishop, our legate, to communicate our private epistle to you, and to make you acquainted with our good will towards you. We therefore exhort your devotion in the Lord, that you repose all confidence in him, and that as we regard your honour and convenience, so you would with the same mind proceed in our affairs and those of the holy See; for which you shall enjoy our favour in no common degree. Given at Rome, at St. Peters, under the seal of the fisherman. January 23, 1523, in the first year of our pontificate." *

* See the original, vol. vii. p. 26. We insert this letter the more readily, as Milner, vol. v. pp. 590, 591, has cited it for the strange purpose of showing that Zwingle "so managed his opposition, as to be courted even by the pope himself, long after Luther had been in open rebellion against the existing hierarchy." Let the history given above of Zwingle's success stand as an answer to the insinuation. The pope's letter to Zwingle is no more to the discredit of the latter, than the mission of Miltitz to Luther. In truth the reformation was more advanced in Zurich at this moment, than it was at Wittenberg at Luther's death; for then Lutherans retained in their churches much of the paraphernalia of popery. The whole of Milner's comparision of Luther and Zwingle is partial, disingenious, and highly unjust to the latter. While we readily place the Swiss reformer far below his Saxon brother, the process of depreciation is carried too far when he is blamed for opposing consubstantiation; when the *onus* of the sacramentarian controversy is laid on him; and how far justice or common honesty admits of the charge of asperity in this controversy, by one who confessedly compares him with Luther, will be doubtful to no one who has read the correspondence of the latter.

This letter was never delivered, because, on the arrival of Ennius, Zwingle had already committed himself in a remarkable manner. That is to say, he presented himself before the grand council, and solicited a public conference, where he might give account of his doctrine before the deputies of the bishop. He promised to retract, if it could be proved that he was in error, but he demanded the special protection of government, in case he proved his adversaries to be wrong. The grand council consented, and a few days after this convoked all the clergy of the canton, on the 29th of January, 1523, "that each one might have liberty to indicate the opinions which he regarded as heretical, and might combat them, with the gospel in his hand." As soon as the summons became public, Zwingle issued sixty-seven articles to be submitted to the conference. On the day appointed, the conference was opened. The bishop of Constance was represented by John Faber, his grand-vicar, and by other theologians; the clergy of the canton had at their head Zwingle and his friends. There were more than six hundred persons of distinction assembled in the state-house on this occasion; for great wonder was awakened as to the result of the disputation. The conference was opened by Marx Röust, the burgomaster of Zurich, who explained the object in view, and invited all persons to express their opinions without fear. Discourses were delivered by the chevalier d'Anweil, intendant of the diocess, by Faber, and by Zwingle. The reformer was earnest in his demand that they should convict him of heresy if he were guilty, always referring to scripture as the standard. The grand-vicar evaded the question, but in the course of the argument he was vehemently pressed by Zwingle, who expressed himself with easy and fervid eloquence. Faber was shrewd enough to perceive that the battle was going against him, and declined to proceed. The conference was terminated, and the council ordained "that Zwingle, not having been convicted of heresy, nor refuted, should continue to preach the gospel as he had done; that the pastors of Zurich and its territory should strictly rest their preaching on the scriptures, and that both parties should abstain from all personal violence." This decision was received by the Papists with cries of dissatisfaction, but it assured the reformers of their triumph, and from that moment they went on fortifying themselves by the writings and discourses of Zwingle. Concerning this conference, Hoornbeck remarks justly, that he

was acquainted with no public disputation conducted with more dignity or advantage. He also relates that Faber affected to regard the place as unworthy of his presence as a disputant, and hinted that at some university of reputation, such as Paris, Cologne, or Louvain, he would be willing to appear. "What if we should fix on Erfurt or Wittenberg?" asked Zwingle. "By no means," exclaimed Faber, "*quia Lutherus nimis vicinus est.*"

A full account of this debate was published as soon as was practicable.* Faber was much incensed at seeing the poor figure which he presents in this report; he accordingly issued one of his own. Some expressions in this greatly irritated the men at Zurich, seven of whom united in a rejoinder, which, as its title says, "contains both jest and earnest"—*ist voll Schimpfs und Ernstes.* "Each of us," say they, "has taken a part of this lying book to answer, that Faber may learn to know the tailors and cobblers of Zurich, whom he despised, saying: 'Did I come to dispute with tailors and cobblers?'" — "We, the boors and workingmen of Zurich, will take the war on ourselves, and give you battle enough: there needs no scholar for this. If Faber brags that he has brought his Hebrew and his Greek Bible from Constance, he has shown but little acquaintance with them."†

Zwingle laboured with great diligence to prepare an exposition of his sixty-seven articles, which occupies 450 pages of this work.‡ It was finished upon the 14th of July, and is a complete exposition of evangelical truth.

The effects of the first Disputation at Zurich were soon visible; indeed we have seen the record of no similar conference in any age, of which the fruits were so remarkable. And we call attention to this with the greater earnestness, because this is the precise point of time on which Milner fixes, as that in which Zwingle had as yet made no successful demonstration against popery. Clergymen now began to enter into the married state; the nunnery at Oetenbach was thrown open; the baptismal service was performed in German, without the exorcism, spittle, and other ceremonies; the chapter at the Great Minster was reformed, and turned into a school for theological students, and the surplus

* Vol. i. p. 105: Handlung der versammlung in der loblichen statt Zurich.
† Vol. i. p. 108–9.
‡ Vol. i. p. 169: Uslegen und grund der Schlussreden oder artikeln, u. s. w.

revenues were devoted to charity. The doctrine gained favour among clergy and laity that the mass was no sacrifice, and that the invocation of saints was forbidden. This was in some degree promoted by a writing of Ludwig Hetzer, entitled the 'Judgment of God against Images,'* but still more by Zwingle's treatise on the 'Canon of the Mass.' In this performance, the work of only four days, the reformer assaulted the very acropolis of the papacy, by holding up to view the contradictions, absurdities, and false pretensions of this most sacred and vaunted portion of the Missal. The book is in classical Latin, and may be read at this day with delight by all who have a taste for stringent argument, pure wit, and intrepidity of purpose. There is nothing in Pascal more keen or galling.†

Such was the zeal of the populace against image-worship, that a shoemaker named Hottinger, with a large body of citizens, proceeded to throw down the great cross of the Stadelhofer suburb. This and other like proceedings in two of the churches aroused the old party, and the council caused the offenders to be arrested. Zwingle conceded that the act was civilly irregular, but denied any intrinsic evil in it. In this perplexity, the council convoked a second conference, to determine whether the worship of images was authorized by the gospel, and whether the mass should be abolished. It took place on the 28th of October, 1523, and was attended by more than nine hundred persons from the cantons of St. Gall, Schaffhausen, Zurich, and some others; the place was the city of Zurich, and the time spent in discussion three days. Zwingle made a great impression on the majority, moving them to tears by his closing address,‡ but failed to bring the grand council to any determination, from their fear of offending the absent cantons. Yet, by actions, they conceded almost every thing that was sought. Zwingle was immediately directed to prepare a popular address to the pastors of the canton, instructing them in the proper way of discharging their office.§ From this time, the greater part of the city pastors abandoned the mass, and the greater part of the people refused to assist at it. Even

* Vol. iii. p. 461. † Vol. iii. p. 83—116.

