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ARTICLE III.

LIFE OF ZUINGLI.

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[Continued from Vol. VIII. p. 699.]

Labors, Cares and Studies of Zuingli at Zurich, 1520—1522.

ZUINGLI, as has been previously intimated, was again in the pulpit before he had fully recovered from the severe attack of the disease by which he had been visited. He had even resumed all of his

book. But if the satisfaction of Christ stands in no necessary connection with the forgiveness of sin, then this could not have been the design of satisfaction, and neither forgiveness nor redemption in general, has any immediate dependence upon satisfaction; for to assign the forgiveness of sin as the object to be secured by satisfaction, and still to deny the internal necessity of satisfaction for the purpose of securing that object, is, so to say, a logical *contradictio in adjecto*. Accordingly, the question with Grotius assumes this form: whether God had not grounds for the penal sufferings of Christ although he could have effected the object in view without them? The utmost which Grotius has done, is, to show the possibility, the fitness of Christ for the object in reference to which God employed him. Upon this point, however, his opponent had raised no question. The question rather was: Why God would not forgive sin otherwise than on account of the death of Christ? The answer which Grotius gives, stands in no necessary, or even real, connection with sin. Grotius himself acknowledges, that God, who in accordance with his love desired to spare, i. e. to admit the relaxation of the law, had also the power to do it without setting forth any penal example, but that he was desirous of showing his wrath at the same time with his love. But why any additional example, when a sufficiently strong one is given in the case of the reprobate and his final condemnation? And to what exceptions and objections does Grotius in this way expose himself? Is it not, for example, the grossest injustice, nay, the grossest cruelty, in God, if, merely for the purpose of exhibiting his wrath, he gives over his Son to the most excruciating torments, when he might forgive sin without them, yea, when he actually does (according to Grotius) forgive men without them? Just, as these last remarks are, it must still be said, when we consider the relation of the Grotian theory to the Socinian, and the relation of both to the teaching of the Scripture, that Grotius was right in regarding the death of Christ from the point of view which is furnished by the penal relation; only, he ought not to have found the whole design of it in a mere penal example. Only when the necessity of the death of Christ is explained on other grounds (as was done by Socinus), is it possible, without charging God with cruelty, to connect the idea of penal example with the death of Christ, so that the symbolic representation of punishment shall be considered as substituted for its actual endurance.

arduous labors while yet so weak that he writes to a friend: "It [the plague] has enfeebled my memory and prostrated my spirits. While preaching, I often lose the thread of my discourse. My whole frame is oppressed with languor and I am little better than a dead man." But as returning health gave vigor to his frame, and strength and elasticity to his mind, it became apparent that afflictions had not been sent in vain. His preaching was even more fervent and spiritual than before his sickness. The hearts and understanding of his auditors were appealed to with a power and discrimination, that constrained many of the magistrates as well as private citizens to cast in their lot with the people of God. The spacious cathedral could not contain all that now flocked to hear him.

Sometime in the year 1520, the influence of Zuingli in Zurich became more conspicuous from the measures which the Council of Zurich felt constrained to adopt. The priests and monks had become notorious for the effrontery with which they promulgated the most absurd tenets in their addresses from the pulpit. The council, in which there was at that time a considerable number of adherents to the cause of reform, felt that their influence was derogatory to the best interests of the community, and without much consideration in reference to the respective duties of the civil magistrate and the church, thought themselves called upon to undertake the reform of such abuses. They accordingly issued an ordinance, that nothing should be promulgated from the pulpit that was not drawn from the sacred fountains of the Old and New Testament. Thus the reformation became blended with the civil polity, and various were the results to Switzerland and the reformation, some of them propitious, and others adverse.

The action of the magistrates caused still more decided opposition. Many of the monks had never read the Bible, and how could they preach in accordance with its principles! The nature of the ordinance of the council proclaimed its origin in the teachings of Zuingli. As the natural result, more bitter enmity speedily followed him. Even plots were laid against his life; but through the watchfulness of his friends and the care of a kind Providence, he escaped unharmed.

