

The Life Of Dr. Martin Luther

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By
Martin Luther

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Part 1b

The pope's legate, Thomas de Vio, cardinal of Caieta, was certainly a judge little open to suspicion. He had, indeed, himself written that it was permissible to interpret the Scripture, without following the torrent of the fathers, *contra torrentem patrum*, and this freedom had rendered him somewhat liable to an imputation of heresy; but, as the pope's man in this affair, he took it up entirely as a political matter, and assailed the doctrine of Luther only in the point of view, where it shook the political and fiscal domination of the court of Rome. He limited himself to the practical question of the *treasure of the indulgences*, without extending his interrogatories to the speculative principle of grace.

"In the year 1518, the 9th of October," says Luther, "when I was cited to Augsburg, I came and appeared: Frederick, prince-elect of Saxony, having appointed me a strong convoy and safe-conduct; and recommended me to the people of the city, who were very attentive, and warned me in no case to have conversation with the Italians, nor to repose any trust

Myconius, who soon after threw off the monk's gown, and married a young girl of Gotha. Luther preached next day in his church.

"Some days after, he embraced at Nuremberg his friend Wincelau Linck, who made him a present of a handsome black gown, and accompanied him, together with an Augustin named Leonard, to Augsburg. For some way, all three travelled on foot; but, at a few miles from the city, Luther could scarcely walk; a vehicle was then hired by Linck, and all three proceeded by it the remainder of the journey. On the evening of his arrival in Augsburg, Luther wrote thus to his friend Philip Melancthon, then a professor in the university of Tubingen, afterwards his colleague and associate at Wittemberg:

"There is nothing new or wonderful here at present known to me, except that I am the subject of conversation throughout the city, my name in every man's mouth. All are anxious to see him who is to be the victim of such a conflagration. You, meantime, will continue quietly and faithfully to discharge your duty, without alarm, instructing rightly, as you have ever done, the youth under your care. For you and for them I go onward, ready to be sacrificed, if such be the will of Heaven. I am not only ready to die, but, what were far worse to me, to be deprived of your dear society, rather than retract the truths I have maintained, or be the means of affording the stupid and bitter enemies of liberal studies and elegant learning an opportunity of achieving a triumph. Italy is prostrate in Egyptian darkness, and her people are ignorant of Christ and of those who love Christ. But we know some influential men who regard true religion. The wrath of God may be administered by our agency, as it is written—'I will make their princes as children, and the feeble shall reign over them.' Farewell, beloved Melancthon, and avert the wrath of God from us by your faithful prayers. Augsburg, October 12, 1518.'"—AUDIN.

or confidence in them, for I knew not, they said, what sort of wretches they were. I was three whole days in Augsburg without the emperor's safe-conduct. In the meantime, an Italian [Urban di Serra Longa] came to me, invited me to go to the cardinal, and earnestly persuaded me to recant. I should (said he) need to speak but only one word before the cardinal, *Revoco*; and then the cardinal would recommend me to the pope's favour, so that with honour I might return safely again to my master, the prince-electors. He quoted several examples, among others, that of the famous Joachim de Flores, who had submitted, and was consequently no heretic, though he had advanced heretical propositions. When he urged me no longer to delay waiting on the cardinal, I replied that certain excellent individuals to whom I had been recommended by the elector Frederick, had urged me first to procure the emperor's safe-conduct. Thereupon he replied, with much warmth: 'What! do you think the elector will take up arms on your account?' 'I should be unwilling,' said I, 'to be the occasion of such an extremity.' 'But if you had the pope and cardinals in your power,' returned he, 'what would you do with them?' 'I would show them all reverence and honour,' I replied. He paused, snapped his fingers after the Italian manner, and cried *Hem!* after which he departed, and I saw him no more.

"At the expiration of three days, the bishop of Trent came, who, in the emperor's name, showed and declared to the cardinal my safe-conduct. Then I went unto him in all humility, fell down first upon my knees, then prostrate upon the ground, where I remained at his feet, till after the cardinal had three times bid me rise; thereupon I stood up. This pleased him well, hoping I would consider, and better bethink myself.

"The next day, when I came before him again, and would absolutely revoke nothing at all, he said to me, 'What! thinkest thou the pope cares much for Germany? his little finger is more powerful than all Germany. Or dost thou think the princes will raise arms and armies to defend thee? Oh, no! where, then, wilt thou remain in safety?' I replied, 'Under heaven.'

"After this the pope lowered his tone, and wrote to our church, even to the prince-electors' chaplain, and to one

of his counsellors, Pfeffinger, that they would surrender me into his hands, and procure that his commands might be put in execution. And the pope wrote also to the prince-elector himself as thus :

“ ‘Although, as touching thy person, thou art to me unknown, yet I have seen thy father (prince Ernest) at Rome, who was altogether an obedient son to the church ; he visited and frequented our religion with great devotion, and held the same in highest honour. I wish that thy illustrious serenity would tread in his footsteps,’ &c.

“ But the prince-elector well marked the pope’s unaccustomed humility, and his evil conscience ; he was also acquainted with the power and operation of the holy Scriptures. Therefore he remained where he was, and merely returned thanks to the pope for his affection towards him.

“ My books and resolutions in a short time went, or rather flew throughout Europe, therefore the prince-elector was confirmed and strengthened, insomuch that he utterly refused to execute the pope’s commands, and subjected himself fully to the acknowledgment of the Scriptures.

“ If the cardinal had handled me with more discretion at Augsburg, and had received me when I fell at his feet, things would never have come thus far; for at that time I saw very few of the pope’s errors which now I see; had he been silent, so had I held my peace. It was at that time the style and custom of the Romish court, in dark and confused cases, for the pope to say : *We, by virtue of our papal power, do take these causes unto us, we annul them and destroy them ;* and the parties had nothing left for it but to weep.

“ I am persuaded that the pope willingly would give three cardinals to have the matter where it was, before he began to meddle with me.” ¹

Let us add some other details from a letter of Luther’s to Spalatin, that is to say, to the elector, dated 14th October.

“ On the day I was first admitted to an audience, I was received by the most reverend cardinal legate, not only with kindness but with marked deference and respect ; for he is a very different man from some of the more violent of his brethren. He had no inclination, he said, to debate with me.

¹ Tischreden, 377—380.

but he mildly and feelingly proposed to compromise the matter, by submitting to me three conditions sanctioned by the pope:—1. That I should alter my opinions, and retract my erroneous propositions; 2. That I should engage to abstain from propagating such doctrines in future; and, 3. That I should not circulate any opinions opposed to the authority of the church. I immediately desired to be informed in what respect I had erred, as I was not conscious of inculcating any error, for that the opinions I had set forth at Wittenberg had occasioned me no trouble or opposition there, and I was not aware I had changed any of my sentiments since I had arrived in Augsburg. This went on for four days, the prelate still refusing to have any controversy with me publicly or privately; all he did was to repeat, over and over and over again, ‘Retract!—acknowledge thy error, whether thou believest it an error or not. The pope commands thee to do this.’ At length, he was induced to consent that I might explain myself in writing, which I accordingly did, in presence of the seigneur de Feilitzch, the elector’s representative. But when I had done, the legate refused to receive what I had written, and renewed his cry of *Retract! retract!* Next he hurled out some long harangue or other in the romance of St. Thomas, with which he fancied he would utterly crush me, and reduce me to silence. Ten times did I essay to speak, and ten times did he stop me short; raging and tyrannizing over me throughout the whole affair. At last he referred me to the Extravagant of pope Clement VI., entitled *Unigenitus*, and objected on the strength of it to my 58th proposition: ‘That the merits of Christ were not the treasure of the *indulgences*.’ He strenuously urged me to retract the proposition, and he paused for a little, in confidence of my submission, for he flattered himself, nay seemed almost certain, that I was ignorant of the Extravagant referred to, and he was the more confident about this, in that it is not inserted in all the collections.

“I then, in my turn, took to raising my voice somewhat. ‘Come,’ said I, ‘if you can show me that your decretal of Clement VI. says expressly that the merits of Christ *are* the treasure of the indulgences, I retract.’ Lord, what a laugh there was at this! The legate snatched the book, and ran over the pages in breathless haste, till he came to the place where it is written that ‘Christ by his passion *acquired* the treasures,’ &c. I stopped him at the word ‘acquired.’

“By and bye, upon my asserting that the pope had no power except *salvâ Scriptura*, the cardinal laughed, and said: “Do you not know that the pope is above all councils? Has he not recently condemned and punished the council of Bâle?” “Yes,” I replied; “but the university of Paris has appealed from his decision.” The cardinal: “The university of Paris will be punished too.” After a while, I spoke of Gerson. The cardinal said: “What are the Gersonists to me?” I asked him, who the Gersonists were? “Bah!” said he; “let’s speak no more about them,” and so he turned the conversation to something else.¹

“After dinner, the legate sent for the reverend father Staupitz, and endeavoured to cajole him into bringing me to a retractation, adding, that I should have a difficulty in finding any one who had a more friendly feeling towards me than he had.²

¹ See Appendix I.

² Staupitz and Wenceslaus Linck accordingly had an interview with Luther, who thereupon wrote a letter to the legate, conceived in these terms:— “I present myself before you again, my father, but only in a letter. I have seen our vicar, John Staupitz, and my brother, maître Wenceslaus Linck: you could not have selected mediators more agreeable to me. I am moved at what I have heard. I have no longer any fear: the fear I experienced is changed into filial love and respect. You were at full liberty to make use of force: you have chosen rather to employ persuasion and charitable kindness.

“I fully admit that I have been violent, hostile, insolent, towards the pope. I should have treated so grave a matter with more reverence. I am penitent for my conduct; I solicit your pardon for it, in the eyes of all men, and I promise you, that henceforward I will speak and act in an entirely different manner. I will say nothing further about indulgences, provided you will impose the same silence on those who have brought me into this deplorable position.

“As to the retractation, reverend sir, which you and our vicar require of me with such pertinacity, my conscience will not permit me to give it; and there is nothing in the world, neither command nor counsel, nor the voice of friendship nor of mere prudence, which could induce me to act against my conscience. There remains but one voice to be heard, which has higher claims than any other—that of the bride, which is the same with the voice of the bridegroom.

“I, therefore, in all humility, supplicate you to bring this affair immediately under the eyes of our holy father, pope Leo X., so that the church may definitively pronounce what is to be believed, and what rejected.”—
AUDIN.

The legate transmitted Luther’s answer to the pope by a special courier. He had previously sent word to Luther, that the affair might easily be arranged, if he would revoke what he had said about indulgences. “As to the point about the faith necessary for the holy sacrament, that may be left.”

The disputants pursued courses diametrically opposed the one to the other: conciliation was impossible. The friends of Luther feared a snare for him on the part of the Italians: he accordingly quitted Augsburg, leaving behind him an *Appeal to the Pope better informed*,¹ and at the same time addressed a long narrative of the conference to the elector.² In it he entreats that prince not to deliver him up to the pope: "I call upon your illustrious highness to follow the dictates of honour and conscience, and not to send me to the pope. The legate certainly has not in his instructions any guarantee for my security at Rome. For them to demand of you to

¹ Luther left Augsburg altogether hastily. Staupitz gave him a horse, and provided him with a guide who knew the country well. A magistrate of Augsburg, Langemantel, led him in the night, through the by-streets, to a postern, and there took leave of him. Next morning, a monk, by order of the prior of the Carmelites, who himself forthwith absconded, affixed Luther's appeal to the gates of the convent. Its purport runs thus:—

'If Luther has controverted indulgences, it is because indulgences are not accordant with the divine word, or with its spirit. He would never have entertained the idea of controverting the catholic faith, or its discipline, or its symbols.

'2. He has invariably declared his readiness, his desire, to submit his theses to the judgment of the church and the sovereign pontiff.

'3. The judges assigned him were not impartial. Sylvestro Prierio, who has written dialogues against him, has never occupied himself with genuine theology; he is a mere Thomist.

'4. If he did not proceed to Rome, as enjoined, it was because at Rome, where once dwelt justice, murder now has taken up its abode: *justitia habitavit in eâ, nunc autem homicida*.

'Oppressed, then, struck at in his liberty, in his honour, and in his writings, which he once more submits to the judgment of his holiness:

'FROM THE POPE ILL INFORMED, HE APPEALS TO THE POPE BETTER INFORMED.'

'On the 18th, the cardinal received the following note from Luther, apprising him of his intended departure.

'Your reverence has seen my obedience, in this great journey I have undertaken, infirm as I am in body, poor, without the means of living. I cannot remain longer here, losing my time, and being a charge to the dear fathers Carmelite, who have lodged and entertained me. I go, therefore, confiding in God.'—AUDIN.

² While Luther was at Augsburg, he was often requested to preach in that city, but he invariably refused to do so, though courteously, fearing lest the legate might impute his preaching, under the circumstances, to bravado or personal impertinence. Luther said, on quitting Augsburg, that if he had four hundred heads, he would lose them all, rather than recant his article respecting faith. "There is no one in Germany," says Hutten, "who more utterly despises death than does Luther."

send me thither, is to ask you to spill Christian blood, to become a homicide. To Rome! why the pope himself does not live in security there! They have plenty of pens and ink in the Eternal City, plenty of scribes, scribes innumerable. They can easily put down in writing what my errors are. It will cost them less money to draw up an indictment against me absent, than to have me to Rome, and destroy me there by treachery.