‡ Diss redt Zwingli mit so grossem ernst und mit so getruwem gemut zu christlicher einigkeit, dass er sich selbs mit viel andern bewegtzu weinen, also dass er nyt wyter vermocht zu reden. See vol. i. pp. 459—540, for a full report of the debates in this convention.

§ Ein kurze christenliche ynleitung, u. s. w. vol. i. pp. 541—565. v. also, the letters, vol. vii. pp. 313—330.

the use of organs and of bells was prohibited. The council forbade image-processions. The 'Brief Introduction' of Zwingle was sent to the other cantons, and all persons were ordered to abstain from violence in word or deed; which last provision was very distasteful to the fanatical or ultra-reformers who now were on the increase. The conference and its effects were ably defended by Myconius, the bosom friend of Zwingle.*

On the 13th of January, 1524, says Labouderie, (and we have his sole authority, as we have found no trace of any such thing in these volumes,) there was a third conference, which caused a new triumph for the reformer. The abolition of the mass was the result, and henceforth the senate and people of Zurich showed the greatest deference for the opinion of Zwingle. This fact, preserved in the "Musée des Protestants célèbres," is not found in Hess's Life of Zwingle. This biographer merely says that the bishop of Constance, having sent to the senate an apology for the mass and the worship of images, was answered by the reformer with so much solidity,† that the government allowed the statues and pictures to be removed from the churches, and substituted for them inscriptions from the Bible. As to the mass, it was not definitively suppressed until Easter, 1525, on which day the *Lord's Supper* was solemnized as at the present day."‡

We learn from Gerdesius, that as early as the year 1524, several persons came to Zurich to confer with Zwingle, respecting the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. In this conference, he expounded the words of institution, "This is my body," to mean, this signifies or represents my body: and from the very commencement of the reformation, Zwingle insisted on the propriety of administering this sacrament in both kinds, according to the command of Christ. In discoursing on the eighteenth article, he adds that the Helvetic churches, from the remotest antiquity, were accustomed to administer the sacrament in both kinds, and not only to adults but to children; which he proved from an old manuscript found in the church of Glaris, and of which another copy was extant in the neighbouring church of Molis. And

* Ad sacerdotes Helvetiae, qui Tigurinis male loquuntur, Suasoria, ut male loqui desinant. Tig. 1524.

† Vol. i. pp. 584—630. Christenlich antwurt Burgermeisten und rates zu Zurich, u. s. w.

‡ Biog. Univ. vol. ii. p. 535.

having ascertained that this church had been set off from the former not more than two hundred years ago, he concluded, that it could not have been more than two centuries since the sacrament was administered in both kinds in both these churches; for as the manuscript is a manual for the administration of the sacraments, the church of Molis could not have needed a copy before it was erected into a separate communion.

The celibacy of the clergy had been made a question in the conference of 1523, where Zwingle undertook to prove that it had no foundation in scripture. The government of Zurich pronounced nothing definitive on this delicate point; but allowed the marriage of priests. Accordingly, on the 2d of April, 1524, Zwingle entered into the state of wedlock, with Anne Reinhard, widow of a magistrate.* The lady was about his own age. Of the issue of this marriage, two children survived their father; namely, Ulrich, afterwards archdeacon and a canon of Zurich, and Regula, who became the wife of Rodolph Gualter, an excellent clergyman. As Madame Reinhard was wealthy and of noble descent, the circumstance was much bruited by his enemies. He published an apology, from which we make some extracts; "It has been charged on us, the ministers of Zurich," says he, "that our stipends are too large; an accusation both false and foolish. I can testify in regard to myself, that my income for the last year has never amounted to sixty crowns, exclusive of the perquisites accruing from my office in the college. I do not say this as complaining of want, or of my poverty. For God is my witness, by whose beneficence I live and am nourished, that I am contented with my condition, and with what I receive; and the only grief I experience is that I have so small means of supplying the poor, especially the multitude of indigent widows. And, indeed, if I took counsel only of the flesh, I would not receive a farthing of salary; for I can safely say, that I could readily extricate myself from this dangerous profession. But neither the iniquity of the times, nor the talent committed to me, would permit. And here, very reluctantly, I am compelled, by the injustice of my enemies, to speak of my wife, Anne Reinhard, whom these stupid men declare to be exceedingly rich. The truth is, that with the exception of clothes and female ornaments, she has not more than four hundred gold

* See the letter of Bucer, vol. vii. p. 335.

crowns. And though she possesses splendid dresses, rings, and other jewels, yet, from the day that she became my wife, she has never worn any of these, but has chosen to conform herself to the dress of other reputable matrons of our city. Those things which she receives for her support from her children (for the family of her ancestors is illustrious) she cannot well reject; especially as she has now attained her fortieth year. In regard to her right of dower, I was unwilling to claim it, fearing the trouble in which it would involve me." He then justifies this personal apology by the precedent of the apostle Paul.

The bull of pope Adrian, issued in the preceding year, August 5, 1523, and the letter carried by his legates into the Swiss cantons, were not without their effect. As many as ten of the cantons not only expressed strong disapprobation of the proceedings at Zurich, but announced to the magistrates and citizens of that place that they would have no civil intercourse with them, nor permit them to be present at their conventions. They further charged them with sacrilege, and with a design of subverting the Christian religion. The men of Zurich were firm, and appealed to the cantons of Berne, Schaffhausen, and St. Gall, to determine whether it was just and reasonable to dissolve the Helvetic union for such a cause.