Another event occurred in the year 1521, which caused Zuingli much anxiety. The war in Italy was just ready to break out afresh between the emperor Charles V. and Francis I. Pope Leo had sided with the former. Francis claimed the assistance of the Swiss cantons, and Zurich alone refused to respond to his call. But they were not allowed to remain neutral, although Zuingli lifted up his warning

voice. The eloquence and intrigue of the cardinal of Sion prevailed, and 2700 Zurichers marched forth to the assistance of the emperor and the Pope. Although Zuingli's voice was unheeded at this time, yet he was not disheartened; he was too well assured that his words of warning would come back upon the breezes that wafted information from the battle-field, with redoubled force. He accordingly went quietly and with renewed energy about his master's business among the Zurichers who remained at home.

Many, however, were roused by the truth to more vigorous opposition. They accused their pastor of concerning himself too much with the political affairs of Switzerland, and of placing undue stress upon particular doctrines and repeating them too often in his discourses. But we are unable at present to follow him through all the labors and perils of this and the following year. Opposition of every kind beset him both from open and secret enemies, from private individuals and civil magistrates; but wisdom and strength were given him sufficient for every emergency. Even when the assassin's hand was ready to fall upon him, he says: "God being my helper," "I fear them as the lofty crag the roaring waves that dash against its base." Accordingly, when exhorted by Hedio and Myconius to unite in preparation for more open and direct warfare upon his enemies, he mildly replied: "I could wish to conciliate those stubborn men by kindness and gentleness of demeanor, rather than to get the better of them in an angry controversy."¹ And indeed many encouragements were mingled in his varied life. The good seed was springing up and bearing fruit in many hearts about him. His silent study and meditation was interrupted by one and another of those from other cantons, who had caught something of his spirit, and were desirous of consulting with him whose words had fallen upon their ears as a light in a dark place. Among those who visited him and shared in his counsels, may be mentioned Berthold Haller and Henry Bullinger, names familiar to all who have interested themselves in the Swiss Reformation. Letters, too, not from the different cantons alone, but from abroad, frequently cheered him on in his manifold and difficult labors. Professor Vesse of Frankfort writes: "Oh how it gladdens my heart to hear with what boldness you are preaching Christ Jesus! Strengthen, I beseech you, by your exhortations those whom the cruelty of unworthy prelates has banished from our bereaved churches."²

¹ D'Aubigne's History of the Reformation, p. 373.

² Quoted from D'Aubigne's History of the Reformation, p. 366.

During the year 1522 the bishop of Constance renewed his efforts to suppress the heresy which was becoming so prevalent at Zurich. Three of his emissaries appeared there. Late one evening, their arrival was announced to Zuingli, connected with the information that an assembly of the clergy was summoned for the next morning. There was great consternation among the more doubting adherents of the new doctrines. Zuingli himself appeared in the meeting, and the efforts of his enemies were unavailing. The smaller council, in which were the most violent enemies of the truth, was next appealed to, and in the absence of Zuingli, he might have been condemned without a hearing, if his friends there had not insisted that the matter should be brought before the council of the two hundred. The smaller council were unwilling that Zuingli should be admitted to this consultation, but he and his friends were firm in their demands, and the council finally decided that their pastor should be present. The coadjutor of the bishop first delivered his fulmination against the "men who teach newly invented, abominable and seditious doctrines," and exhorted the council to continue in the church where alone they could be saved. When Zuingli arose to reply, the deputies were already on their feet to leave the council, and could not be prevailed upon to remain until a murmur of disapprobation at such dastardly conduct ran through the assembly. When they were again seated, Zuingli proceeded with a most triumphant and Christian confutation of the aspersions of his enemies, and vindication of the Gospel. The council arose without taking any action upon the matter, but the rumor of the signal defeat of the emissaries of Rome was soon spread abroad, and enthusiastic congratulations were poured in upon Zuingli from every side. His enemies, too, were on the alert, and Hoffman assailed the reformer in a written discourse before the chapter. But Zuingli replied with so much pertinency and point, that the matter "ended in a peal of laughter at the canon's expense." Zuingli soon after, April 16th, published his Treatise upon the "Free Use of Meats."¹