“What affects me most especially is, that my lord the legate speaks ill of your electoral grace, as though it were upon you that I relied in undertaking all these things. There are even liars, who go about saying that it was your grace’s exhortation that induced me to commence discussing the question of indulgences; whereas, in point of fact, even among my dearest friends, there was no one who knew beforehand of my intention, except the archbishop of Magdeburg, and the bishop of Mayence.”

His fears were well grounded; the court of Rome was at the time making direct application to the elector of Saxony. It insisted upon having Luther at any rate. The legate had already complained bitterly to Frederic of the audacity of Luther, entreating him either to send him back to Augsburg, or to expel him from his dominions, if he did not desire to sully his glory and that of his ancestors, by protecting this miserable monk. “I heard yesterday, at Nuremberg, that Charles von Miltitz is on his way, armed (as I am assured from an eye-witness worthy of implicit credit) with no fewer than three briefs from the pope, to take me bodily and deliver me over to the pontiff. But I have appealed from him and his briefs to the future council.” It was, indeed, necessary for him thus to repudiate the pope, for, as the legate had communicated to Frederic, Luther was already condemned at Rome.¹ He, however, put forth this new protest, with all the regular forms, declared he would submit readily to the judgment of the pope, well informed of the whole matter, but that the pope was fallible, as St. Peter himself had been fallible; and he therefore appealed to a general council, superior to the pope, with respect to all that the pope might

¹ The bull, issued by Leo as a preliminary proceeding to the absolute excommunication of Luther, was published on 9th November.

decree against him. Meantime, he feared some sudden violence; he might perhaps be carried off from Wittemberg. "They have misled you," he writes to Spalatin: "I have not bid farewell to the people of Wittemberg. All that I said to them was this: You every one know that I am a preacher, somewhat given to moving about from place to place. How many times have I quitted you abruptly, without saying farewell. Should the same thing happen again, and I should not return, you must assume that I have bid you adieu beforehand."

On the 2nd December he writes: "I am advised to request the prince to shut me up, as though I were a prisoner, in some castle, and then that he should write to the legate, that he holds me in sure custody, where I shall be compelled to answer all that the pope may put to me."

"There cannot be a moment's doubt that the prince and the university are for me. I have had related to me a conversation that passed on the subject at the court of the bishop of Brandenburg. Some one observed that Erasmus, Fabricius, and other learned personages supported Luther. 'The pope would not humble himself much for that,' replied the bishop, 'if it were not that the university of Wittemberg and the elector are also on his side.'" Still Luther passed the autumn of 1518 in constant alarm. He even thought of quitting Germany. "In order not to involve your highness in any danger, I will leave your territory; I will go whither the mercy of God shall lead me, confiding myself, in all things, to his divine will. I therefore now humbly offer my respects to your highness. Among whatsoever people I may retire I shall preserve an eternal recollection, an undying gratitude for all the good you have done me," (19 November.) Saxony, in truth, might well appear to Luther a somewhat insecure retreat. The pope was seeking to gain over the elector. Charles von Miltitz, a Saxon nobleman, canon of Mayence, named by Leo his agent in the matter, was commissioned to offer him the consecrated Golden Rose, a distinction which the court of Rome seldom accorded to other than kings, as a recompence for peculiar filial piety towards the church. This was putting the elector to a severe trial. It became necessary for him to make a definite explanation, one way or the other, and thus perhaps to involve himself in very considerable danger. The

elector's hesitation on this occasion appears from a letter of Luther: "The prince at first altogether dissuaded me from publishing the proceedings of the conference of Augsburg; then he permitted me to publish them, and they are at this moment being printed. In his anxiety for me he would prefer I were anywhere else. He sent for me to Lichtenberg, where I had a long conversation with Spalatin on the subject: 'If the censures come,' I said, 'I will remain not a day longer.' He told me, however, not to be premature in setting out for France."

This was written on the 13th December. On the 20th, Luther was quite re-assured. The elector had replied to the pope, with truly diplomatic coolness, that he acknowledged himself an obedient son of holy mother church; that he entertained very great respect for his pontifical holiness, but that he wished the affair to be examined by judges not liable to suspicion. This was an infallible means of delaying the business, and, meantime, some circumstance or other might arise to lessen, or, at all events, put off the danger. The great point was to gain time: and the expectation was fulfilled. In January, 1519, the emperor died; and during the interregnum which followed, Frederic, by the express choice of Maximilian, acted as regent of the empire.

On the 3rd March, 1519, Luther, thus restored to confidence, wrote to the pope a letter, high in its spirit, though respectful in its form. It ran thus:

"Most holy father, necessity once more compels me, refuse of society and dust of the earth that I am, to address your exalted majesty; and I implore your holiness to listen to the bleatings of the poor lamb that now approaches you.

"Charles von Miltitz, private chancellor to your holiness, a just and worthy man, has, in your name, accused me to the illustrious prince Frederic of presumption, of irreverence towards the Roman church, and demanded, in your name, satisfaction; and I have been filled with grief at the misfortune of being suspected of disrespect towards the column of the church—I, who have never had any other wish than to assert and defend its honour.

"What am I to do, holy father? I have none to counsel me, on the one hand; on the other, I dare not expose myself to the effects of your resentment. Yet how avoid them? I

know not. Retract, you say. Were the retraction demanded from me possible, it should be made. Thanks to my adversaries, to their fierce resistance, and to their rabid hostility, my writings have spread abroad far more widely than I had anticipated; my doctrines have penetrated too deeply into men's hearts for them now to be effaced. Germany is at this time flourishing in men of learning, of judgment, of genius: if I desire to do honour to the Roman church, it will be by revoking nothing. A retraction would only injure her in the estimation of the people, and expose her to ill representations.

“ They whom I oppose, most holy father, are the men who have really injured and disgraced the holy Roman church; those adorers of filthy lucre, who have gone about, in your name, involving the very name of repentance in discredit and opprobrium, and seeking to throw the whole weight of their iniquities upon me, the man who struggled against their monstrosities.

“ Ah, holy father, before God, before the whole creation. I affirm that I have never once had it in my thought to weaken or shake the authority of the holy see. I fully admit that the power of the Roman church is superior to all things under God; neither in heaven nor on earth is there aught above it, our Lord Jesus excepted. Let no credit be given by your holiness to any who seek to represent Luther to you in any other light.

“ As to indulgences, I promise your holiness to occupy myself no further with them, to keep silence respecting them for the future, provided my adversaries, on their side, remain silent; to recommend the people, in my sermons, to love Rome, and not to impute to her the faults of others; not to give implicit faith to all the severe things I have abusively said of her, in the excitement of combating these mountebanks; so that, by God's help, these dissensions may, in brief time, be appeased; for my whole desire has been, that the Roman church, our common mother, should not be dishonoured by the base lies and jargon of these lucre-hunters, and that men should learn to prefer charity to indulgences.”

Luther had formed his determination. Already, a month or two previously, he had written: “ The pope has not chosen to allow me a just judge, and I will not admit the

judgment of the pope. He then will be the text, and I the commentary." Elsewhere, he says to Spalatin (13th March), "I am at work on the Epistle of St. Paul to the Galatians. I have in contemplation a sermon on the Passion. Besides my ordinary lessons, I teach a number of children every evening, and explain to them the Lord's Prayer. In the intervals, I am looking through the decretals, with a view to my new discussion, and I find Christ so altered and crucified therein, that I have not made up my mind (let me whisper it in your ear) whether the pope is Antichrist himself, or only the apostle of Antichrist."

Whatever progress Luther might make in violence, the pope had thenceforward but very little chance of wresting from a powerful prince, to whom the majority of electors had delegated the empire, that prince's favourite theologian. Miltitz accordingly modified his tone. He declared that the pope would still be satisfied with a retractation. He visited Luther on apparently the most friendly and intimate terms. He essayed to flatter his vanity, by admitting that he had got all the world on his side, away from the pope.¹ He assured him, that on his way from Italy, he had not found more than two men out of five favourable to Rome. He wanted to persuade him to go and explain his views to the archbishop of Treves, but he did not profess that he was authorized to make this proposition either by the pope or by the archbishop. The good faith of the advice was matter of very great doubt indeed. Luther knew that he had been burned in effigy at Rome, (*papyraceus Martinus in Campo Floræ publicè combustus, execratus, devotus.*) His reply to Miltitz was cold and harsh, and he warned him that one of his messengers had excited such suspicions at Wittenberg, that the reformers there had been on the point of throwing him into the Elbe. "If, as you say, you are compelled, by my refusal, to come yourself, God give you a happy voyage. As to me, I have no time and no money to go wandering about in that manner. Farewell, worthy sir."

¹ Luther's works had already a very large circulation. John Frobin, a celebrated printer of Bâle, writes him word on the 14th Feb. 1519, that his books are read and approved of, even at Paris, nay, even in the Sorbonne; that he has no more than one copy left, of all those he had reprinted at Bâle, which were spread throughout Italy, Spain, and elsewhere, and everywhere admired by the learned. Seckendorf, 681.

On the arrival of Miltitz in Germany, Luther had said he would hold his peace, provided his opponents did the same; but they themselves released him from his engagement. Eck solemnly challenged him to come and dispute with him at Leipsig,¹ and he accordingly proceeded with Carlstadt to the place of meeting. But first, to enable him to appear in a decent garb at Leipsig, he was obliged to request a gown from the parsimonious elector, who, for the last two or three years, had omitted to supply him with clothes. The letter is curious:—"I beseech your electoral grace to have the kindness to purchase for me a white surplice and a black one. The white one I humbly ask for. As for the black one, your highness owes it to me, for you promised it me two or three years ago; and Pfeffinger has such difficulty in loosening his purse-strings, that I have been obliged to procure one for myself. I humbly beseech your highness, who thought that *the Psalmster* merited a black surplice, not to deem *Saint Paul* unworthy of a white one."

His journey to Leipsig is thus described by Seckendorf: "First came Carlstadt alone in a chariot; on the way one of his wheels broke, near St. Paul's church, and he was thrown out, which was considered a bad omen for him. Next came the chariot of Barnim, prince of Pomerania, who

¹ "Eck was at Augsburg, when Luther presented himself before cardinal Cajetano. He had just proposed a theological controversy upon the questions which were agitating the world, with Carlstadt, who had accepted the challenge. Luther arranged its matter and manner. Eck, in a programme which he distributed in large numbers, pompously announced the intelligence, and in doing so attacked with considerable bitterness some of Luther's theses.

"Luther, who asked nothing better than a disputation, sent forth another programme; his letter, forwarding it to Carlstadt, ran thus:—'All health to you: Our worthy Eccius, that illustrious master, has published a *schedula*, wherein he sets forth, in his usual inflated style, that he is going to have a controversy with you at Leipsic. You remember, that during my stay at Augsburg, I arranged the plan of a friendly discussion between you and Eccius, which you readily undertook. But now the fellow, totally forgetting all his engagements, after grossly insulting you, and all the while pretending to assail you, is, in reality, aiming at me his frog or fly blows, I don't know which to call them.

". . . Now, my dear Andrew, I would not have you present yourself alone to this miserable disputant, for, in the first place, he attacks me as well, and, secondly, it were unjust that a man of your learning should condescend to the defence of what may be considered my fantastic imaginings."—AUDIEN.

was at that time a student at Wittemberg, with the title of honorary rector. Beside him were Luther and Melancthon, and around and following the chariot was a large body of armed students.”¹

Eck gives this account of his interview with Luther :—
 “He came in great state to Leipsig with two hundred students of Wittemberg, four doctors, three licentiates, several masters, and a great number of his partisans ; Dr. Lange, of Erfurt, Egranus, a preacher of Gorlitz, a citizen of Anneberg, some schismatics from Prague, and some Hussites, who glorify Martin as a stupendous apostle of truth, as equal even to their own John Hussinetz. The dispute was fixed for the 20th June ; I granted that the Leipsigians should not be umpires, though many were well disposed towards me. Throughout the town the only talk was of my anticipated defeat. I, as an old doctor, was there to make head against all enemies. Meantime, the prince sent me a fine stag, and a fawn to Carlstadt. The citadel was prepared as our battle field. The place was guarded by seventy-six soldiers, to protect us, in case of need, from the insults of the people of Wittemberg and the Bohemian schismatics. When Luther entered, I saw clearly enough that he had no intention of disputing. He refused to recognise any judges whatever. I proposed to him successively as persons to be deputed, prince George, and the university of Leipsig, or any other university he might prefer in Germany ; or, if Germany were too narrow a field, in France, Italy, or Spain. At last, certain doctors of Erfurt and Paris were chosen umpires.” The authorities, however, were on the side of authority, and the faculties of Paris, Louvain, and Cologne, condemned Luther’s propositions.