The suppression of many religious houses was a natural consequence of the Reformation in Zurich. Among these was Fraumünster, an ancient abbey near the city, endowed with valuable privileges and revenues. The lady-abbess, Catharine de Cimmern, with the consent of all in the house, delivered to the magistrates of Zurich all their property, requesting that the revenue might thenceforth be appropriated to sacred uses, and for the relief of the poor. This example was followed by the superiors of several convents; the older men were maintained out of the revenues of the houses, and the younger learned mechanic arts. For some time mass was celebrated in these establishments, but by degrees, under the convincing discourses of Zwingle, it fell into contempt. The magistrates wisely avoided any hasty measures, and waited until the people were enlightened upon the subject of the Lord's Supper. The revenues of the suppressed abbeys were very extensively employed in the endowment of professorships in the university which was organized with great skill by Zwingle, who gathered around him some of the most learned men of the age. Among these were Con-

rad Pellican, a Hebraist from the school of Reuchlin; Collinus, who was an eminent Grecian; Ceporinus, and Lambert. Such was the influence of these schools, that twenty years afterwards it was not uncommon to meet with magistrates and merchants who could read the Old and New Testament in the originals.*

There is an interesting letter to Pellican, of which we shall insert a part, as characteristic of a man who has been so much misunderstood, even by good men: "It is impossible for me to express the gladness produced in me by the letter in which you express your disposition to grant our request. You have lain long enough in that prison of human darkness [the monastery]: though I am not ignorant that wherever you are, there is light. For you know in whom you have believed, and you cannot but sometimes behold the light with joy. Although therefore I am loth to vex you with letters declaring how wholly we are bent upon having you, and although the city which loses you may better suit your convenience, yet I say hasten to us with all speed. Why need I make many promises, when I wish you to make the experiment at my peril, not your own. In the name of the Lord, whose cause I am pleading, I declare to you, that no city can better suit your age, pursuits and accomplishments, than Zurich. The proposal is this. You will expound some Hebrew book every day; we are now beginning Exodus; and this will give you no additional burden. The annual stipend is the same with mine, sixty or seventy, perhaps even eighty florins, with a neat and convenient house; Oecolampadius and Hetzer are familiar with it. No one will disturb you as long as you live, unless your ill-temper should be intolerable; this is in jest, however. These conditions will not be altered by any sickness or misfortune on your part. There are three vacations, each of which is more than a month; so that with Sundays, holidays and the like, you may reckon upon a fourth of the year as your own. If you propose to keep an establishment of your own, here is a house, as I said. If not, you can be at lodgings, as long as is convenient. And I make you the offer of my own house: come and go as you will. Every thing will be at your pleasure. The *cowl* is an object of ridicule here, but only when constantly worn; it will be otherwise, if you bring yours, in order to discard it."†

* Bullinger in Comm. ad Epist. Pauli. † Vol. vii. p. 462, ep. 4.

As tares will always be found springing up among the wheat, so the field of the reformed churches was not without a growth of pestiferous errors and abuses. Of these none was more to be deplored than the schismatical and tumultuous excesses of the Anabaptists, against whom Zwingle was forced to take up his pen in 1525.* The occasion was as follows: Balthazar Hubmeyer was by his eloquence one of the most formidable of the Anabaptists. As early as 1516, when he was preacher at Ratisbon, he showed his fanatical turn, by urging from the pulpit that the magistrates should expel the Jews; in which he was so successful that they razed their synagogues and dwellings, and erected a church in their room. At a later date he went to Waldshut, where he became a zealous defender of Zwingle and the Reformation. He took part in the second conference at Zurich, and prevailed on the majority at Waldshut to adopt reforming measures. The notorious Thomas Münzer visited Waldshut, and inoculated Hubmeyer with his virus, which, however, was kept secret for a while, and he continued in friendly correspondence with Oecolampadius. When the Austrian government interposed to hinder the Reformation, he fled to Schaffhausen. On the 16th of January, 1525, he wrote to Oecolampadius, avowing his new opinions. About Easter of the same year he was rebaptized by Roubli of Basle, and a hundred and ten with him; after which he rebaptized three hundred persons himself. He then proceeded to write a work against Zwingle and the Zurich reformation. About the same time Grebel, a leading Anabaptist, was imprisoned at Grüningen. The next step was to have a public disputation with Zwingle. The concourse was great, and when the doors were opened, a mob of Anabaptists burst in, crying, "Zion, Zion! free thyself Jerusalem!" and caused a great tumult. The debate lasted three days. Bullinger says, that the best arguments on both sides are given in Zwingle's answer. During the debate, one of the Anabaptists showed a great eagerness to speak with Zwingle, declaring that he could bring the dispute to an immediate issue. His brethren would have restrained him, but he broke away, rushed towards his opponent, and cried, "O Zwingle, I adjure thee by the living God, that you declare to me a single truth."—"I will," replied Zwingle, "and it is that thou

* Uiber doctor Balthazar [Hubmeyer]'s toufbuchlin, warhafte grundte antwurt: vol. ii. pp. 337—369.

art as malignant, tumultuous a clown as my good lords have in their service." This unexpected retort amused the assembly, and settled the combatant. As the Anabaptists persevered in their irregularities, some of them, according to the false notions then universal, were cast into prison, but soon afterwards enlarged. Hubmeyer, at a later period, made a feigned retractation. It is painful to relate, that when he returned to Austria he was burnt alive at Vienna.

It was not merely against Infant Baptism that these fanatics raged; and this, notwithstanding the sneer of Milner, already quoted, abundantly justifies our reformer in spending some of his strength upon this subject. They wrought great confusion, by declaring that the Reformation which had been effected was incomplete and superficial; that it lacked spirituality; that Zwingle was frigid and tardy; that the time was come for more thorough work; that a separation of believers from all others should be made. Some of them girded themselves with ropes, and, in imitation of Jonah and other prophets, ran through the city, crying, "Zurich will be swallowed up in a few days! Wo unto Zurich! Wo! wo! Repent! The axe is laid at the root of the trees!" Indeed it was for these tumults, and for their rejection of all civil government, that they were dealt with by the magistrates. Besides the work already cited, Zwingle wrote another in the Latin language, which, however, did not appear till 1527.*

It is difficult after such a lapse of time to discriminate between the merely theological and the political errors of these sectaries. The account given by Schuler and Schultess, who follow Bullinger, is that when they found that they could not succeed in their opposition to Zwingle on the ground of political agitation, they began to make an outcry against infant baptism, which they declared to be unscriptural, an invention of pope Nicholas II., or rather of the devil.† But they likewise accomplished much by appealing to the natural sense of liberty among an oppressed people. There were among them no doubt pious and noble spirits, who without regard to circumstances, sought a radical reform in human society, and flattered themselves with an approaching millennium of liberty. Conrad Grebel was a leader among them; a man of unsound judgment, exalted fancy and great passion, and not

* In Catabaptistarum Strophas, Elenchus Huldrici Zuinglii. Turici. 1527. pp. 191. V. vol. iii. p. 358.