The Bishop of Constance, supported by Faber, next attempted to accomplish by a letter to the Canons of Zurich what he could not do by his deputies. This letter, at Zuingli's request, was committed to him to answer, and the result was his Treatise denominated "Architeles," The Beginning and the End. This letter was written in the best spirit, and couched in respectful language to the bishop, but yet

¹ De Delectu et libero Ciborum Usu. See a more extended account of this whole controversy in D'Aubigne's History of the Reformation, p. 364 seq.

it was a firm and decisive vindication of his course, closing with an aggressive attack upon popish superstition and a significant indication of the result that must follow from the present controversy. The Helvetic diet was next appealed to by the bishop, but the result was a renewed declaration on the part of Zuingli that he should freely preach the Gospel, and contradict those who preach error whenever opportunity should present itself. In pursuance of this resolution, and in accordance with the wishes of the Great Council, Zuingli visited the nunnery of Oetenbach, where the daughters of the first families in Zurich were accustomed to take the vows of celibacy upon themselves, and from the pulpit which had previously been occupied only by monks, pronounced a discourse "Upon the Clearness and certainty of the Word of God," which was afterwards published, and produced a very decided and salutary impression.

Zuingli was not without many significant testimonials of regard from the citizens of Zurich during the first years of his labor there. He was elected to a canonry in the cathedral which had been left vacant by the resignation of Henry Engelhardt, who however retained the pastorship of the abbey church, and was an aid to Zuingli in his work of reform. This appointment was accompanied by a "letter from the authorities of the city, bearing honorable testimony to his character and services." But this appointment added new cares and labors. An extract from a letter to Haller will show how much occupied his hands as well as his thoughts must have been at this time: "The hurry of business," he says, "and the care of the churches occupy me to such a degree, that Dr. Engelhardt lately told me, he wondered that I had not before this time become distracted. For instance, I have been ten times called off since I began this letter. From Suabia they write to me for what I am not competent to perform for them; though I do what I can. From every part of Switzerland I am applied to by those who are in difficulties for Christ's sake. If however anything occurs in which I can be of use to you, do not spare me, for I hope for more leisure," etc.¹ He seems sometimes to have almost given way to despondence from the anxieties and cares that pressed upon him. He writes: "Such are the storms that beat upon the house of God, and threaten to overthrow it, that, unless the Lord himself had evidently appeared to watch over it, I should long since have given it up for lost. But when I see that the vessel of the church is in every case piloted and controlled by him, and that he even commands the winds and the waves, I should be a

¹ Calvin and the Swiss Reformation, p. 46.

coward indeed, and unworthy the name of a man, should I disgracefully ruin myself by quitting my station. I therefore commit myself entirely to his care and kindness."¹

In the midst of all his other duties, Zuingli did not neglect his study. He devoted certain hours to it, and did not allow himself to be disturbed, except to attend to important business that could not be deferred. From sunrise until ten o'clock, he employed himself in writing, translation, and his more severe studies, and always retained the standing posture in study. After dinner he gave audience to any who might have communications to make to him, or who wished for advice. When not detained, however, by such persons, he engaged in familiar intercourse with his friends, frequently walking with them, until two o'clock. On holy days he was often to be seen in the customary gathering places of the citizens, where he met the councillors and other leading men, and consulted with them upon matters pertaining to the borough or whole country. At two o'clock he again resumed his studies, which he continued until supper time. After supper, and a short walk, he wrote letters, which often kept him up until after midnight.