Luther was by this time so completely re-assured, that, not content with going to defend himself at Leipsig,² he assumed the offensive at Wittemberg. “He ventured,” says his catholic biographer, Cochläus, “with the sanction of the prince who protected him,³ solemnly to cite the most able inquisitors, men who deemed themselves able to

¹ Seckendorf, i. 92.

² See Appendix II

³ Luther could scarcely doubt the protection of the elector, when he found Spalatin, the confidant of this prince, translate into German, and publish his *Consolation to all Christians*.

swallow iron or split flints, to come and dispute with him;¹ offering them a safe conduct from the prince, who moreover undertook to provide them with board and lodging.”

At this period, Luther, still undecided in his ideas of reform, sought to clear up his doubts by discussion: he requested, he demanded public conferences. On the 15th June, 1520, he wrote to the emperor Charles V., thus:

“ Grace and peace in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. That I should venture to write to your most serene majesty, dear emperor Charles, is a circumstance that will astonish all the world: ’tis, indeed, a strange thing that the king of kings, the master of the masters of the world, should be thus approached by a dwarf of base extraction.

“ But astonishment will cease, when due attention is paid to the magnitude of the subject, that subject being gospel truth. If truth be worthy to approach the throne of celestial Majesty, it may well address itself to a prince of this world; nay, the princes of this world, the image of celestial Majesty, should take it as their model, and though dwelling on high terrestrially, look down without scorn upon things crawling beneath, raise the beggar, and take the poor man from his dunghill: a beggar and a poor man, I throw myself at the feet of your royal majesty.

“ I have published various works, which have drawn down upon me much and powerful hostility. I had thought I should have remained free from these attacks—first, because it is altogether against my own inclination that I have been involved in the struggle; I having been absolutely compelled into the public arena, instead of staying quietly, as I had wished, in my little hole; and secondly, because, by the testimony of men of rare probity, that which I have sought to defend against the superstitious absurdities of tradition, is the truth of the gospel. It is now three years since I have been incessantly exposed to hatred, danger, opprobrium. In vain have I called for mercy, in vain have I offered to hold my peace, in vain have I offered conditions, in vain have I implored to be enlightened as to my errors: what my opponents desire is to stifle me and the gospel.

“ After all I have done, it only remains for me, after the example of St. Athanasius, to invoke the aid of your impe-

¹ See Appendix III.

rial majesty—that is, if God permit you to come to the aid of His holy cause. Most serene majesty, dear king of the kings of the earth, behold me at your feet; deign to take me under your wings, or rather not me, but the truth, for whose protection alone you are entrusted with the sword. I ask you to defend me only until I shall clearly understand whether I am conqueror or conquered. I ask nothing at your hands, should it be really proved against me that I am guilty of impiety or heresy.

“ Your faithful servant.”¹

On the 4th Feb., he also wrote to the archbishop of Mayence and to the bishop of Magdeberg, letters full of submission and respect, supplicating these prelates not to credit the calumnies circulated against him, and affirming that his only aim was to enlighten his understanding, and clear up his doubts.²

Meantime, the principal adversary of Luther, Dr. Eck, had proceeded to Rome, to solicit the condemnation of the reformer, and Luther was judged and sentenced beforehand.³ All that was left to him to do, was to judge his judge, and repudiate his authority in the face of the world, and this he accordingly did in his terrible book *On the captivity of Babylon*, wherein he maintained that the church was captive, that Jesus Christ, constantly profaned in the idolatry of the mass, set aside in the dogma of transubstantiation, was the pope's prisoner.

He explains in the preface, with daring freedom, the manner in which he found himself daily driven more and more to extremities by the conduct of his adversaries: “ Whether I will or no, I become each day more learned and expert, driven about as I am, and kept in active exercise by so many antagonists at once. I wrote on the indulgences two years ago, but in a way that makes me repent I sent forth what I had written to the public. At that time I was still pro-

¹ Opera Latina, ii. 42.

² Ib.

³ The first special condemnation of Luther was issued at Rome, 15th June, 1520. It selects forty-one of Luther's propositions, and denounces them as heretical, scandalous, and damnable, and prohibits any one, under pain of excommunication, from in any way propagating or sanctioning them; and it further condemns all Luther's writings to the flames. It finally gives Luther and his followers one last opportunity of saving themselves from utter excommunication and damnation, by returning to the bosom of the church, and abandoning their errors, and allows them sixty days for this purpose.

digiously attached to the papal power, so that I dared not altogether reject the indulgences. I saw them, moreover, sanctioned by great numbers of intelligent persons—in fact, I was left to roll the great stone by myself. But since then, thanks to Sylvestro and the other brothers who so warmly defended them, I have found that they were nothing more than mere impostures invented by the flatterers of Rome, to ruin men's faith and their pockets. Would to God I could induce the booksellers, and all those who have my writings on the indulgences, to put them into the fire, and replace them by this single proposition:—*Indulgences are delusive trash, invented by the parasites of Rome.*

“ After that, Eck, Emser, and their gang came to tackle me on the question of the pope's supremacy. I am bound to admit, in gratitude towards these learned personages, that the trouble they took in this matter was not without its effect, and that a considerable effect, on my advancement. Previously, I merely denied that popery was founded on right divine, admitting that it had human right on its side. But, after having heard and read the ultra-subtle subtleties on which these poor people found the rights of their idols, I have arrived at a sounder conclusion, and am convinced that the reign of the pope is that of Babylon, and of *Nimrod the mighty hunter*. And so I request all booksellers and readers (that nothing may be wanting to the success of my good friends) to burn, also, whatever I have written hitherto on this matter, and to stick to this simple proposition: *the pope is the mighty hunter, the hunter of Roman episcopacy.*¹

At the same time, in order that it might be clearly understood that he was attacking popery rather than the pope, he wrote a long letter, both in German and in Latin,² to Leo X., wherein he repudiated any personal ill will to himself.

“ Amid the monsters of this age, with whom I have been at war these three years, my thoughts and recollections turn towards you, most holy father: I protest—and my memory is a faithful one—I have never spoken of you but with honour and respect. Were it otherwise, I should be ready to retract

¹ Opera, ix. 63.

² The German translation, observes M. Audiin, differs in many passages from the original Latin, and its general phraseology is far more energetic, more violent.

anything I had said against your person. Did I not call you the Daniel in the lion's den? Did I not defend your innocence against the man Sylvestro Rierio, who dared to impugn it? You cannot deny it, my dear Leo. The see in which you are seated surpasses in corruption the Babylon and Sodom of old, and it is against that impious Rome of yours I have set myself. I rose indignant when I saw men, under the authority of your name, shamelessly tricking Christ's people: it is against the Rome of those bad men that I have been fighting, and against which I will fight while a breath of faith remains in me. Not that I believe—for it were impossible—that my efforts will prevail against the crowd of flatterers who reign in your disordered Rome; but, charged to watch over my brethren here, I would not have them fall a prey to the Roman plague. Rome is a sink of corruption and iniquity; for it is clearer than light itself, that the Roman church, once of all churches the most chaste and pure, has become a cavern foul with robbers, the most obscene of brothels, the very throne of sin, of death, and hell! and that its wickedness could go no further, even were Antichrist reigning there in person.

“ Ay, Leo, you are as a lamb amidst the wolves, as Daniel amidst the lions, as Ezekiel amid the scorpions. And to all these monsters what have you to set in contrast?—three or four cardinals of learning and faith. But what are these three or four in so vast a crowd of infidels and reprobates? You would be poisoned by them, were you to attempt to remedy such great evils, long before you had thought of a remedy. . . The days of Rome are numbered; the anger of God has been breathed forth upon her. She hates councils, she dreads reform, she will not hear of a check being placed upon her desperate impiety. It will be said of her, as was said of her mother: *We would have healed Babylon, but she is not healed; let us flee from her.* It was for your cardinals to have remedied all these mischiefs, but the disease now defies the physician, even were he at hand; the horses scorn the reins.

“ Full of love for your person, I have often groaned in spirit to see you placed in the pontifical chair in an age like this of ours; you well merit that your destinies should have been cast in a happier time. The papal throne is not worthy of you; it should be occupied by Satan, who does, in truth,

reign more potently than you in that Babylon. Is it not true, I ask you, that under the vast canopy of heaven there exists nothing so corrupt, so wicked, so pestilential as Rome? Rome assuredly surpasses in impiety the Turk himself. Rome, heretofore the gate of heaven, is now the jaws of hell, which the anger of God keeps wide open: scarcely shall we be able to save a few souls from the infernal gulf. Unhappy Leo, to be on this cursed throne! I tell you the truth, because I desire your welfare. If St. Bernard commiserated his pope Eugenius, how must we pity you, the corruption of whose throne is augmented by the lapse of three hundred years! Yes; you would thank me for your eternal salvation, were I to succeed in breaking the chains of that dungeon, of that hell in which you are kept a prisoner. . . .

“ I do not come to you, holy father, with empty hands. I offer you a small treatise, published under the auspices of your name, as a pledge of my desire for peace, as an illustration of the mode in which I should have preferred to occupy my leisure hours, had your flatterers permitted me to follow my own inclinations; a present of small value, if you regard merely the form of the work, but highly precious—unless I deceive myself—if you consider the spirit of the book. I, a poor monk, have nothing better to offer you, and you need no gift but a spiritual gift.¹

When the bull of condemnation² arrived in Germany, it found a whole nation in a state of ebullition. At Erfurt, the students took it from the booksellers' shops, tore it in pieces, and threw it into the water, saying, with more vehemence than point—“It is a bull; let us see if it can swim.” Luther at once sent forth a pamphlet, *Against the execrable Bull of Antichrist*.³ On the 10th December, 1520, he publicly burnt the Pope's anathema at the gates of the town, amid the exulting shouts of the people; and on the same day wrote to Spalatin, his ordinary medium of communication with the Elector: “This day, the tenth of December, in the year

¹ The treatise referred to, was his *De Libertate Christianá*. With reference to the date of this letter, great controversy has taken place. In the edition of Jena, it bears the date 6th April, 1520. Seckendorf places it in October of the same year; that is to say, long after the publication of Leo's bull. We refer the reader to the Appendix, for what appears to us a satisfactory statement on the subject, by Mr. Roscoe.

² See Appendix IV.

³ See Appendix V.

1520, at nine o'clock in the morning, were burnt at Wittenberg, at the east gate, opposite the church of the Holy Cross, all the pope's books, the rescripts, the decretals of Clement VI., the extravagants, the new bull of Leo X., the *Somma Angelica*, the *Chrysopasus* of Eck, and some other productions of his, and of Emser's. This is something new, I wot." He adds, in the report he drew up on the subject: "if any one asks me why I act thus, I will answer him, that it is an old custom to burn bad books. The apostles burned books to the value of five thousand deniers."

According to the tradition, he said, on throwing the book of the decretals into the flames—"Thou hast afflicted the holy of the Lord: may eternal fire afflict thee, and consume thee."

All this was, indeed, as Luther said, something new. Hitherto most of the sects and heresies that had arisen from time to time, had formed themselves in secret, and were only too happy if their existence remained unknown; but here was a simple monk placing himself on an equality with the pope, and constituting himself the judge of the church's supreme head. The chain of old tradition was thus broken, its continuity destroyed, the seamless robe torn. Nor is it to be believed that Luther himself, with all his determination and violence of character, took this last decisive step without pain; for it was tearing from his heart at a blow the memory of a past which his youth had been taught to venerate. He believed, indeed, that he was retaining the Scripture; but then, after all, it was the Scripture interpreted otherwise than it had been for the last thousand years. His enemies have often said this; but none of them more eloquently than he himself: thus he writes, on the 29th November, to the Augustines of Wittenberg—"I feel more and more every day, how difficult it is to lay aside the scruples which one has had so long within one. Oh, how much pain it has cost me, though I had the Scripture on my side, to justify it to myself that I should dare to make a stand alone against the pope, and hold him forth as antichrist. What have the tribulations of my heart not been! How many times have I not asked myself with bitterness the same question which the papists put to me—*Art thou alone wise?* Can everybody else be so mistaken? Can so many

ages have been mistaken? How will it be, if, after all, thou thyself it is who art wrong, and art thus involving in thy error so many souls, who will then be eternally damned? 'Twas so I fought with myself, till Jesus Christ, by his own infallible word, fortified my heart against these doubts, till it became as a coast of rocks, defying the waves which impotently dash against it."¹

"Doubtless," he writes to Erasmus, in the beginning of his mournful book, *De Servo Arbitrio*, "doubtless you feel yourself somewhat embarrassed in presence of so long a succession of learned men—in presence of the sanction against you of so many centuries, wherein have flourished men, distinguished for their conversancy with sacred literature, wherein appeared such noble martyrs, glorified by numerous miracles; and all these backed by more recent theologians, by innumerable academies, councils, bishops, pontiffs. On that side, then, are ranged learning, genius, numbers, grandeur, rank, power, sanctity, miracles, and what not. On mine, Wickliffe and Lorenzo Valla (and also Augustin, whom you seem to have forgotten), and Luther, a poor creature, a man of yesterday, standing well-nigh alone with a few friends, unsupported by anything approaching the learning, or the genius, or the numbers, or the grandeur, or the sanctity of the other party, and as to miracles, they altogether could not cure a lame horse. *Et alia quæ tu plurim a fanda enumerare vales.* What are we, poor fellows? As the wolf said of Philomela—*Vix et præterea nihil.*

"I confess, my dear Erasmus, you have some reason to hesitate in presence of all these things. I myself, ten years ago, hesitated. I could hardly believe that this Troy, which for so many ages had victoriously resisted all the attacks made upon it, would one day fall. From the bottom of my soul, I call God to witness, that I should have continued in my fear, should have hesitated and hesitated up to the present day, and onward, had not my conscience, had not the force of truth compelled me to speak. I have not, as you well know, a heart of stone; and even though I had, beaten about as it has been, by such infinite fierce waves and storms, it would have yielded and broken when the whole power of authority burst upon my head, as a deluge about to overwhelm me."