† Vol. ii. p. 372.

without learning; in a word, a dangerous demagogue. He excited the people especially against tithes. Simon Stumpf, pastor at Höngg, was banished on account of his seditious discourses. Roubli was imprisoned in 1524. In Germany, where the yoke of despotism lay heavy on the people, the ecclesiastical and civil uproars became so violent, that the blood of the populace flowed in streams under the infliction of their tyrants: in free Switzerland, there were commotions without bloodshed. They were in general allowed the free expression of their opinions. "They vaunted the writings of Münzer," says Bullinger, "as far above those of Luther and Zwingle; and told the latter to his face, that Münzer was a true prophet, who kept in view the promotion of God's truth, and of his new kingdom." These were the circumstances in which Zwingle wrote his book on 'Popular Tumult, and its causes.'* His temper in the controversy may be discerned in a letter to his friend Vadianus, of May 28, 1525: "You may if it is proper advise your council in my name, that no greater hinderance can befall them in their defence of evangelical purity, than this same Anabaptism: so violently are they turning against every thing, unless opposed by the counsel and prayer of the church. You have seen me in combat with the enemies of the gospel; all foregoing battles were child's play to this. I have been unwilling to inveigh against them without reserve, lest the Senate should be exasperated against them, but they use no terms concerning me but such as parricide, robber, thief, wizard, poisoner and the like. *Vicit semper veritas.*"†

As all applications to the bishop of Constance proved unavailing, the ministers Zwingle, Leo, Engelhard, Megander and Myconius convened the senate of two hundred, and having adduced many arguments from the word of God, obtained a decree that the mass, together with all adoration of the bread and wine, should be abolished. Before the decree was passed, however, a certain scribe arose and declared his firm belief in the real presence; and entreated the senate not to be moved by the sophistry of Zwingle. Engelhard, who had once been a doctor of canon law, a man distinguished for sound judgment, and an humble disciple of Christ, replied: "Only attend, and I will prove to you from the Holy Scriptures, that the bread cannot be the body of

* Welche ursach gebind ze ufrueren: 1525. vol. ii. p. 370.
† Zu. Op. vol. vii. p. 398.

Christ." And then addressing himself to the senate, he proceeded, in an argument which is preserved by Gerdesius, to show that the words of institution contain a trope. The only answer made by the scribe was that Christ was born of a virgin, which is more abhorrent to reason than the eating of his flesh; to which a reply was made by Zwingle.

The mass was abolished at Zurich, as we have before said, in April 1525. This was not an unimportant event in the estimation of the reformers. *The triumph of the mass*, said Luther, *is the triumph of the papacy.* Zwingle went further, and included the figment of the real presence. "The priests and their abettors," said Oecolampadius "would concede all that we have taught, if we would but leave untouched this dogma of the eucharist, whether taught by the pope or by Luther. *Est enim arx et praesidium impietatis eorum, per quam recuperare sperant successu temporum quod nuper amiserunt.*"*

During the debates to which we have alluded, the scribe abovementioned alleged that the instances of scriptural tropes which had been adduced were irrelevant, because they were spoken in parables. The ministers tried to recollect some instance not liable to this objection, but were unable that day, to think of one.

"But the next day," says Zwingle, "and what I relate is true, and though I would gladly conceal it, as knowing the ridicule to which it will expose me, my conscience obliges me to disclose it—that which I was in search of, the Lord imparted to me. On the morning of this 13th of April, I seemed to myself to be in a slumber, still engaged in tedious dispute with the secretary, but my tongue refused to do its office. How I was tormented will be understood by such as are wont to be thus deluded in their dreams. For I speak of nothing more than a dream, though it was not a trival thing which I learned in it, by the grace of God, to whom be all the glory: on a sudden an adviser seemed to stand by me, (what his colour, white or black, I remember not†—I relate a dream) and said; 'Sluggish man! thou shouldest answer him from what is written Exodus xii. 2. *it is the Lord's passover.*' On which I awoke, leaped out of bed, and sought the text in the Septuagint. I discoursed on this passage before the congregation, with all my ability, and

* Ep. vol. vii. p. 409.

† Ibi απὸ μηχανῆς visus est monitor adesse.—The allusion plainly is to the Greek proverb, Θεὸς ἀπὸ μηχανῆς, the *deus ex machina* of Horace.

with the effect of dissipating every doubt from the minds of our theological students."

As Zwingle apprehended, the publication of this dream exposed him to ridicule and reproach, not only from the Papists but the followers of Luther; who were pleased to assert that his adviser was *black*. Even the compilers of the history of the Augsburg Confession have not thought it beneath them to ascribe the sacramentarian doctrine to a black ghost.* Worldly wisdom would indeed have taught Zwingle to refrain from the publication of his dreams, however edifying; especially as every thing may be accounted for without supernatural interposition. "There is scarcely any studious man," says Andrew Rivet, on Genesis xxviii. "who has not experienced something similar, namely, that while asleep something has been brought to his mind which he had at some time read in a book, or which had occurred in argument, but which had been forgotten until now." As to the expression, that he knew not the colour of his adviser, it is plainly the allusion of a learned man to the Latin proverb *aterne an albus nescio*, which may be found in the Adages of Erasmus.

The reformation at Zurich was completed by the utter abolition of the mass, and by the observance of the Lord's Supper, on the 13th, 14th and 15th days of April, 1525; the last of these days being Easter Sunday. It was a joyful day to many tender consciences. For the monks had taught that the body of our Lord received in the bread was of the same dimensions with that which hung upon the cross, and that all who had not faith to believe this were doomed to perdition. There were therefore many humble persons who had bewailed day and night, their unhappy lot in being unable to approach this ordinance. In the celebration of this sacrament, Zwingle was careful that every thing should be done according to the scripture model. He therefore drew up in writing a sketch of the manner in which he would have it observed: this has been maintained in Zurich till the present day. A table, covered with white cloth, was brought into the church after the sermon. On this were placed a basket of unleavened bread, plates and wooden vessels filled with wine. The first pastor, who was Zwingle himself, read the account of the insti-

* Ed. 1584, fol. p. 37. in margin: Zwingel folget dem Rath des schwartzen Gespenstes, daher der Sacramentirer Wesen enstanden, und bisher getrieben worden. So also Schlusselburg, Schutz, Hunnius, Agricola, Von Hoe, Balduinus, Walther, Loescher, Cyprianus. See Gerdesius, i. 322.

tution from the first epistle to the Corinthians, and another recited part of the sixth chapter of John. The Apostle's Creed was then rehearsed; after which the pastor exhorted to self-examination. All falling on their knees then repeated the Lord's Prayer. After which the pastor took the unleavened bread into his hands, the whole congregation looking on, and uttered in a loud voice the words of institution, and then gave the bread and the cup into the hands of the deacons to be distributed. Each one handed the elements to his neighbour. During the participation, one of the deacons read our Lord's discourse uttered while he washed the disciples' feet. As soon as the vessels were returned, the church again knelt, and gave thanks to God for the blessings of redemption in Christ. In country churches, the pastor alone read whatever was necessary, and the communicants came up one by one to the table.