Marriage and Domestic Life of Zuingli.

Sometime during the year 1522 Zuingli seems to have claimed for himself the privilege which he maintained for others, and married a lady who resided near him, although, for some reason, the marriage was not made public until two years afterward. Anna Reinhardt had been wedded at an early age to a youth of noble extraction, John Meyer von Knonan, in opposition to the will of his father, on account of her plebeian birth, who accordingly disinherited him. After the death of the son in 1513, leaving three children, two sisters and a younger brother, to whose care and education the desolate mother devoted herself, the heart of the old father became softened toward his daughter and her orphans by a trivial circumstance. When the young Gerold was three years old, the maid-servant while on a walk with him, stopped in the fish market, where the graceful and joyous motions and beautiful face of the boy attracted the notice of the grandfather. When to the question, Whose child is that? the reply was made: "It is your own son's," the old man relented and immediately received the wife of his son and her little ones to their appropriate place in his heart.

¹ Calvin and the Swiss Reformation, p. 46.

Anna had ever been highly respected at Zurich, and had been constant in her attendance on Zuingli's ministrations from the time of his arrival there. As she lived near him, her faithfulness in the intelligent discharge of all her duties, had not escaped the pastor's eye. Neither had her sufferings and years entirely eradicated her beauty. But perhaps no one circumstance contributed more to the mutual regard of both than the attachment and kindness that Zuingli had manifested to the young Gerold. He had not only aided and encouraged him in his studies at home, but had sent him to Basle where he supposed he would enjoy greater advantages for culture. And the gifted young man was destined not only to reverence and love him who had long been in the place of father to him, but also to fall by his side in the battle-field.

The married life of Zuingli seems to have been a very happy one, and it is to be regretted that we have not more extended notices of it. It would be pleasant to be able to turn occasionally in the life of struggle and conflict that ensued for him, to the joys and sorrows of home, but records of this kind were for the most part written only upon the hearts of those long since sleeping in the dust. Of his several children only two seem to have survived the days of childhood. The one, a son named Ulrich, trod in his father's footsteps, and was a canon and arch-deacon of Zurich. The other, a daughter, Regula, married "Rudolph Gwaeter, a divine of eminence, to whom we are indebted for the Latin translation of many of Zuingli's writings."¹

The enemies of Zuingli found ground for reproach in the rank² and wealth of the lady of his choice. He must, they contended, have been influenced in marrying by motives of avarice and ambition. In answer to this charge he gives us a picture of the simplicity of his mode of life, and the little desire that he felt for the accumulation of this world's goods. "People talk," he says, "of the rich benefices of the pastors of Zurich, but I can declare that mine this year would not have produced me sixty pieces of gold, unless the heads of our college (the chapter) had allowed me some advantages. My adversaries swell the amount from sixty to three hundred! I do not make this statement as complaining of poverty. God is my witness, that, if ever I feel uneasiness upon that subject, it is only because I cannot, to the extent of my wishes, relieve the number of poor people who need assistance. And, indeed, if I consulted my own ease I

¹ Calvin and the Swiss Reformation, p. 101.

² The rank to which she had been elevated by her previous marriage.

should gladly resign every sixpence of my stipend, to extricate myself from the hazardous services in which I am engaged. But neither the state of the times nor the improvement of the talent committed to me, will allow me to retire. As for my wife, apart from her clothes and her ornaments, she does not possess more than four hundred pieces of gold in the world; and for her ornaments she so little esteems them, that she has never made use of them since her marriage with me. The children of her former marriage, indeed, are rich; (may God give them grace to use their wealth aright!) and from them she receives thirty pieces of gold per annum; I have forborne to claim any further dowry, though I might have done it."¹

The First Colloquy before the Council of Zurich; the Invocation of Saints, etc.