¹ Luther's Briefe, ii. 107.

He says elsewhere: "I have learned from the Holy Scripture, that it is a thing terrible and full of danger, to raise one's voice in the church of God, to speak in the midst of those whom we shall have for judges, when, in the last day of judgment, we shall find ourselves in the presence of God, and of his angels—every creature there looking, listening, bending the ear to dwell on the Divine Word. Certes, when I think on it, I feel that I could heartily wish to bury all in silence, and pass a sponge over what I have written. To have to render an account to God of every heedless word—'tis hard, 'tis horrible!"¹

On the 27th March, 1519, he writes—"I was alone, and thrown into this struggle without previously weighing the matter maturely. Under such circumstances, I at first gave up to the pope many essential articles. Who was I, a poor miserable monk, that I should make head against the majesty of the pope, before which the kings of the earth (nay, earth itself, hell, and heaven) trembled? What I suffered during the first and second year; into how deep a dejection I fell—no imaginary or affected dejection, but a regular prostration of mind, or rather, utter despair—cannot be conceived by those who, with easy confidence, have since rushed along the beaten road to attack the pope with such fierceness and presumption. Obtaining no light, to light me on my dark path, from the dead, mute masters (I speak of the books of the theologians and priests), I desired to seek the living counsel of the churches of God; so that, if there existed pious men, illumined by the Holy Spirit, they might take compassion upon me, and give me sound and assured advice, for my own good, and that of all Christendom. But it was impossible for me to recognise them: I looked only to the pope, the cardinals, bishops, theologians, canonists, monks, priests; it was from them I sought the spirit; for I had so thoroughly filled and stuffed myself with their doctrine, that I no longer knew whether I

¹ It is curious to compare these words of Luther with the so different passage in Rousseau's Confessions—

"Let the trumpet for the last judgment sound when it may, I will come. this book in my hand, to present myself before the Supreme Judge. I will say aloud, This is what I have done, what I have thought, what I was . . . and then let any one present say, if he dare, *I was better than that man!*"

was awake or asleep. Had I then braved the pope, as I do now, I should have expected the earth to open and swallow me up on the spot, as it did Korah and Abiram. When I heard the name of the church sent forth, I trembled, and offered to yield. In 1518, I said to the cardinal of Gaeta at Augsburg, that I would thenceforward hold my peace, if only, as I humbly prayed, silence was also imposed upon my enemies, and their clamours put an end to. Far from granting me this concession, they threatened, if I did not instantly retract, to condemn all I had taught, without exception or condition whatever. I had already sent forth the catechism, by which, under the blessing of God, many men had grown better: I could not permit it to be condemned.

“ I was thus compelled to the step, which at the time I regarded as the worst of evils. But I am not going now to relate my history; I only wish to confess the folly, weakness, and ignorance which once afflicted me, and, at the same time, to silence those presumptuous brawlers and scribblers, who assume merit to themselves in the struggle, without having ever borne the cross, or undergone the temptations of Satan.”

Against the tradition of the middle ages, against the authority of the church, Luther sought a refuge in the Scripture, anterior to tradition, superior to the church itself. He translated the Psalms, he wrote his *Postilla* on the Evangelists and the Epistles. At no other period of his life did he make a nearer approach to mysticism than at the present time. He now relied as much upon St. John as upon St. Paul, and seemed ready to go through all the degrees of the doctrine of love, without being deterred by the deplorable consequences which resulted thence for the freedom and morality of man: “ There are,” says he, in his book on Christian Liberty, “ two men in man; the inner man, the soul, and the outer man, the body; there is no relation between them. As works proceed from the outer man, they cannot affect the soul; let the body frequent profane places, let it eat, drink, let it omit to pray, let it omit to do all that the hypocrites do; the soul will suffer from none of these things. By faith, the soul is united to Christ, as the bride to her husband. Then all is common to them, the good alike with the bad. All of us who believe in Christ, are kings and pontiffs. The Christian, elevated

by his faith above all things, becomes, by that spiritual power, lord of all things, so that nothing can hurt him, *imo omnia ei subjecta coguntur servire ad salutem*. If I have faith, all things, good and ill, turn into good for me. 'Tis this is the inestimable power and liberty of the Christian.¹

“ We must proceed, in our study of the Gospel of St. John, upon a totally different principle from that with which we regard the other Evangelists. The idea of this Evangelist is, that man can do nothing, is nothing, has nothing, of himself; that all he holds or is, proceeds from divine compassion and mercy. I repeat, and will repeat again and again: he who would elevate himself to a salutary idea, a salutary speculation respecting God, must make everything subordinate to the humanity of Christ. Let him constantly represent to himself Christ in his action and in his passion, until he find his heart softened. Let him not stop there, but penetrate and push further on with his thought; it is not of his will, but of that of God the Father, that Christ does this or that. It is then he will begin to feel the infinite sweetness of the will of the Father revealed in the humanity of Christ.”

“ If thou feel thy heart hesitate and doubt, it is high time for thee to go to the priest, and request absolution for thy sins. Thou oughtest to die a thousand deaths, rather than question the priest's judgment, for that is the judgment of God. If thou canst heartily believe in that judgment, thy heart may well be joyful and praise God, who, by the medium of man, has consoled thy conscience. If thou dost not think thyself worthy of pardon, it is because thou hast not done enough, because thou art not sufficiently imbued with faith, and dwellest too much on works. It is a thousand times more important to have firm faith in absolution, than to be worthy of it, or to do works to procure satisfaction. 'Tis faith renders thee worthy, and which constitutes true satisfaction. The man may, with faith, joyfully serve God, who, without that, from the disquietude of his heart, never doth any good work. 'Tis this which is called the light burden of our Lord Jesus Christ.”²

This dangerous doctrine was cordially received by the

¹ Luther, opera ii. *De Libertate Christiand.*

² Sermon preached at Leipzig, in 1519, On Justification.

people, and by the large majority of the learned. Erasmus, the most celebrated of them all, seems almost alone to have foreseen the inevitable consequences. Of a critical and doubting turn of mind, emulous of the able Italian, Lorenzo Valla, who in the fifteenth century wrote a book, *De Libero Arbitrio*, Erasmus himself wrote a treatise against Luther under the same title. In 1519, he received the advances of the monk of Wittemberg with great coolness. The latter, who felt how much at this time he needed the support of men of letters, had written complimentary letters (1518, 1519) to Reuchlin and Erasmus. The reply of the latter is cold and significant: "My attention is entirely directed to aiding as best I may the restoration of literature. In my opinion, greater progress towards good is effected by political moderation, than by violence. It was by his moderation Christ brought over the world to his law; it was by moderation Paul abolished the law of Moses. It is better to raise one's voice against those who abuse the authority of the priesthood, than against the priesthood itself; and so with regard to kings. Instead of throwing scorn upon the schools, it were advisable to bring them back to sounder studies. When we take in hand matters too deeply rooted in men's minds to be torn out by a single effort, we must proceed by discussion, by close, stringent argumentation, and not by mere assertion. We must ever be careful not to say or do anything with an air of arrogance or revolt; at least, such, in my opinion, is the method more consonant with the spirit of Christianity. What I here say, is not to teach you what you ought to do, but simply to confirm you in always doing that which you now do."¹

This timid reserve was not suitable to such a man at such a period. The excitement was immense. The nobles and the people, the castles and the free towns, rivalled each other in zeal and enthusiasm for Luther. At Nuremberg, at Strasburg, even at Mayence, there was a constant struggle for his least pamphlets.² The sheet, yet wet, was brought from the press under some one's cloak, and passed from shop to shop. The pedantic bookmen of the

¹ Erasmi Epistolæ, iii. 445.

² The celebrated painter, Lucas Kranach, made designs for Luther's minor works.—(Seckendorf, 148.)

German trades' unions, the poetical tinmen, the literary shoemakers, devoured the good news. Worthy Hans Sachs raised himself above his wonted common-place; he left his shoe half made, and wrote his most high-flown verses, his best productions. He sang, in under tones, *The Nightingale of Wittemberg*, and the song was taken up, and resounded all over the land.

Nothing lent more powerful assistance to Luther than the zeal manifested by the printers and booksellers in favour of the new ideas. "The books in support of Luther," says a contemporary, "were printed by the typographers with minute care, often at their own expense, and vast numbers of copies were thrown off. There was a complete body of ex-monks, who, returned to the world, lived by vending the works of Luther throughout Germany. On the other hand, it was solely by dint of money that the Catholics could get their productions printed, and they were sent forth with such a host of faults, that they seemed the work of ignorant barbarians. If any printer, more or less conscientious than the rest, gave himself any trouble with any Catholic work, he was tormented to death by all his fellows, and by the people in the public streets, as a papist, and as a slave of the priests."¹

Great as was the zeal of the towns, it was more especially to the nobles that Luther had appealed, and they responded to the call with an enthusiasm which he himself was at times compelled to moderate. In 1519, he wrote, in Latin, a Defence of the Articles condemned by the bull of Leo X., which he dedicated to the Count Fabien von Ferlitsch in these terms: "It having appeared to me desirable to write henceforward to you laymen, I determined, God willing, to commence under the favourable auspices of your name. Let this present work, therefore, recommend me, or rather, let it recommend the true Christian doctrine, to yourself and the other nobles." He had, at first, contemplated dedicating

¹ Cochlæus, 54. It was the same at Augsburg. The Confession of Augsburg was printed and diffused all over Germany, even before the Diet was concluded; the Refutation, by the catholics, which the emperor had ordered to be printed, was given to the printers, but did not appear. Luther reproached the catholics that they dared not publish it, and called it a night bird, a bat, an owl.

the translation of this treatise to Franz von Sickingen, and another work to the Counts of Mansfeldt, but he abstained from doing so, "least," as he says, "he should arouse the jealousy of many others, and more especially that of the Franconian nobles." In the same year he published a violent pamphlet, addressed to *the Christian nobles of Germany, on the amelioration of Christianity*. Four thousand copies of this production were sold off instantly.

"To his imperial majesty and the Christian nobility of the German nation, Martin Luther wishes grace and the strength of our Lord Jesus Christ.

"The Romanists have skilfully raised around them three walls, by means of which they have hitherto protected themselves against all reform, to the great detriment of Christianity and Christendom. First, they pretend that the spiritual power is above temporal power; next, that to the pope alone it appertains to interpret the Bible; third, that the pope alone has the right to convoke a council.

"God aid us and give us one of those trumpets, which heretofore overthrew the walls of Jericho, that we may level with the ground these walls of straw and paper, expose to full light the tricks and lies of the devil, and recover by penitence and amendment the grace of God. Let us begin with the first wall.

"*First wall.*—All Christians are of spiritual condition, and there is among them no difference, but that which results from the difference of their functions, according to the words of the apostle, (1 Cor. xii.) 'The body is one, and hath many members, but the body is not one member, but many.'

"We have all the same baptism, the same gospel, the same faith, and we are all equal in our capacity of Christians. It should be with the spiritual minister as it is with the civil magistrate, who, during the exercise of his functions, is above his fellow citizens, but on resigning his office, becomes as he was before, merely one among them. Indelible characters are a chimæra. The secular power being constituted by God, for the purpose of punishing the wicked and protecting the good, its ministration should extend over all Christians, without consideration of any person whatever, pope, bishop, monk, nun, or what not. If a priest is killed, the whole

district is put under interdict. Why not just the same when a poor peasant has been murdered? Whence such a difference between Christians, whom Jesus Christ calls equals? The distinction arises simply and solely from laws and human inventions.

“ *Second wall.* We are all priests. Does not the apostle (1 Cor. ii.) say, “ He that is spiritual, judgeth all things, yet he himself is judged of no man ? ” We have all one mind in the faith, says the gospel elsewhere; why, then, should we not feel, as well as the popes, who are often infidels, what is conformable, what is contrary to the faith ?