In this year, 1525, the study of the Bible was in a remarkable degree promoted. A version of the Scriptures into Swiss-German, which had been commenced by Leo Juda and Caspar Grossman, with the aid of Zwingle and others, was now completed, so far as the Pentateuch and historical books. There is reason to believe that this was at first made without any reference to Luther's version, of which the prophetic portion was not completed until the year 1531 or 1532; whereas the Tigurine version was published in 1529. The reading of the Scriptures was now substituted for the mass. It was their method to read them in several languages in the choir of the university-church; and Zwingle, who presided, was accustomed to introduce the service with the following prayer:

"Our mighty, eternal and merciful God, whose word is a lamp to our feet, and a light to our paths; open and enlighten our minds, that we may piously and devoutly understand thine oracles, and may be changed into the likeness of that which we understand; so that we may in no respect displease thy Majesty; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

A chapter was read first from the Latin, by one of the students; then in Hebrew, by Ceporinus; in the Greek of the Seventy, by Zwingle; and lastly in the German, with an exposition. Prayers were then offered, and the assembly was dismissed. This method of reading the Bible was afterwards exchanged, however, for the theological lectures common in the Protestant universities. That Zwingle was much occupied in the critical study of the Scriptures appears from what he says in his German treatise

entitled, 'The Pastor:'* "I had determined," says he, "to write nothing for a season, but to spend the full half of this year in collating the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin text."

The work of exposition had, however, been begun by this reformer long before. "By the fourth year of my ministry," says he, "I had expounded the whole gospel of Matthew, when as yet I not so much as heard the names of those [Lutherans], whom I am now accused of following. To the gospel I added an exposition of the Acts of the Apostles, that the church of Christ might see by what persons and by what means the gospel was propagated in the beginning. I then expounded the first epistle to Timothy, which is admirably fitted to furnish rules of living to the Christian church. But lest young learners should fall into error respecting the faith of the gospel, I deferred finishing my lectures on Timothy until I had explained the epistle to the Galatians. I also expounded both the epistles of Peter, to show that both apostles were imbued with the same spirit, and spake the same things. Having gone over these sacred books, I took up the epistle to the Hebrews, that my hearers might obtain a clearer view of the salvation and glory of Christ. Here they could learn that he is their great High Priest: most of them indeed have learnt it."

The fruit of these labours is to some degree extant in the exegetical works of Zwingle; which occupy two volumes of this edition, and of which, as well as of the numerous doctrinal and practical works of Zwingle, we must in charity suppose Dean Milner to have been ignorant when he represents him as having been a mere controvertist about the sacraments.† The notes on Genesis and Exodus were taken from what he delivered *ore tenus*, by Leo Juda and Grossmann. The prophecies of Isaiah and Jeremiah are presented in a new Latin version, and somewhat largely expounded. The Enchiridion of the Psalms is in both Latin and German, and was a posthumous work. The Four Gospels are treated chiefly in the way of brief scholia.‡ The reader of these works, most of which were never completed for the press, will find much that savours of an age when hermeneutics had not received all the aids of philology and criticism; but he will at the same time be struck with the perspicuity, the genius, the learning, the courage, and the affectionate sympathy of the author. While he is as clear,

* Vol. ii. p. 631.—Der Hirt, wie man die waren christenlichen hirten und widerum die falschen erkennen.

† Vol. v. p. 584. ‡ Vol. v. and vi.

logical, and cogent as Calvin, his personality presents many more points of contact with the reader.

It will afford a glimpse into his laborious life at this time to extract a passage from a letter of business to his friend Vadian, April, 1526: "To-day, about dawn," he writes, "I preached, and at eight o'clock, as usual, I expounded some passages in Exodus, in consequence of which I grew feverish, and used the bath, with friction, at 9; but returning home I almost lost my breath. In about an hour, I regained my breathing, but was scarce able to refrain from sighs which came from the deepest part of my chest. At 2 o'clock I fell asleep, though I never indulge thus in the daytime; and on awaking was myself again."*

In the year 1526, the Romanists, with a view to remove Zwingle from the field of his labours, and thus to gain possession of his person, proposed a convention at Baden in Argovia, to which the leaders of the reformation were invited. The scheme was Faber's, and he employed Eckius of Ingolstadt, famous for his combats with Luther, to address a letter to the cantons, denouncing their reformer as a "rebel, a heretic, and a perverter of scripture," and offering to confute him publicly. The colloquy was held, and was attended by Oecolampadius, Haller, Boville, Piscator, and other friends of the reformation, who were met by Faber, Eckius, Murner, and many other papists.† But the senate of Zurich, perceiving the design of the meeting, refused to send any deputies, and particularly forbade the attendance of Zwingle.‡ On the 17th of May, the disputation was opened with much pomp and arrogance on the part of the papists; but the friends of the Reformation were treated with great indignity, and were scarcely allowed to speak. And while the town was vocal with Romish sermons, the Reformed were forbidden to preach. Eckius defended seven theses, relating principally to transubstantiation, invocation of saints, and purgatory. He was answered with characteristic modesty by Oecolampadius. Zwingle, in his absence, received every night from his friends, by a faithful servant, an account of the transactions of the day, and in turn sent to Oecolampadius his suggestions as to the conduct of the debate. "I thank God," the latter wrote to his friend, "that you are not here. The turn that matters take makes me clearly perceive that had you been here, we should neither

* Vol. ii. p. 484. ep. 23. † Hess, p. 241 et seq. ‡ Vol. vii. p. 512. ep. 49.

of us have escaped the stake." The absence of Zwingle disconcerted the plans of his enemies, but did not prevent them from pronouncing an anathema against him and his adherents, and requiring the town of Basle to banish Oecolampadius.

The conference or disputation lasted eighteen days. Immediately after its close Zwingle prepared and published an answer to every one of the theses of Eckius; to this no answer was ever given. He also appealed to the minutes of the proceedings to show the ingenuity and truth with which Oecolampadius had conducted the disputation, so that there was no room for an answer on scripture grounds. The enemies of Zwingle did not fail to ascribe his absence to fear, a principle of which he seems to have felt the force as little as any man that ever lived.