It will be recollected that Luther was summoned to appear before the diet of Worms as an enemy of the empire, a schismatic and an obstinate and perverse heretic in 1521. His forty-one propositions had been condemned by the Pope, his writings adjudged to the flames, and himself threatened with excommunication in the previous year, in which also Zuingli renounced his pension from the Pope. After this time, *Lutheran* became an appellation of all those who were considered as innovators, either in doctrine or practice, in politics and religion. The enemies of Zuingli did not fail to give this appellation to him, in order to render him odious. He protested against the injustice donè him, not from any dislike of Luther, nor from a desire to deny a conformity of sentiment with him, but because he had derived his opinions from the Bible before he had heard of Luther. But the opposers of the truth were unwilling to forego so direct a means of defaming him, and the controversy waxed continually hotter and hotter. Preachers were interrupted in the midst of their sermons, and controversy ensued. Zuingli felt great solicitude in regard to the influence that such violent and rancorous disputes would have, in unsettling the minds of those who could hardly be expected to form a correct judgment for themselves in such circumstances. It was even to be feared that they would lose all respect for that religion whose ministers they saw thus divided and inimical. The influence of the present state of things upon the officers of Government, too, was not to be disregarded. They would soon feel called upon to interfere in order to put a stop to the contentions which were every

¹ Swiss Reformation, pp. 101, 102.

day becoming more bitter, and if they were not enlightened in reference to the doctrines of the reformers, their severity would in all probability be visited upon them. What was to be done? Should Zuingli and his associates keep quiet till the tempest was past? This they could not in conscience do, for their office was to preach the Gospel, and woe would be to them if they preached it not in sincerity and truth. Should all subjects of difference be submitted to a Council of the Church, convoked by the Pope and presided over by his legates? What hope of any fair adjustment of differences by such a tribunal, when the Pope and tradition were ultimate authority instead of the Scriptures. And besides, what had the council of Constance done a little while before, but decree "that faith with heretics was not to be observed," and condemn to the stake John Huss and Jerome of Prague, for no greater crime than all were guilty of, who faithfully advocated reform in the church? No, in no such snare was Zuingli to be taken. His resolution was finally and wisely formed.

In the beginning of the year 1523, he appeared before the supreme council of Zurich and requested a hearing before them. He was desirous, he said, to submit his doctrines, which were condemned as heretical and subversive of good order in church and state, to a rigid scrutiny. He only stipulated one thing, that the Scriptures and not tradition or decisions of councils, should be the ultimate source of appeal. Should he be proved to be in error, he was ready to retract, and suffer the consequences; if not, he claimed the protection of Government in the proper discharge of his duties. The council could not deny so reasonable a request, and accordingly appointed a meeting on the twenty-ninth of the same month (January), in the senate house. All persons who had allegations to make against the conduct or doctrine of the chief pastor were invited to be present, and freely make them. The bishop of Constance was specially requested to appear in person or by his representatives, and the diet of the Cantons then assembled at Baden were solicited to send deputies to aid in this discussion. To the ecclesiastics of the Canton a circular was sent, of which the following extract is all perhaps that is important in the present connection: "Great discord prevails among the ministers employed to announce the word of God to the people; some affirm that they teach the Gospel in all its purity, and accuse their adversaries of bad faith and ignorance, while the others in their turn, talk continually of *false doctors, seducers*, and heretics. In the meantime, the heads of the church, to which these matters belong, are

either silent, or exhaust themselves in fruitless exhortations. It is therefore necessary that ourselves should take care of our subjects, and put an end to the disputes that divide them. For this purpose, we order all the members of our clerical body, to appear at our town hall, the day after our festival of Charlemagne; and there we will that every one be free publicly to point out the doctrines which he considers as heretical, and to combat them with the Gospel in his hands."¹

As soon as the decree was made known, Zuingli, with that fairness which he ever exhibited, in order that his adversaries might have time for arranging their thoughts and arguments, and not have reason to complain that they were taken by surprise, published sixty-seven articles, embracing all the points in dispute.