“ *Third wall.* The first councils were not convoked by the popes. That of Nicæa itself was convoked by the Emperor Constantine. When a town is surprised by the enemy, the honour is to him who first of all cries *to arms*, whether he be burgomaster or not. Why should not the same be the case with reference to him, who, a watchful sentinel against our infernal enemies, should be the first to see them advance, and the first to assemble Christians against them? Must he needs be pope to do this? . . . Let the pope put an end to the preposterous luxury with which he is surrounded, and make an approach to the poverty of Jesus Christ. His court swallows up enormous sums. It has been calculated, that more than three hundred thousand florins are sent off every year from Germany to Rome. Twelve cardinals would be amply sufficient for all purposes, and the pope ought to maintain them. Why should the Germans permit themselves to be despoiled by cardinals, who monopolize all the rich preferments, and spend the revenues at Rome? The French do not suffer it. . . . Let us not give another farthing to the pope, as subsidies against the Turks; the whole thing is a snare, a miserable pretext for the purpose of draining us of more money. . . . Let us no longer recognise his right to investiture. Rome draws everything into her bag by the most impudent chicanery. There is one man in that city, a mere courtier, who alone possesses twenty-two benefices, seven priories, and forty-four prebends. Let the secular authority henceforward abstain from sending to Rome the *annates* it has been in the habit for the last hundred years of sending. Let it be sufficient, for the installation of bishops, that they be confirmed by the two nearest bishops, or by

their archbishops, conformably with the enactment of the council of Nicæa. . . .

“ My only object in writing this, is to afford matter for confirmatory reflection to those who are disposed to aid the German nation in becoming once more Christian, and once more free, after the deplorable government it has suffered at the hands of the Antichrist, the pope. . . . Let there be fewer pilgrimages to Italy. . . . Let the mendicant orders become extinct. They have degenerated, and no longer fulfil the intentions of their founders. . . . Let us permit priests to marry. . . . It will be well to suppress a great proportion of the saints' days, and make them coincident with Sundays. . . . The celebrating the festivals of patron saints is prejudicial to society. Let fast days be put an end to. There are many things which may have been desirable under other circumstances and in other times, which are far worse than useless now. Let mendicity be extinguished, by each parish being bound to take charge of its own poor. It will be good to prohibit the foundation of private masses. The doctrine of the Bohemians should be inquired into more impartially and fully than has yet been done. And we might with good effect unite with them in resisting the court of Rome. Let the decretals be abolished. Let the houses for prostitution be suppressed.

“ I have another song in my head upon Rome and the Romanists : if their ears itch for it, they shall have it, to the very last octave. Dost thou hear me, pope of Rome ? Thou art the greatest sinner of all : thy throne is not suspended from heaven, but fixed to the gate of hell. Who gave thee power to set thyself above thy God, and trample under feet His precepts and commandments?¹

“. . . Poor Germans that we are,—we have been deceived ! We were born to be masters, and we have been compelled to bow the head beneath the yoke of our tyrants, and to become slaves. Name, title, ensigns of royalty, we possess all these ; force, power, right, liberty, all these have gone over to the popes, who have robbed us of them. For them the grain, for us the straw. It is time we should cease to content ourselves with the mere image of empire ; it is time we resume the sceptre, and with the sceptre our body, and our soul, and our

¹ Luther's Werke, vi. 544.

treasure; it is time the glorious Teutonic people should cease to be the puppet of the Roman pontiff. Because the pope crowns the emperor, it does not follow that the pope is superior to the emperor. Samuel, who crowned Saul and David, was not above these kings, nor Nathan above Solomon, whom he consecrated. Let the emperor then be a veritable emperor, and no longer allow himself to be stripped of his sword or of his sceptre!"¹

Luther's principal friends among the nobility were Silvester Von Schauenberg, Franz Von Sickingen, Taubenheim, and Ulrich Von Hutten. Schauenberg had confided the education of his young son to Melancthon, and offered to assist the elector of Saxony with troops, in the event of his becoming involved in any danger from his advocacy of the cause of the Reformation. Taubenheim and others sent money to Luther. "I have received," he says, "a hundred gold pieces, sent me by Taubenheim; Schart has given me fifty more; and I begin to fear lest God should pay me here, instead of hereafter; but I have already protested, that I must not be thus gorged with money, or I should be fain to throw it all up again." The Margrave of Brandenburg had solicited to see him, as a great favour; Sickingen and Hutten promised him their active aid against all and any assailants. "Hutten," says he, "in September, 1520, sent me a letter, burning with indignation against the Roman pontiff; he wrote me that he was about to fall with pen and with sword upon sacerdotal tyranny; that he was furious at the pope's having tried to use the poniard and poison against him, and had written to the bishop of Mayence, that he would send him, bound hand and foot, to Rome. "You see," adds Luther, "what Hutten would have; but I would never consent to aid God's cause by aid of violence and murder, and so I wrote him word."²

¹ Opera Luth. vi. 544.

² It was also in this spirit of a desire that Germany should separate peaceably from the holy see, that he wrote, in 1520, to Charles V. and the German nobles. According, however, to Cochläus, a very doubtful authority indeed, he had, at this time, preached actual war against Rome: "Let the emperor, the king, the princes, belt on their swords, and march forth to strike down this pest of the world. We must settle the matter by cold steel: there is no other remedy. There are lost, insane men who say, violence should be left to antichrist; but I say, if we have the gallows for thieves, axes for brigands, the faggot for heretics, why should we not

Meantime, the emperor had summoned Luther to appear at Worms, before the imperial diet;¹ and the two parties were now about to meet face to face.²

“Would to God!” said Hutten, “I could be present at the diet; I would make a stir! I would get up a tumult that should shake some of them!”³ On the 20th April, he wrote to Luther:—“What atrocities have I not heard of? There is no *furia* comparable with the fury of these people. I see very clearly that we must come to swords, bows, armour, and cannon. Do thou, my father, fortify thy courage, and despise these wild beasts. I see each day the number of thy partizans augment; thou wilt be in no want of defenders. Many have come to me, saying—‘Please God, he give not way: please God, he answer courageously, that he suffer himself to be overcome by no terrors!’”⁴ At the same time, Hutten sent letters in every direction to the magistrates of different towns, exhorting them to form a league with the nobles of the Rhine; or, in other words, to arm against the ecclesiastical princes. He wrote to Pirkeimer, one of the principal magistrates of Nuremberg:—

“Arouse the courage of your people; I have great hope that you will find partizans in many towns that are animated by the love of liberty. Franz Von Sickingen is for us, full of zeal. The words of Luther have penetrated his very soul. I have Martin’s minor works constantly read to him, as he sits at table. He has sworn not to desert the cause of liberty, and what he says, he will do. Set forth his example among

use worldly weapons against these children of perdition, these cardinals, these popes, the whole rout of the Roman Sodom, who corrupt the church of God. Why should we not wash our hands in their blood?” Cochlæus though he attributes these words to Luther, assigns no authority for them.

¹ The emperor’s mandate was in the following terms:—“Honourable, dear, and devoted Luther.—Ourself and the states of the holy Roman empire, assembled at Worms, having resolved to demand an explanation from you on the subject of your doctrines and your books, we forward you a safe-conduct, to ensure your personal immunity from danger. We would have you immediately set forth on your journey hither, so that within twenty days of the receipt of our mandate, you may appear before us and the states. You have neither violence nor snares to fear. Relying upon our imperial word, we expect your obedience to our earnest wishes.”—LUTHER’S *Werke*, ix. 106.

² The final bull of excommunication was fulminated against Luther on the 6th January, 1521.

³ Hutten, op. iv. 292.

⁴ *Ib* 295.

your citizens. There lives not a nobler soul in all Germany."¹

Even in the diet at Worms, there were partizans of Luther. In one of the sittings, somebody openly produced a paper, setting forth that four hundred nobles had sworn to defend him, and after reading it, cried out, "*Buntschuh! Buntschuh!*"²—the rallying word of the insurgent peasantry. The catholics, indeed, were not altogether sure of the emperor. During the diet, Hutten writes: "Cæsar has, they say, made up his mind to side with the pope." In the town itself, among the populace, the Lutherans were numerous. Hermann Busch writes to Hutten, that a priest, coming out of the imperial palace with two Spanish soldiers, attempted, at the very gates of the palace, to take away eighty-four copies of the *Captivity of Babylon*, that a man was selling, but was soon compelled by the indignant people to take refuge in the interior of the palace. At the same time, to induce Hutten at once to take up arms, he describes to him the Spaniards insolently parading about the streets of Worms on their mules, and making the people give way before them.

"The audacity of the Romanists," he writes to Hutten, "grows greater and greater; for, as they say, you bark, but don't bite."³

Another man of letters, Helius Eobanus Hessus, also urged Hutten to take up arms for Luther. "Franz Von Sickengen will be there to back us, and you two together, I predict, will be the thunder and lightning that shall crush the monster of Rome."⁴

The hostile biographer of Luther, Cochläus, relates in a satirical manner, the reformer's progress to the diet:—"A chariot was prepared for him in the form of a closed litter. Around him were many learned personages; the provost Jonas, Doctor Schurf, the theologian Amsdorff, &c. Wherever he passed, there was a great concourse of people. In the taverns was good cheer, joyous libations, and even music. Luther himself, to draw all eyes upon him, played the harp like another Orpheus—a shaved and capuchined Orpheus.

¹ Hutten, op. iv. 276.

² *Buntschuh*, shoe of honour. The shoe had already served as a distinctive sign in the twelfth century. *Sabatati* was a name of the Vaudois.

³ Hutten, op. iv. 306.

⁴ Id. ib.

Although the safe-conduct of the emperor prohibited him from preaching on his route, he yet preached at Erfurth on Easter Sunday, and had his sermon printed.”¹ This portrait of Luther by no means accords with the one given of him by a friendly contemporary, Mosellanus, some time before the diet:—

“Martin is of the middle height; cares and studies have made him so thin, that one may count all the bones in his body; yet he is in all the force and verdure of his age. His voice is clear and piercing. Powerful in his doctrine, wonderful for his knowledge of the Scriptures, every one of the verses of which, almost, he could recite one after another, he learned the Greek and Hebrew for the purpose of comparing and weighing the translations of the Word. He is never at a loss, and has at his disposition a world of thoughts and words. In his conversation he is agreeable and easy, and there is nothing hard or austere in his air. He ever

¹ On the 2nd of April, Luther arrived at Leipsig, where the Cup of Honour was offered him, according to the old custom of that and many other places; on the 3rd, at Naumburg, where he dined at the table of the burgomaster Græssler, with the herald; on the 4th, at Weimar, where duke John of Saxony sent him the money necessary for the remainder of his journey.

John Crotus, rector, Helius Eobanus Hessus, professor of rhetoric, and Justus Jonas, accompanied by nearly forty horsemen, met the Doctor two miles from Erfurt. He was received at his old convent by the prior, John Lange, and by Bartholomew Arnoldi Usingen. It was the 6th April, the evening before Easter Sunday. It was nightfall; a small wooden cross, raised over the grave of a brother whom he had known, and who had died peacefully in the Lord, encountered his observation and agitated him. He pointed out the grave to Dr. Jonas: ‘See, my father; he reposes there, while I——’ and he turned his gaze towards heaven. Before retiring to rest, he went back to the grave, and sat meditating upon it for upwards of an hour. Amsdorff was obliged to come and remind him that the bell of the monastery had sounded the hour of retirement to rest. Before proceeding to his chamber, he saw the superior, and obtained permission from him to preach on the following day.

Next morning, the little church of Erfurt was crowded, long before the hour of service. Everybody was anxious to hear this monk who had been making such a noise for the last three years, who from his narrow cell was agitating whole empires. In the midst of the orator’s discourse, a portion of the exterior walls gave way with a loud crash; terror seized upon the audience, who rose to fly tumultuously, and were breaking the windows, in order to escape what they regarded as imminent death. Luther remained firm and unmoved in his pulpit; he made a sign, which the crowd at once obeyed, and paused in their flight, to collect his words. ‘My brethren,’ said he, with a reassuring smile, ‘see you not that this is merely the hand of the

permits himself to enjoy the pleasures of life. In society he is gay, jocund, and unembarrassed; and preserves a perfect serenity of countenance, despite the atrocious menaces of his adversaries. It is difficult to believe that this man could undertake such great things without Divine protection. The only reproach that almost everybody joins in making against him, is, that he is too caustic in his replies—hesitating at no bitterness of expression when he is angry.”

We are indebted to Luther himself for a fine narrative of what took place at the diet—a narrative in all essential points conformable with that which has been given of it by his enemies:—

“The herald summoned me on the Tuesday in Holy Week, and brought me safe-conducts from the emperor, and from several princes. On the very next day, Wednesday, these safe conducts were, in effect, violated at Worms, where they condemned and burned my writings. Intelligence of this

demon who desires to prevent you from hearing the word of God, which I announce to you. Remain where you are: Christ is with us and for us.’ And at once, says the narrator, Daniel Gretzer, the whole throng turned back, and came still nearer the pulpit to listen to the divine word.

At Eisenach, his dear Eisenach, where he paused for awhile, with tears in his eyes, beneath the window of the worthy Cotta, Luther was on the point of arresting his journey, the pains in his stomach caused him such suffering. After awhile, however, they diminished in their intensity, and he continued on his way. At Frankfort on the Maine, which he reached April 14, he blessed two students whom Wilhem Nesse presented to him.