In writing to his friends he indulged in many sportive anecdotes of this colloquy. Among others, we find in these volumes a letter to Grynaeus, in which he relates, that "Eckius, in the midst of a very learned harangue, broke forth thus: 'Oecolampadius, is it Hebrew that we are talking about? I learned Hebrew so long ago that I have almost forgotten it.' Then with a great book open before him, he began to mutter some Hebrew—I might, perhaps, as truly call it Greek or Latin. There was providentially present one who had long suspected the pretences of Eckius and his prompters: when Eckius therefore had ended his Hebrew discourse, and was sending the book down from the pulpit to Faber, our friend, suspecting that it was furnished with an interleaved version, ran forward as if in haste to place it on the immense desk that was provided for that purpose. But Faber instantly closed the books." Some one however opened the volume, and it was seen to be the Complutensian edition, which, as Zwingle says, he had then never seen.

In the early part of the year 1528, Berne embraced the principles of the Reformation in the most solemn manner. A numerous assembly was convened in that city, for the discussion of the *new doctrine*. Zwingle was present, with Oecolampadius, Pellican, Collinus, Bullinger, Capito, Bucer, and Haller. They discussed ten theses drawn up by Haller, and were employed upon these for eighteen sessions. A great majority of the clergy of Berne signed the theses, declaring that they judged them consonant with the sacred books. "During the time of the conference, the reformed clergy

preached by turns in the cathedral of Berne; and from the same pulpit where ten years before Samson the Franciscan had abused the credulity of the people, [divine grace by the means of] Zwingle worked a conversion which produced a great effect. Just as he was mounting the pulpit, a priest was preparing to say mass at a neighbouring altar. The desire of hearing the famous heretic led him to suspend the celebration of the office and to mingle with the throng of auditors. Zwingle in his sermon unfolded his opinion on the eucharist with so much eloquence, that he subverted and changed all the ideas of the priest, who instantly, in the sight of the assembled people, laid down his sacerdotal ornaments at the altar at which he was to have officiated, and embraced the reformation."* Indeed the vehement eloquence of Zwingle, as Labouderie remarks, shone during this visit with its highest splendour, and acquired for him a marked ascendency.

No very remarkable events in the life of Zwingle occurred after this until the year 1529, when the sacramentarian controversy having become very hot between the Lutherans and the Reformed, Philip Landgrave of Hesse proposed a conference between the leading theologians of the two opinions. To render what we are about to say intelligible, we must refresh the reader's memory as to this ill-starred controversy, the greatest stumbling-block in the way of the Reformation. When Luther was excommunicated and put under the ban of the empire, Zwingle testified the highest admiration of him; and caused an asylum to be offered him in Switzerland.† But the two great men were exceedingly unlike, and it was remarkably true of Luther, that the forms under which he had received his religious faith were in his esteem inviolable. In his view, the real corporeal presence of Christ in the eucharist was a fundamental doctrine. In the view of Zwingle, it was a ridiculous, incredible and unscriptural invention, and he so demonstrated it to be, in his 'Commentary on True and False religion,' and in many subsequent works. In his opinion there is no bodily presence of Christ in the communion, and no participation except by faith; there is therefore no sacrifice, no eating or drinking of Christ's body and blood, except metaphorically; in fine, the ordinance

* Hess, p. 256. A full report of these debates, and of two sermons preached by Zwingle at Berne, will be found in the second volume, pp. 70—230.

† Gerdesius, i. 265.

is symbolical and commemorative.* He was followed on the same side by Oecolampadius, in a treatise of so much learning and persuasive eloquence that Erasmus declared it sufficient to deceive, if it were possible, the very elect.† As soon as Luther heard of this doctrine, which was associated in his mind with his bitter conflict with Carlstadt, he was filled with such indignation as few but he could feel, and from that day onward never ceased to speak of the Sacramentarians, as heretics, deceivers, enemies of God, and in terms which we gladly leave, from filial respect for their author, in the original language.‡ The frankness of Zwingle, in addressing himself directly to Luther, served only to provoke a vehement reply which precipitated the rupture. The Saxons, and most of the Northern Germans embraced the opinion of Luther; the Swiss and several of the imperial cities followed that of Zwingle.§

It is pleasing to observe on the part of the Swiss theologians a temper much more moderate than that of their adversaries. Zwingle, though a man of high spirit, never suffered himself to revile Luther, under any provocation. His course may be expressed in the words of Bucer's advice to him: "Luther, my valued Zwingle, is all in a rage. Be you therefore I entreat all meekness, in order to deal with your frenzied brother."‖ This is manifested strikingly in the very title of Zwingle's 'Friendly Exposition,' in 1527, and in the prefatory letter to Luther.¶ He addresses him in a

* De Vera et Falsa Religione Commentarius. Op. vol. iii. pp. 145 et sq.

† Hess, p. 273 et seq.

‡ For example. Una illa haeresis jam quinque habet sectas—ideo peribunt statim; ep. 779. Secta sacrilega; ep. 819. Pestem, quia blasphema, etc.; ep. 858. Pestes istas rabiosas Sacramentiorum; ep. 981. Valeant viperae, etc. ep. 1019. And, we grieve to record it, when the violent death of Zwingle should have quenched his wrath, he writes, Sed iste est finis gloriae, quam quaerebant blasphemiis in coenam Christi; ep. 1423. Judicium Dei nunc secundo videmus, semel in Munzero, nunc in Zwinglio. Propheta fui, qui dixi! Deum non laturum diu istas rabidas et furiosas blasphemias, quibus illi pleni erant, irridentes Deum nostrum, vocantes nos carnivoras et sanguibibas, et cruentos, aliis horrendis nominibus appellantes; ep. 1431. Besides the letters here cited, we note the following, referring always to De Wette's incomparable edition, viz. Epp. 743, 747, 774, 819, 865, 866, 867, 878, 904, 914, 938, 944, 995, 1011, 1153, 1216, 1266, 1347, 1365, 1366.

§ Hess, 275, Buddei Isagoge, pp. 433, 1038, 1045.

‖ Vol. vii. p. 451. ep. 22.

¶ Vol. iii. p. 459, sq. Amica Exegesis, id est Expositio eucharistiae negotii, ad Martinum Lutherum. Milner has cited some intolerant and even damnatory expressions of Zwingle's, chiefly against the Anabaptists. Alas! who of that age is free from this fault? But surely it is not on *this* point that a friend of Luther's character would choose to found a comparison with Zwingle.

tone rare in the controversies of that age; hoping that he will be neither obstinate nor implacable; declaring that he enters the field not with arms but a flag of truce; and pleasantly cites the story of Alexander the Great, when one appealed to him as softened by a three day's consideration. "To many" says Zwingle, "you have seemed to treat this difficult subject in great warmth, and not to have spared pious and inoffensive men, as befitted their worth. Show yourself then for a little moment unprejudiced and placid, and remember how dangerous are wrath, obstinacy, rashness, strife and the like, when they take the place of justice, courage, constancy and sobriety." And again to the reader who might be ready to expect a bitter warfare between the two great reformers: "Fear not! I will use such temper in writing that Luther can take no offence, and Papists have nothing to glory of. Luther contended with us publicly, and heaped on us curses, which we bore with the grace of peace. No one of us muttered, and no one now will indulge in vituperation."