"It is highly observable," says Mr. Scott,² "that precisely at this period, in the interval between the issuing of the summons by the council, and the meeting taking place, the Pope, Adrian VI. (who had succeeded Leo X. a year before), addressed to Zuingli, to his friend Francis Zingk, of Einsiedeln, and to the burgomaster of Zurich, highly flattering letters, holding out to them hopes of receiving distinguishing marks of his favor." The object of these letters is too plain even to require a remark. But the matter did not end here. The Pope attempted to exert an influence upon Zuingli through the intercession of others, and as D'Aubigne³ says: There was nothing, whether mitre, crozier, or cardinal's hat, which the Pope would not have given to buy over the reformer of Zurich. But mistaken man! What promise or offer of thine can avail anything with this true hearted and honest man, when it comes in conflict with the principles of the Gospel?

When the day appointed arrived, the council of two hundred assembled. The bishop of Constance was represented by the Chevalier d'Anweil, intendant of his household, Faber, his grand vicar, and some other persons of distinction. All the clergy of the canton, with many others from abroad, and a multitude of other persons were present. The burgomaster of Zurich, Reust, president of the council, opened the meeting by an address, explaining the object of the convocation as it had been set forth in the letter to the clergy of the canton. The Chevalier d'Anweil then arose and stated that the bishop had heard with great sorrow of the discords at Zurich, and in accordance with the invitation of the council had deputed himself

¹ Hess, p. 145.

² Calvin and the Swiss Reform., p. 69, 70.

³ Hist. Reformation, p. 497.

and colleagues to ascertain the real state of the case and aid in adjusting all differences.

Zuingli next addressed the assembly. Corruptions, he said, had crept into the church; the divine word had been confounded with traditions. The revealed will of God was little understood or heeded by professed Christians. An outward show of sanctity, external ordinances and ceremonies were relied upon more than the merits of our Saviour Jesus Christ. Those who attempted in all sincerity to preach the Gospel, were treated as heretics and enemies of religion. He himself had for five years labored at Zurich, and his conscience bore him witness that he had endeavored to preach nothing but the Gospel of Christ as set forth in the Scriptures; and yet he had been treated as a seducer, corrupter, disorganizer. He was anxious to exhibit his doctrine before the assembled people and ecclesiastics, the deputies of his diocesan, and the Senate of his country, to hear what could be said against it; and if in error, to be corrected; although he felt prepared to maintain that which he believed to be the truth. This he was ready to do anywhere, even at Constance, if a safe conduct were granted him. Finally a summary of the doctrines that he proposed to defend, were contained in the sixty-seven articles recently published.

Faber, who from his name (*faber*) was called a *blacksmith* of lies, in a wily and courtier-like speech, replied, lamenting the ill treatment that his brother Zuingli had received, not doubting that he had faithfully preached the Gospel, "for who, that had been ordained by God, to the ministry of the word, could do otherwise than preach the doctrine of the holy Gospels and of the Apostle Paul? He himself had done and ever would do so, as far as other duties would permit. He could assure Zuingli that should he ever be called to Constance, he would be received and welcomed as a friend and brother. He had not come to Zurich to throw any impediments in the way of preaching the Gospel, but, if persons opposed or perverted it, to find it out, and help compose differences. If any one wished to attack "ancient rites and ceremonies, or customs handed down to us through a long series of ages," he should engage in no controversy with them, for a council of the church was expected to be held in that or the following year,¹ in which all such matters should be decided; or if not there, in some renowned university, as Paris, Cologne or Louvain."