On the road, he received from a priest of Naumburg the portrait of Savonarola, with a letter exhorting him to persevere for the glory of God. Luther affectionately kissed the portrait. (He retained through life a great veneration for Savonarola, whom he regarded as a martyr whom God had armed with the sword of the faith. See his *Werke*, Halle, xiv. 224, and the *Tischreden*, passim.) The procession advanced but slowly. It was from Frankfort that his friends at home received their first news of him, in a letter to Spalatin: ‘We are proceeding on, my dear friend,’ he says, ‘notwithstanding the physical sufferings with which Satan has afflicted me, in order to delay my progress; for you must know, all the way from Weimar to this place, I have undergone greater pain than I ever experienced before. But Christ lives, and I will go to Worms, to brave the gates of hell and the powers of the air.’

The party stopped at Oppenheim to take some repose. Luther might easily have escaped, for Sturm, the herald, left him altogether at his own disposal. His companions advised him to flee:

‘Flee!’ exclaimed Luther, ‘oh, no! I will go on; I will enter the town as the name of Jesus Christ.’

At Pfiffingheim, near Worms, Luther saw a peasant planting elms by the wayside. ‘Give me one of them,’ said he, ‘and I will place it in the

reached me when I was at Worms. The condemnation, in fact, was already published in every town, so that the herald himself asked me whether I still intended to repair to Worms.

“ Though, in truth, I was physically fearful and trembling, I replied to him—‘ I will repair thither, though I should find there as many devils as there are tiles on the house tops.’ When I arrived at Oppenheim, near Worms, Master Bucer came to see me, and tried to dissuade me from entering the city. He told me that Glapion, the emperor’s confessor had been to him, and had entreated him to warn me not to go to Worms; for that if I did, I should be burned. I should do well, he added, to stop in the neighbourhood, at Franz Von Sickingen’s, who would be very glad to entertain me.

“ The wretches did this for the purpose of preventing me from making my appearance within the time prescribed; they knew that if I delayed only three more days, my safe-conduct would have been no longer available, and then they

earth: God grant my doctrine may flourish as the branches of this tree will doubtless flourish.’ The tree did flourish, and beneath its shade have been laid, from time to time, the bodies of enthusiastic Lutherans, whose dying breath had directed they should be buried near the Reformer’s Elm.

The tree having been struck with lightning in 1811, was cut down by the remorseless owner.

On the 16th, Luther came in sight of Worms; and at once on beholding its old bell towers, he arose in his chariot, and began to sing the hymn of which, it is said, he had improvised the words and the music two days before, at Oppenheim, the *Marseillaise* of the Reformation, his—

“ *Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott.*”¹

Leffler, the duke of Bavaria’s jester, was in waiting for the Doctor at the gate of Worms, holding in one hand a cross, and in the other a lighted taper, which he had borrowed from the altar of a neighbouring church. On the approach of the monk, the jester gravely preceded him into the choir, walking backwards, exclaiming with sonorous voice: *Ecce advenit quem expectamus in tenebris*. The partizans of Luther smiled, saying to one another: ‘ Children and fools tell the truth.’

An eye-witness, Veit Von Warbeck, gives the following account, in a letter to the Elector John, of Luther’s entrance into Worms:—

“ This day, 16th April, Luther arrived at Worms, accompanied by a brother of his order, John Pezenstein, d’Amsdorf, and a noble Dane, Suaven. Before the car marched the imperial herald, in full dress, the eagle in his hand. Justus Jonas and his servant came next after the car. A great number of men had preceded the monk, Bernard Von Herschfeldt, John Scholte, Albert Von Lendenau, &c., &c., all on horseback. At ten, he made his entry into the city, and several thousands of the citizens, who ac-

¹ See Appendix, No. VI.

would have shut the gates in my face, and, without hearing what I had to say, have arbitrarily condemned me. I went on, then, in the purity of my heart, and on coming within sight of the city, at once sent forward word to Spalatin that I had arrived, and desired to know where I was to lodge. All were astonished at hearing of my near approach; for it had been generally imagined that, a victim to the trick sought to be practised on me, my terrors would have kept me away.

Two nobles, the seigneur Von Hirschfeldt and John Schott, came to me by order of the elector, and took me to the house in which they were staying. No prince came at the time to see me, but several counts and other nobles did, who gazed at me fixedly. These were they who had presented to his majesty the four hundred articles against ecclesiastical abuses, praying that they might be reformed, and intimating that they would take the remedy into their own hands if need were. They had all been freed by my gospel!"¹

He accompanied him to his lodgings, the next house to the Swan; where several town councillors alighted with him: Frederic Thunau, Philip d'Alitsch, and field-marshal Ulrich Von Pappenheim.

Luther passed nearly the whole night at his window, sometimes meditating with earnestly upcast eyes, sometimes breathing the air of his hymn upon his flute.

He was summoned early the next morning to appear before the diet. On the departure of the herald, he fell on his knees and sent forth a prayer, of which Mathesius has preserved the following fragments:

"God, God, O my God! come thou to my aid, and protect my cause and thine against the wisdom of the world. Grant me this prayer, which thou alone canst grant. It is thy cause, O my God, and not mine; it is not for me, but for thee to defend me against the great ones of the earth. It is thy cause, the cause of justice and of eternity. God of all time, come to my aid, that aid which none among men can afford me. Flesh is flesh; man a poor weak, failing, faltering creature. O my God, hast thou not ears? Dost thou not hear me? Art thou dead? No, thou canst not die. Then, O my God, aid me in the name of thy well-beloved Son, Jesus Christ, my strength and my help, my citadel and my rampart. Where art thou, O my God, where art thou? Come, come! I am ready to give up my life as 'twere a lamb. It is the cause of justice—it is thy cause, and I will not separate myself from thee. The world cannot prevail, and were it given up to even a greater legion of devils, even though the work of thy hands were to give way and the earth open its abysses before me, I remain firm: my soul is thine, and is thine, and with thee to all eternity. Amen. O my God, aid me. Amen."—AUDIN.

¹ "Each of the electors of the empire, on setting out for Worms, took with him a copy of the Appeal which Luther had published and distributed

“The pope had written to the emperor desiring him not to observe the safe-conduct. The bishops urged his majesty to comply with the pope’s request, but the prince and the states would not listen to it; for such conduct would have excited a great disturbance. All this brought me still more prominently into general notice,¹ and my enemies might well have been more afraid of me than I was of them. The landgrave of Hesse, still a young man at that time, desired to have a conference with me, came to my lodgings, and after a long interview said, on going away: ‘Dear doctor, if you be in the right, as I think you are, God will aid you.’²”

“On my arrival, I had written to Glapion, the emperor’s confessor, entreating him to come and see me at his first leisure; but he refused, saying it would be useless for him to do so.

“I was then cited, and appeared before the whole council of the imperial diet in the town hall, where the emperor, the electors, and the princes, were assembled.³ Dr. Eck,⁴ official of the archbishop of Treves, opened the business by saying to me, first in Latin, and then in German:

“ ‘Martin Luther, his sacred and invincible majesty, with the advice of the states of the empire, has summoned you hither, that you may reply to the two questions I am now

To the Emperor and to the German nobility. Accordingly, when the question was brought forward of the subsidies which the Emperor demanded on his going to Rome to be crowned by the pope, the states, for the first time, in granting him the troops he required, stipulated, that, while the nomination of the colonels should remain in his hands—the colonels, however, were to be, of necessity, Germans—the choice of the captains, who were also to be Germans, should belong to the respective squadrons. The national spirit, excited by the manifesto of Luther, thus speedily gave expression to its hatred of the foreign power which he had succeeded in rendering odious to it. And his Tyrtæan hymn as effectually roused the nobility: had the emperor but given the word, the whole body would have sounded to horse, and have marched over the Alps to combat Rome, to the chorus of Luther’s war-song.”—AUDIN.

¹ See Appendix VII.

² The landgrave came to consult Luther upon a curious point: whether a young woman might quit an elderly husband for a more juvenile spouse. Luther smiled at this proposition, and said, “Dear master, I never taught anything of the sort, nor may such things be.”—LUTHER’S *Werke*, Halle, xv. 227.

³ There were present at the diet, besides the emperor, six electors, an archduke, two landgraves, five margraves, twenty-seven dukes, and a great number of counts, archbishops, bishops, &c.; in all 206 persons.—LUTHER’S *Werke*, ix. 104.

⁴ Not the theologian of Ingoldstadt, but the jurist Eck.—AUDIN.

about to put to you : do you acknowledge yourself the author of the writings published in your name, and which are here before me, and will you consent to retract certain of the doctrines which are therein inculcated ?' 'I think the books are mine,' replied I. But immediately, Dr. Jerome Schurff added: 'Let the titles of the works be read.' When they had read the titles, I said : 'Yes, the books are mine.'

"Then he asked me: 'Will you retract the doctrines therein?' I replied: 'Gracious emperor,—as to the question whether I will retract the opinions I have given forth, a question of faith in which are directly interested my own eternal salvation, and the free enunciation of the Divine Word—that word which knows no master either on earth or in heaven, and which we are all bound to adore, be we as great as we may—it would be rash and dangerous for me to reply to such a question, until I had meditated thereupon in silence and retreat, least I incur the anger of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who has said, *He who shall deny me before men, I will deny him before my Father which is in heaven.* I therefore entreat your sacred majesty to grant me the time necessary to enable me to reply with full knowledge of the point at issue, and without fear of blaspheming the word of God, or endangering the salvation of my own soul.'¹ They gave me till the next day at the same hour.

"The following morning I was sent for by the bishops and others who were directed to confer with me, and endeavour to induce me to retract. I said to them: 'The Word of God is not my word: I therefore cannot abandon it. But in all things short of that, I am ready to be docile and obedient.' The margrave Joachim then interposed, and said. 'Sir doctor, as I understand it, your desire is to listen to counsel and to instruction on all points that do not trench upon the Word?' 'Yes,' I replied, 'that is my desire.'

"Then they told me that I ought to place myself entirely in the hands of his majesty, but I said, I could not consent to this. They asked me, whether they were not themselves

¹ "At these words there was manifested no slight surprise on the part of most of those present: on that of the persons who believed Luther inspired, more especially so. The Spaniards smiled, the nuncios whispered, the catholic theologians shook their heads. The emperor said on one side, "This man, at all events, wont make a heretic of me."—AUDIN.

Christians, and entitled to have a voice in deciding the questions between us, as well as I? Whereunto I answered, 'That I was ready to accept their opinions in all points which did not offend against the Word, but that from the Word I would not depart,' repeating, that as it was not my own I could not abandon it. They insisted that I ought to rely upon them, and have full confidence that they would decide rightly. 'I am not,' rejoined I, 'by any means disposed to place my trust in men who have already condemned me without a hearing, although under safe-conduct. But to show you my zeal and sincerity, I tell you what I will do; act with me as you please; I consent to renounce my safe-conduct, and to place it unreservedly in your hands.' At this my lord Frederic de Feilitsch observed, 'Truly this is saying quite enough, or indeed, too much.'

"By and by they said: 'Will you, at all events, abandon some of the articles?' I replied: 'In the name of God I will not defend for a moment any articles that are opposed to the Scripture.' Hereupon two bishops slipped out, and went and told the emperor I was retracting. At this a message came to me, asking whether I really consented to place myself in the hands of the emperor and of the diet? I answered: that I had consented to nothing of the sort, and should never consent to it. So I went on, resisting, alone, the attempts of them all, for Dr. Schurff and my other friends had become angry with me for my obstinacy, as they called it. Some of my disputants said to me, that if I would come over to them, they would in return, give up to me and abandon the articles which had been condemned at the council of Constance. To all which I simply replied: 'Here is my body, here my life: do with them as you will.'

"Then Cochläus came up to me, and said: 'Martin, if thou wilt renounce the safe-conduct, I will dispute with thee.' I, in my simplicity and good faith, would have consented to this, but Dr. Jerome Schurff replied, with an ironical laugh: 'Ay, truly, that were a good idea—that were a fair bargain, i' faith; you must needs think the doctor a fool.' So I refused to give up the safe-conduct. Several worthy friends of mine, who were present, had already, at the bare mention of the proposition, advanced towards me, as if to protect me, exclaiming to Cochläus: 'What, you would carry him off a prisoner, then! That shall not be.'

“ Meantime, there came a doctor of the retinue of the margrave of Baden, who essayed to move me by fine flourishes: I ought, he said, to do a very great deal, to grant a very great deal, for the love of charity, that peace and union might continue, and no tumult arise. All, he urged, were called upon to obey his imperial majesty, as being the supreme authority; we ought all to avoid creating unseemly disturbances, and therefore, he concluded, I ought to retract. ‘I will,’ replied I, ‘with all my heart, in the name of charity, do all things, and obey in all things, which are not opposed to the faith and honour of Christ.’