In this state of things the Landgrave of Hesse hoped that by means of a conference some compromise might be effected, to remove the bitterness of an endless dispute. He therefore in 1529 invited the two leaders to meet him at his town of Marpurg. Zwingle consented without hesitation, and set out in the month of September, in company with Rodolph Collinus, Hedio, and Oecolampadius. Luther brought on his part Melancthon, Justus Jonas, Agricola and Brentius. This was the only meeting which ever took place between Zwingle and Luther. After a fruitless attempt to bring the parties to some agreement, it was resolved that they should live in peace and treat each other as brethren. That the conference might be made more profitable, a confession was drawn up containing the principal articles of faith maintained by the Protestants. This formula was signed by all present except one. The correspondence of Luther, Melancthon, Oecolampadius and Zwingle, recently published in Germany, affords us many lively glimpses into the very scenes of the Reformation, such as were not enjoyed even by the great historians who have preceded us. We have before us Melancthon's formal report of the conference to the Elector of Saxony. In this he says, "Zwingle and Oecolampadius were greatly desirous that we should receive them as *brethren.* This we were altogether unwilling to do, and told them strongly, that we wondered with what

conscience they could hold us as brethren, when they believed us to be in error."* Luther went reluctantly to the conference, and cited the ill results of similar colloquies with the Arians. He appears to have looked with little respect upon his opponents. *In summa, homines sunt inepti et imperiti ad disputandum.* He was however elated by the result, declaring that the prayers of the righteous had been answered in the confusion and humbling of the Sacramentarians. The truth is, Luther and his friends had not allowed themselves to become acquainted with the exact views of the brethren whom they opposed; so that when, at Marpurg, the latter disavowed several heresies charged upon them, this was seized on as a grand concession. After all, the benevolent but stormy heart of Luther was somewhat mollified, as appears from the following letter to Gerbel.

"You will learn from the conversation and written report of your delegates [Sturm and Hedio] how far we profited in our comparison of doctrines at Marpurg. After we had stoutly defended our views, and they had conceded many of their own, being pertinacious only in the article touching the sacrament of the altar, they were dismissed in peace. We did this lest too much wringing of the nose should bring forth blood. Prov. xxx. 33. Charity and peace, we owe even to our enemies. We warned them, however, unless they repented in regard to this article, that however they might enjoy our charity, they could not be numbered by us among brethren and members of Christ. You will judge what fruit will come of this. Certainly not the least part of the scandal is removed, when contention in writing and speaking is taken away, and this is more than we had hoped to effect. Would to God that remaining scruple were at length removed by Christ! Amen."†

It is no more than is just to Zwingle to add, that the silence pledged at Marpurg was observed by him, and that the plighted peace was not violated until after his death, After his return home, he addressed to Philip a book on 'The Providence of God,' which gave occasion to some to

* Corpus Reformatorum, vol. 1. p. 1099. And again in a letter to Agricola, p. 1107: "*Visi sunt frigidiores*, quam fore arbitrabar. Magnopere contenderunt, ut a nobis fratres appellarentur. Vide eorum stullitiam! Cum damnent nos, cupiunt tamen a nobis fratres haberi. Nos noluimus eis hac in re assentiri."

† These facts concerning Luther do not appear in the common histories; and have been gleaned by us from his letters; v. Epp. 1119, 1120, 1138, 1154, 1162, 1190, 1216, 1217.

allege that he made God the author of sin. While some of his expressions cannot be justified, it was altogether unseemly for the reproach to come from the Lutheran side, since language equally unguarded and very similar abounds in Luther's treatise on the Will. Whether Zwingle clearly made the distinction between the physical act and its formal nature, is not obvious; it was scarcely to have been expected at such a stage of the Reformation in a man embarrassed with a thousand cares and a thousand enemies; but we are bound in candour to understand him as maintaining, that while the entity of the act and its direction are from God, that in which it is moral and sinful is entirely from the creature. On such a subject it is the part of wisdom to avoid all rash judgments and harsh expressions unwarranted by scripture. In the same work he offended many of his party by the favourable opinion which he expressed concerning the salvation of the heathen.

At the diet of Augsburg, in 1530, the Zwinglians presented a confession of their faith to the emperor, in the name of the cities of Strasburg, Constance, Memmingen, and Landau. This was drawn by Bucer and Capito. It was less acceptable to the emperor than that of the Lutherans, and he commanded Faber and Eckius to prepare an answer to it, which was read in a full diet. The Zwinglians were thereupon ordered to renounce their doctrine. Zwingle himself sent to the diet his own confession of faith, in twelve articles. Soon after these events Zwingle addressed to the Protestant princes a letter in defence of his opinions against Eckius, particularly in respect to the sacrament of the Eucharist. In this he expressly denies the real presence, concerning which the Lutherans had been less explicit; for Bucer had drawn up the article in ambiguous terms so as to avoid condemnation. Melancthon and Brentius, after this, published a treatise to show that the doctrine of the Zwinglians was altogether different from that of the Lutherans. When the emperor had published the decree of the diet, the Protestant princes and the reformed cantons of Switzerland entered into a confederacy to defend themselves and their religion against the emperor and other Roman Catholic powers. This was the league of Smalkalde, concluded in 1531.

In the same year the discontents, which had long existed in Switzerland, burst out into open war between the five Roman Catholic cantons and those of Zurich and Berne.

On the 6th of October, the five cantons published their manifesto, and took the field. The Zurichers were unable to send more than a few hundred men. Zwingle was ordered to accompany them. It was, as Sleidan and Oecolampadius have observed, the custom of his canton from time immemorial, when engaged in war, to take their chief minister with them to perform religious services. And this is reasonable and scriptural. No order of men more need religious instructions than soldiers; nor are they ever more in need of the gospel than on the field of death. Zwingle was not a man to forsake his friends in the hour of peril, and he doubtless had in mind the similar service enjoined on the priests under the old law. "Our cause is good," said he, "but it is ill-defended. It will cost my life, and that of a number of excellent men who would wish to restore religion to its primitive purity, and our country to its ancient manners. No matter! God will not abandon his servants." The engagement was at Cappel, which is only three leagues from Zurich; but the road crosses Mount Albis, and its rapid descent impeded the heavy armed soldiery. In the meantime the roar of cannon announced that the battle was begun. "Let us hasten our march," said Zwingle, "or we shall perhaps arrive too late. As for me, I will go and join my brethren. I will assist in saving them, or we will die together."

In the beginning of the battle, while Zwingle was encouraging the troops by his exhortations, he received a mortal wound, transfixing his throat. He was heard at this moment to exclaim *Ecquid hoc infortunii!* "What is there of misfortune in this?" He remained senseless for some time, but recovering his consciousness, he raised himself with difficulty, crossed his feeble hands upon his breast, and lifted up his dying eyes to heaven: *Âge*, he cried, *age, corpus quidem occidere possunt; animam non possunt:* "Well, they are able to kill the body; the soul they cannot kill." Some Romish soldiers found him in the attitude we have mentioned, and offered him a confessor; which, with a motion of the head, he declined. They exhorted him to pray to the Holy Virgin. A second sign of refusal enraged them. "Die, then, obstinate heretic!" cried one, and pierced him with his sword.* His body, as soon as recognised, was

* These particulars were learnt from some peasants, who recognised Zwingle the moment he was killed. Hess, 320. Gerdesius. Labouderie.

burnt to ashes by his ruthless enemies. Thus died Ulrich Zwingle, at once hero and martyr, at the age of forty-seven years. It is an interesting coincidence, illustrative of Swiss customs, that the celebrated Lavater, who was also a pastor at Zurich, came to his end in a similar manner, being wounded on the 26th of September, 1799, after a bloody battle between the victorious French and the combined forces of Austria and Russia.

The true monument to Zwingle exists in the Reformed Churches of Switzerland. Next to this must be placed the productions of his pen, which are here for the first time collected. These, even where their intrinsic value is not great, and where we less feel the need of them on account of the more accurate works which have superseded them, nevertheless have uncommon attractions. In the use of the logical weapons of his day, Zwingle was as dexterous as he was intrepid, and his dialectic was singularly free from the rust of the schools. In the conduct of an argument he baffled all his opposers. There is nothing like finesse, nothing like circumvention. Courage is as much imprinted on his reasonings as on his life. In his theological opinions he was sometimes incautious, especially on the subject of Original Sin; but concerning this he is believed to have satisfied the more rigid Calvinists that he was substantially sound. On this point his frank and copious declaration to Urbanus Rhegius may be consulted.* "He had," says a great and eloquent enemy of his opinions, "much neatness in his diction. None of the pretended reformers has expressed his thoughts in a manner more precise, more uniform, or more connected; none has pushed them further, or with greater hardihood."† As a scholar, he had passed his early days in that rapture of enthusiastic attachment to the disinterred relics of Greece and Rome, which has never been felt since the age of the revival of letters. In this ancient literature, he was, like Erasmus and Melancthon, thoroughly steeped. When the faith of the gospel came to occupy his soul, he still wrote in the idiom of the classics. Scarcely a page can be pointed out in his letters or his works which does not sparkle with allusions to the ancient lore.

As a pastor and a man, Zwingle, as reported to us, stands free from all imputation of unfaithfulness or extravagance. "He instructed his flock daily from the pulpit, and possess

* Vol. iii. p. 627. † Bossuet, Histoire des Variations, liv. 2.

ing in the highest degree the art of speaking to the comprehension of every one, he was able to give to his sermons an ever new attraction. He was still more admirable in his private conversations. With affecting condescension, he brought himself down to a level with the most humble capacities, and tranquillized such as came to confide to him their doubts, and disclose the agitation of their minds. His house was the asylum of the unfortunate, and he employed his small income, his credit, his connexions, his ascendency, in rendering service to those who had need of him. When we think of all that he performed during his abode at Zurich, it seems as if a whole life would scarcely suffice for so many labours; yet it was in the short space of twelve years, that he succeeded in changing the manners, the religious ideas, and the political principles of his adopted country, and in founding establishments, many of which have endured for three centuries."*

"It was in the midst of his friends," the same biographer beautifully observes, "that he sought relaxation from labour. His serenity and cheerfulness gave a great charm to his conversation; his temper was naturally hasty, and he sometimes gave way too much to his first feelings; but he knew how to efface the painful impression that he had produced, by a prompt and sincere return of kindness. Incapable of retaining the smallest degree of rancour from the recollection of his own faults or those of others, he was equally inaccessible to the sentiments of hatred, jealousy, and envy. The amiable qualities of his disposition gained him the attachment of his colleagues, who united around him as a common centre, and it is worthy of remark, that at this period, when all the passions were in motion, nothing ever troubled the harmony that prevailed among them: yet they were neither united by family connexions, nor by early acquaintance; they were strangers, attracted to Zurich by the protection afforded to the reformed, or sent for by Zwingle to take part in the labour of public instruction. They came with habits already formed, with ideas already fixed, and of an age when the ardour of youth, so favourable to the formation of friendships, was past: but a stronger tie than any other united them—their common interest in the new light that began to dawn over Europe. These learned men communicated to each other all their ideas without reserve:

* Hess, pp. 280. sq.

they consulted upon the works that they meditated, and sometimes united their talents and their knowledge in undertakings which would have exceeded the powers of any one singly. In our days each individual seems to be connected by a thousand threads with all the members of a society; but these apparent ties have no real strength, and are broken by the first shock. The men of the 16th century had something more masculine and more profound in their affections; they were capable of a forgetfulness of self which we find it difficult to conceive."*

That he was not a Luther, or even a Calvin, is saying of Zwingle what may be said of all the rest of mankind; but we have little patience with those ecclesiastical historians, who, in order to exalt even the great Reformer, enter upon petty arguments to degrade his brethren. And especially do we lament the hasty warmth and incorrectness of Dean Milner, whose admirable continuation of his brother's work is seldom marred by such passages as those to which we have already alluded.

When these remarks of ours were brought thus near to a close, we obtained for the first time the 'Life of Ulricus Zuinglius,' recently issued by the Board of Publication; and we can freely recommend it as a useful and interesting little work. The compiler has made very valuable additions to Hess. The whole series of biographical works prepared for the Board is highly valuable, especially as the external appearance of these, as of all their books, is such as leaves nothing to be desired.

John C. Lord.

Art. III.—*Finney's Sermons on Sanctification, and Mahan on Christian Perfection.*

The prevalence of Arminian views in Theology, in portions of the Presbyterian Church, has been largely insisted upon by some, and as confidently denied by others. While the defection from our standards existing in certain localities has undoubtedly been exaggerated, it ought not to be denied that serious evils have prevailed, and the more orthodox among New School Presbyterians have always admitted the

* Hess, p. 286.