“ Then the chancellor of Treves said to me: ‘Martin, thou art disobedient to his imperial majesty; wherefore depart hence, under the safe-conduct which has been given thee.’ I answered: ‘It has been as it pleased the Lord it should be. And you,’ I added, ‘do all of you, on your part, consider well the position in which you are.’ And so I departed, in singleness of heart, without remarking or comprehending their machinations.

“ Soon afterwards they put in force their cruel edict—that ban, which gave all ill men an opportunity of taking vengeance with impunity on their personal enemies, under the pretext of their being Lutheran heretics; and yet, in the end, the tyrants found themselves under the necessity of recalling what they had done.

“ And this is what happened to me at Worms, where I had no other aid than the Holy Spirit.”

We find other curious details in a more extended narrative of the conference at Worms—written immediately afterwards, by Luther himself, in all probability, though he speaks in the third person:

“ The day after, at four in the afternoon, the imperial chamberlain, and the herald who had accompanied him from Wittemberg, came to him at his inn, The Court of Germany, and conducted him to the town hall, along bye-ways, in order to avoid the crowds which had assembled in the leading streets. Notwithstanding this precaution, there were numbers collected at the gates of the town hall, and who essayed to enter with him, but the guards kept them back. Many persons had got upon the roofs of houses to see Dr. Martin. As he proceeded up the hall, several noblemen successively addressed to him words

of encouragement. 'Be bold,' said they, 'and fear not those who can kill the body, but are powerless against the soul. 'Monk,' said the famous captain George Freundesberg, putting his hand cheerily on Martin's shoulder, 'take heed what thou doest; thou art adventuring on a more perilous path than any of us have ever trod. But if thou art in the right, God will not abandon thee.' Duke John of Weimar had previously supplied the doctor with the money for his journey.

"Luther made his answers in Latin and German.

"The official opened the proceedings: 'Martin Luther, yesterday you acknowledged the books published in your name. Do you retract those books, or not? This is the question we before addressed to you, and which you declined answering, under the pretext that it was a question of faith we were putting, and that you had need of time for reflection ere you replied, though a theologian like you must know very well that a Christian should always be ready to answer any questions touching his faith. Explain yourself now. Will you defend all your writings, or disavow some of them?'

"'Most serene emperor,' replied Martin, 'illustrious princes, most clement lords, I am again before you, appearing at the hour appointed, and supplicating you to listen to me with benevolence and equity. If in my statement or my replies, I should omit to give you the titles of honour due to you, if I offend against the etiquette of courts, you will, I trust, pardon me, for I have never been accustomed to palaces; I am nothing but a poor monk, the inmate of a humble cell, who have, I assure you, never preached aught, never written aught, but in singleness of heart, and for the glory of my God, and the honour of the Gospel.

"'Most serene emperor, and princes of the empire: to the two questions put to me yesterday, whether I acknowledged as mine the books published in my name, and whether I persevered in defending them, I answer now, as before, and as I will answer to the hour of my death—Yes, the books which have been published by me, or which have been published in my name, are mine; I acknowledge them, I avow them, and will always avow them, so long as they remain the same as I sent them forth, undistorted by malice, knavery, or mistaken prudence. I acknowledge, further, that whatever I have

written, was first matured in my mind by earnest thought and meditation.

“ ‘ Before replying to the second question, I entreat your majesty and the states of the empire to consider that my writings do not all treat of the same matter. Some of them are preceptive, destined for the edification of the faithful, for the advancement of piety, for the amelioration of manners; yet the bull, while admitting the innocence and advantage of such treatises, condemns these equally with the rest. If I were to disavow them, what practically should I be doing? Proscribing a mode of instruction which every Christian sanctions, and thus putting myself in opposition to the universal voice of the faithful.

“ ‘ There is another class of writings in which I attack the papacy and the belief of the papists, as monstrousities, involving the ruin of sound doctrine and of men's souls. None can deny, who will listen to the cries and the evidences of the conscience within, that the pope's decretals have thrown utter disorder into Christianity, have surprised, imprisoned, tortured the faith of the faithful, have devoured as a prey this noble Germany, for that she has protested aloud against lying tales, contrary to the gospel and to the opinions of the fathers. If I were to retract these writings, I should lend additional strength and audacity to the Roman tyranny, I should open the floodgates to the torrent of impiety, making for it a breach by which it would rush in and overwhelm the Christian world. My recantation would only serve to extend and strengthen the reign of iniquity; more especially when it should be known that it was solely by order of your majesty, and your serene highnesses, that I had made such retractation.

“ ‘ Finally, there is another class of works, which have been published under my name; I speak of those books of polemics, which I have written against some of my adversaries, advocates of the Roman tyranny. I have no hesitation in admitting that in these I have shown greater violence than befitted a man of my calling; I do not set up for a saint, I do not say that my conduct has been above reproach; my dispute is not about that conduct, but about the doctrine of Christ. But though I have been violent overmuch at times, I cannot consent to disavow these writings, because Rome would

make use of the disavowal, to extend her kingdom and oppress men's souls.

“ ‘A man, and not God, I would not seek to shield my books under any other patronage than that with which Christ covered his doctrine. When interrogated before the high-priest, as to what he taught, and his cheek buffeted by a varlet : “If I have spoken evil,” he said, “bear witness of the evil.” If the Lord Jesus, who knew himself incapable of sin, did not reject the testimony which the vilest mouths might give respecting his Divine Word, ought not I, scum of the earth that I am, and capable only of sin, to solicit the examination of my doctrines ?

“ ‘I therefore, in the name of the living God, entreat your sacred majesty, your illustrious highnesses, every human creature, to come and depose what they can against me, and, with the Prophets and the Gospel in their hands, to convict me, if they can, of error. I stand here, ready, if any one can prove me to have written falsely, to retract my errors, and to throw my books into the fire with my own hand.

“ ‘Be assured I have well weighed the dangers, the pains, the strife, and hatred that my doctrine will bring into the world ; and I rejoice to see the word of God producing, as its first fruits, discord and dissension, for such is the lot and destiny of the Divine Word, as our Lord has set forth : *I came not to send peace, but a sword, to set the son against his father.*

“ ‘Forget not that God is admirable and terrible in all his counsels ; and beware, least, if you condemn the Divine Word, that Word send forth upon you a deluge of ills, and the reign of our noble young emperor, upon whom, next to God, repose all our hopes, be speedily and sorely troubled.

“ ‘I might here, in examples drawn from Holy Writ, exhibit to you Pharaoh, king of Egypt, and the kings of Israel, ruined from seeking to reign at first by peace, and by what they termed wisdom. For God confounds the hypocrite in his hypocrisy, and overturns mountains ere they know of their fall : fear is the work of God.

“ ‘I seek not herein to offer advice to your high and mighty understandings ; but I owed this testimony of a loving heart to my native Germany. I conclude with recommending myself to your sacred majesty and your highnesses, humbly eu-

treating you not to suffer my enemies to indulge their hatred against me under your sanction. I have said what I had to say.'

" Then the emperor's orator hastily rose, and exclaimed that Luther had not directed himself to the question ; that what the assembly had to do was not to listen to a discussion whether councils had decided right or wrong, but to ascertain from Luther whether he would retract; this was the question to which he had to reply : ay or no.

" Thereupon Luther resumed in these words :

" ' Since then your imperial majesty and your highnesses demand a simple answer, I will give you one ; brief and simple, but deprived of neither its teeth nor its horns. Unless I am convicted of error by the testimony of Scripture, or by manifest evidence (for I put no faith in the mere authority of the pope, or of councils, which have often been mistaken, and which have often contradicted one another, recognising, as I do, no other guide than the Bible, the Word of God), I cannot and will not retract, for we must never act contrary to our conscience.

" ' Such is my profession of faith, and expect none other from me. I have done : God help me ! Amen !'

" The states retired to deliberate ; on their return, the official thus addressed Luther :

" ' Martin, you have assumed a tone which becomes not a man of your condition ; and you have not answered the questions put to you. Doubtless you have written some pieces which are in no way liable to censure ; and had you retracted those works of yours, in which you inculcate your mischievous errors, his majesty, in his infinite goodness, would not have permitted any proceedings to be taken against those which contain only right doctrine. You have resuscitated dogmas which have been distinctly condemned by the council of Constance, and you demand to be convicted thereupon out of the Scriptures. But if every one were at liberty to bring back into discussion points which for ages have been settled by the church and by councils, nothing would be certain and fixed, doctrine or dogma, and there would be no belief which men must adhere to under pain of eternal damnation. You, for instance, who to-day reject the authority of the council of Constance, to-morrow may, in like manner, proscribe all councils together, and next

the fathers, and the doctors ; and there would remain no authority whatever, but that individual word which you call to witness, and which we also invoke. His majesty, therefore, once more demands a simple and precise answer, affirmative or negative ; will you defend all your principles, as catholic principles, or are there any of them which you are prepared to retract ?

“ Then Luther besought the emperor not to permit him to be thus called upon to belie his conscience, which was bound up with the sacred writings. They had required of him a categorical answer, and he had given one. He could only repeat what he had already declared : that unless they proved to him by irresistible arguments that he was in the wrong, he would not go back a single inch ; that what the councils had laid down, was no article of faith ; that councils had often erred, had often contradicted each other, and that their testimony, consequently, was not convincing ; and that he could not disavow what was written in the inspired books.

“ The official sharply observed, that Luther could not show the councils to have erred.

“ Martin said he would undertake to do so at any time that might be assigned him.

“ By this time, the evening drawing in, it grew dark, and the diet arose. When the man of God left the town hall to return to his lodging, he was followed and insulted by some Spaniards.¹

“ Next day, the emperor² sent for the electors and states to discuss with them the form of the imperial ban against Luther and his adherents. The safe-conduct, however, was retained in it.³

¹ “ Martin had spoken more than two hours, repeating in Latin what he first said in German. The perspiration rolled down his face, his face was haggard, and he needed rest. On his return to his lodgings, he found on the table a small can full of Eimbeck beer, that had been sent him. He emptied it at one draught. On putting down the can, he asked : ‘ Who made me this present ? ’ ‘ Duke Eric of Brunswick,’ replied Amsdorf. ‘ Ah,’ said Luther, ‘ as duke Eric has this day thought of me, so may God one day think of him.’ ”—AUDIN.

² Spalatin relates in his Annals (50), that after Luther’s second appearance, the elector of Saxony, on his return from the town hall, sent for him and said : “ Doctor Martin has spoken well before the diet, but somewhat too boldly.”

³ “ The imperial rescript was in the following terms : ‘ Our ancestors, kings of Spain, archdukes of Austria, and dukes of Burgundy, protectors and

“Meantime, Luther was visited by a great number of princes, counts, barons, prelates, and other persons of distinction, lay and ecclesiastical. [‘The doctor’s little room,’ writes Spalatin, ‘could not contain all the visitors who presented themselves. I saw among them duke William of Brunswick, the landgrave, Philip of Hesse, count Wilhelm of Henneburg, the elector Frederick, and many others.’]

“On the Wednesday following, (eight days after his first appearance before the diet,) he was requested by the archbishop of Treves to wait upon him. Luther accordingly presented himself before that prelate, attended by the imperial herald, and accompanied by the friends who had followed him from Saxony and Thuringia. In the apartment of the archbishop they found assembled Joachim of Brandenburg, the elector George, the bishops of Augsburg and Brandenburg, count George, grand-master of the Teutonic order; John Boeck of Strasburg, and Dr. Peutingen. Veh, (Vehus,) chancellor of Baden, opened the proceedings, in the name of those present, by declaring that they had not invited Luther there with any view to polemical discussion, but out of a pure feeling of charity and kindness towards him.

“Then Veh commenced a long harangue on the obedience due to the church and its decisions, to the councils and their decrees. He maintained that the church, like any other power, had its constitutions which might be modified according to the requirements of the particular nations to which they were applied, the diversity of manners, of climate, of

defenders of the catholic faith, have preserved its inviolability with their swords and with their blood, and have ever taken care that the decrees of the church should meet with that obedience which they are entitled to. We shall not lose sight of these examples, we shall walk in the footsteps of our ancestors, and defend, with all our might, that faith which we have received as a heritage. And, therefore, a monk having dared to come forward and assail at once the dogmas of the church and the head of the Catholic communion, persisting obstinately in the errors into which he has fallen, and refusing to retract, we have deemed it essential to oppose ourselves to the further progress of these disorders, even though at the peril of our life, of our dignities, of the fortune of the empire, in order that Germany may not sully herself with the crime of perjury. We will not again hear Martin Luther, who has given ourself and the diet such manifest proofs of his inflexible obstinacy; and we order him to depart hence under the faith of the imperial safeguard we have given him, prohibiting him at the same time from preaching or exciting any commotion on his way.”—AUDIN.

epochs; and that herein lay the apparent contradictions which Luther had denounced as existing in the internal system of the church. These contradictions, in fact, only proved more emphatically the religious care with which the church regulated its spiritual administration, and in no degree affected the integrity of the catholic dogma. That dogma was yesterday what it is to-day, and what it will continue to be till the end of time. He called Luther's attention to the disturbances to which his innovations were everywhere giving rise. 'See,' said he, 'your book, *De Libertate Christiana*: what does that teach men? To throw off every species of subjection—to erect disobedience into a maxim. We no longer live at a time when every child of the Christian family had but one heart and one soul; when the precept was one, like the society; when the rule was one, like the precept. It became necessary to modify all this, when time itself had modified society; but without the catholic dogma ever receiving the slightest prejudice. I am quite aware, Martin,' he added, 'that many of your writings breathe a sweet odour of piety; but we have judged the general spirit of your works, as we judge a tree, not by its flowers, but by its fruits. The advice given you by the states of the empire is given in a desire of peace, with all good feeling towards yourself. Those states were established by God to watch over the security of a people whose tranquillity your doctrines are calculated to disturb. To resist them is to resist God. Doubtless, it is better to obey God than to obey man; but do you think that we, any more than yourself, are deaf to his word, or have not meditated thereupon?'

"Luther, after having expressed his thanks for the peaceful and charitable expressions made use of towards him, proceeded to answer what Veh had said respecting the authority of councils. He maintained that the council of Constance had erred in condemning this proposition of John Huss: '*Tantum una est sancta, universalis ecclesia quæ est numerus prædestinatorum.*' 'No retractation!' he said, in conclusion, with an animated and firm voice: "you shall have my blood, my life, rather than a single word of retractation; for it is better to obey God than to obey man. It is no fault of mine that this matter creates confusion among you. I cannot prevent the word of Christ becoming a stumbling block to men. If the

sheep of the good Shepherd were fed upon evangelical marrow, faith would live, and our spiritual masters would be honest and trustworthy. I know well that we must pay obedience to the civil magistrate, even though he be not a man after God's own heart; and I am quite ready to pay that obedience in all things that does not shut out the Word of God.

“Luther was then about to take his leave, but he was told to remain, and Veh pressingly urged upon him his previous arguments, and conjured him to submit his writings to the decision of the princes and states of the empire.

“Luther gently replied: ‘I would fain have it understood, that I do not decline the judgment of the emperor and of the states; but the word of God, on which I rely, is to my eyes so clear, that I cannot retract what I have said, until a still more luminous authority is opposed to that Word. St. Paul has said—*If an angel from heaven preach any other gospel to you, let him be accursed*; and I say to you, do not offer violence to my conscience, which is chained up with the Scripture.’

“The meeting then broke up; but the archbishop of Treves retained Luther, and went with him into another apartment. Jerome Schurff and Nicholas followed. John Eck, and Cochlæus, dean of the church of the Holy Virgin at Francfort, were already in the room. Eck addressed Luther:—

“‘Martin,’ said he, ‘there is no one of the heresies which have torn the bosom of the church, which has not derived its origin from the various interpretation of the Scripture. The Bible itself is the arsenal whence each innovator has drawn his deceptive arguments. It was with biblical texts that Pelagius and Arius maintained their doctrines. Arius, for instance, found the negation of the eternity of the Word—an eternity which you admit, in this verse of the New Testament—*Joseph knew not his wife till she had brought forth her first-born son*; and he said, in the same way that you say, that this passage enchained him. When the fathers of the council of Constance condemned this proposition of John Huss—*The church of Jesus Christ is only the community of the elect*, they condemned an error; for the church, like a good mother, embraces within her arms all who bear the name of Christian, all who are called to enjoy the celestial beatitude.’ Luther replied, reproducing all the arguments he had before made use of. Cochlæus took him by both hands, and conjured him to

restore peace to the church. Luther was inflexible, and so they separated.

“In the evening, the archbishop of Treves sent word to Luther that, by order of the emperor, his safe-conduct had been extended two days, and requested him to wait upon him the next day, to have another conference.

“Peutinger and the chancellor of Baden came to see Luther next morning, and renewed the conversation of the preceding evening, using every argument they could devise to induce him to submit his writings to the judgment of the emperor.

“‘Yes,’ said Luther, ‘I am ready to do so, if you will come and controvert me, Bible in hand; otherwise, not. God has said by the mouth of the prophet-king: *Put not your trust in princes, for in them there is no salvation*; and, by the mouth of Jeremiah, *Cursed be he who putteth his trust in man.*’ They urged him still more pressingly: ‘I will submit everything to the judgment of man,’ said he, ‘except the Word of God.’ They then left him, saying they would return in the evening, when they hoped to find him in a better frame of mind. They came; but it was all in vain.

“There was another interview with the archbishop. In this last conference, the prelate said: ‘But, dear doctor, if you will not submit this matter to the diet, or to a council, by what means shall we avert the troubles which menace the church? What remedies can we apply?’

“Luther replied: ‘Nothing better can be said in this case than was said, according to St. Paul, by Gamaliel: *If this work be of men, it will come to nought.* The emperor and the states may write to the pope thus: if the work of Luther is not an inspiration from on high, in three years it will be no more spoken of.’

“The archbishop persisted: ‘Suppose,’ said he, ‘that we made from your books faithful extracts of articles we object to: would you submit them to a council?’

“‘Provided they were none of those,’ returned Luther, ‘which the council of Constance has already condemned.’

“‘But if they were——’

“‘Then,’ said Luther, ‘I would not consent to submit them to a council, for I am certain that the decrees of that council condemned the truth: I would rather lose my head than abandon the divine word. In what concerns the word

of God and the faith, every Christian is as good a judge for himself as the pope can be for him; for each man must live and die according to that faith. The word of God is the common heritage of the whole Christian world, each member of which is competent to explain it. The passage of St. Paul (1 Corinthians, xiv.): *If anything be revealed to another that sitteth by, let the first hold his peace*, proves clearly that the master must follow the disciple, if the latter understand the word of God better than he himself does.'

"And thus ended the conference.

"Soon after this, the official sent for Luther, and in the presence of the arch-chancellor, read to him the imperial sentence.

"'Luther,' he added, 'since you have not chosen to listen to the counsels of his majesty and of the states of the empire, and to confess your errors, it is now for the emperor to act. By his order, I give you twenty days, wherein to return to Wittemberg, secure under the imperial safe-conduct, provided that on your way you excite no disorders by preaching or otherwise.'

"As the official concluded, Sturm, the herald, inclined his staff, in token of respect.

"Luther bowed, and said: 'Be it as the Lord pleases; blessed be the name of the Lord.' He added the expression of his warm gratitude towards the emperor personally, and towards his ministers, and the states of the empire, for whom, he affirmed, with his hand on his heart, he was ready to sacrifice life, honour, reputation—all, except the word of God.

"Next day, 26th April, after a collation given him by his friends, the doctor resumed the route to Wittemberg.¹

¹ "The Catholic himself," observes M. Audin, "if he will for a moment forget the sectary in the man, cannot but contemplate with admiration, in this grand historical scene of the diet of Worms, that black-robed monk, standing face to face with, and bearding the throng of princes and nobles in their steel panoply, their gauntleted hands grasping the massive handles of their swords; and his heart will swell within him as he hears the clear, firm voice of the obscure brother Martin defying all the powers of the earth. That youthful emperor, on whose head rests all the interests of Germany, and whom a mere monk stops short at every turn of the conference; those grave priests, Amsdorf and Justus, pressing, full of love and enthusiasm, close up to their master, and ready to defend him with their arms, if need be, as well as with their learned voices; that populace, in whose eyes the Augustin was all wonderful, as the latest novelty of the time; that old

“On his arrival at Freyburg, Luther wrote two letters, one to the emperor, the other to the electors and states assembled at Worms. In the first, he expresses his regret at having found himself under the necessity of disobeying his majesty: ‘But,’ says he, ‘God and his word are above man.’ He laments, further, that he had not been able to obtain a discussion of the evidences he had collected from Scripture, adding that he was ready to present himself before any other assembly that might be convened for the purpose, and to submit himself in all things without exception, provided the word of God received no detriment. The letter to the electors and states is written in the same spirit.¹

To Spalatin (in a letter, dated 14th May) he says: ‘You would hardly believe the civility with which I was received by the abbot of Hirschfeldt.² He sent forward his chancellor and his treasurer a full mile on the road to meet us, and he himself came to receive us at a short distance from his castle, attended by a troop of cavaliers, who escorted us into the town. The senate received us at the great gate. The abbot entertained us splendidly in his monastery, and assigned me his own bed to sleep in. On the fifth day, they absolutely forced me to preach in the morning, though I represented to them that they ran a risk of losing their privileges, should the imperialist party choose to treat this as a violation of my undertaking not to preach up my doctrines on the way. But then, I added, that I had never pledged myself to chain up the word of God; nor will I.

“‘I preached also at Eisenach, in presence of the minister, who was in a great fright, and of a notary and his witnesses,

Frunzburg, who addresses the pilgrim monk as though he were an armed warrior; that archbishop, his venerable head whitened in the service of God, conspicuous among the steel casques glittering in the sun’s rays; that Vehus, eloquent by mere force of logic; those warm, excitable southern faces, full of restless energy, contrasting with the motionless features of the German spectators: all this forms a magnificent spectacle. At each word that falls from the monk’s lips, the heart quails fearfully within one at the thought that the emperor is there, listening intently to all that is said, and that the merest gesture from him would suffice to crush the rebellious brother to the earth! All honour for his moderation be to that young crowned head, in whom his age would have served to excuse even a violent outbreak, and who had thereon either hand, all around him, instruments ready at a word, at a nod, to fulfil the dictates of his anger.”

¹ Luther, Werke, ix. 107.

Crato Milizia

who formally protested against what I was doing, but excused themselves privately to me on the ground that, otherwise they dreaded the resentment of their tyrants. So, very likely, you will hear it said at Worms, that I have broken my faith; but I have not broken it. To chain up the word of God is a condition it is not in my power to enter into.

“Our friends met us on foot a little way out of Eisenach, and accompanied us into the town, in the evening. Our companions had set out in the morning with Jerome.

“As to myself, I was proceeding to rejoin my relations through the forest, and was on my way to Walterhausen, when near the fortress of Altenstein, I was taken prisoner. Amsdorf no doubt knew that it was arranged to seize me, but he is not aware to what place they carried me.

“My brother, who saw the horsemen coming up,¹ jumped out of the carriage, and, without saying a word, ran off through the wood, and, as I am told, reached Walterhausen in the evening. As for me, the horsemen took off my robe, and put me on a military garb, desiring me to let my hair and beard grow, and meanwhile put me on a false beard. You would scarcely recognise me; indeed, I hardly knew myself. However, here I am, living *in libertate Christianâ*, free from the chains of the tyrants.”

When taken to the castle of Wartburg, Luther was not at all certain to whom it was he owed the pleasant and honourable captivity in which he found himself. He had sent away the imperial herald as soon as they had got a few leagues from Worms, and his enemies have thence concluded that he was aware of the contemplated proceedings; but it fully appears, from his own correspondence, that he was not. Meantime a cry of grief arose throughout Germany. It was believed that he had perished, and the pope and the emperor were accused of his death. In reality, it was the elector of Saxony, Luther's patron, who, alarmed at the imperial sentence fulminated against the reformer,² and at once incapable

¹ Their names were Hans Von Berletsch and Burcard Von Hund.—
AUDIN.

² The edict, drawn up by Aleandro, and published by the emperor on the 25th May, is indeed, a severe one: it prohibits all persons, under penalty of high treason, from affording to Luther, after the 15th May, the day on which his safe-conduct expired, any aid or asylum whatever; and, on the contrary,

of openly supporting him against his enemies, or of allowing him to fall their victim, had conceived this mode of saving him from the effects of his own daring, and to gain time wherein to strengthen the party. To conceal Luther for awhile was a sure means of augmenting the public excitement in Germany, by arousing its fears for the champion of the reformed faith.

enjoins all persons to watch for and seize him, and place him in safe custody until justice shall have decided his destiny. It orders that all the Heresiarch's works, in Latin and in German, wheresoever found throughout Germany or the Low Countries, shall be burned; and it requires all the emperor's subjects to give aid and assistance to the apostolic commissioners entrusted with carrying into effect the decrees of the holy see. It menaces with severe penalties all booksellers and printers who shall publish or sell any of the monk's writings, or shall dare, in any manner, to circulate any publications calculated to bring into contempt the sovereign pontiff, the Roman church, prelates, princes, or the universities. It orders, that wheresoever any such publication, of whatever kind, image, engraving, or printed book, shall be found, it shall be forthwith torn or broken up, and burned, and its authors and publishers severely punished according to the laws. And in order that similar attacks upon religion, the holy see, the church, and dignitaries may not recur, the edict orders that, in future, no work treating of religious matters shall be published until it has been subjected to the examination of the ordinary, or of the faculty of theology of the nearest university."

'You have got to the end of the tragedy,' wrote the Spaniard, Alfonso Valderas, to his friend Piero d'Anghiera, at this juncture; 'the end, according to some—but, in my opinion, the beginning, for the Germans are exceedingly indignant against the Holy See.' The Spaniard was right; the very next day after the burning, according to the emperor's edict, of Luther's works in the public square at Worms, the booksellers of that city went about offering a number of other copies for sale from door to door, and had even the audacity to call with them at the Imperial residence.—AUDIX.

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