But Zuingli was not to be thwarted by such artful evasions. The

¹ As a matter of fact, the council of Trent commenced its sessions twenty-three years and closed them forty-one years afterward.

question was not what is ancient, but what is according to Scriptures. Besides, allowing that an impartial council could be obtained, would nothing be done before the decision of a council could be made? In respect to referring the question to universities, they had more men skilled in the Original Greek and Hebrew Scriptures, then resident at Zurich, than at any of the universities named; and there were then present many learned divines and members of universities. After this address, of which I have given but a meagre abstract, a profound silence ensued. The burgomaster again called upon all who had objections to Zuingli or his doctrines, to make them known. When no one arose, Zuingli himself called upon all who had made charges against him to substantiate them or he should feel compelled to call upon them by name.

As no one, after repeated and urgent requests, had the courage to speak, the meeting seemed nearly to be broken up, without any canvassing of the propositions of Zuingli. An incident, however, brought on a discussion. A minister of the canton arose and complained that a country priest had been illegally arrested, condemned and imprisoned by the bishop of Constance for not retaining one of the customs of the church, the invocation of the saints and the Virgin. Now the propositions of Zuingli were opposed to this, as denying the authority of tradition, and one or the other was wrong. If then no one was prepared to demonstrate the error of the doctrine of Zuingli, all were at liberty to disobey the bishop's edict, and pronounce the condemnation of Wyss unjust. This called up the vicar general, Faber, in defence of his master, and unfortunately for him, after disparaging somewhat the character of the prisoner, said that he had induced him to retract many of his errors; and, in particular, had convinced him from the Scriptures of the wrong in denying the propriety of the invocation "of the mother of God and the saints."

The unguarded and dishonest claim of Faber was forthwith seized upon by the reformers, and he was requested to bring forward the passages of Scripture which had produced conviction upon the mind of Wyss. But without effect. He was obliged to declare: "I see that this has happened to me which is said of the fool. He is entangled in his own words." Still he went on to discourse upon the authority of the church which in past ages and all countries had maintained the disputed doctrine, and expressing his firm belief in "the intercession of the Queen of heaven, the Virgin Mother of God."¹ "As to those who refer to the Scriptures in the three lan-

¹ Calvin and the Swiss Reformation.

gauges, I reply, that it is not sufficient to quote the sacred writings, it is also necessary thoroughly to understand them. Now the gift of interpretation is a precious one, which God does not grant to all. I do not boast of possessing it; I am ignorant of Hebrew; I know little of Greek, and though I am sufficiently versed in Latin, I do not give myself out for an able orator." He then goes on to repeat his belief in the authority of councils alone in deciding such questions, his disposition to be submissive to them, which he thinks others might imitate.¹

Zuingli still pressed him for Scripture proofs, and brought forward the same arguments for the fallibility of the Church in its councils, popes, and writers, which are relied on in all protestant countries to this day. But he adds, "there is a church that cannot err, and which is directed by the Holy Spirit. It is composed of all true believers . . . but is only visible to the eyes of its divine founder, who alone knoweth his own. It does not assemble with pomp; it does not dictate its decrees in the manner of the kings of the earth; it has no temporal reign; it seeks neither honors nor domination; to fulfil the will of God is the only care by which it is occupied."²

He also denied the antiquity which Faber claimed for the usages in question, and closed by saying that it was not a confession of his faith that they wanted from the vicar general, but Scripture proofs. Leo Jude and others then arose, and declared, that if proof from the Bible could not be adduced by their opponents, their course was plain; they should continue to teach with confidence the inutility of the invocation of saints.

After another urgent request from Zuingli not to trifle with the assembly or his own reputation, Faber proceeded to his Scripture proofs. They were: The words of the Virgin herself: "All generations shall call me blessed;" and the salutation of Elizabeth: "Blessed art thou among women. . . . Whence is this to me, that the mother of my Lord should come to me?" and the words addressed to our Saviour in Luke 11: 27: "Blessed is the womb that bare thee," etc. Zuingli interposed: "We ask not for testimony to the *dignity* or *sanctity* of Mary, but to the *intercession* and *invocation* of the saints;" and when Faber perceived that his authorities provoked a smile, he said: "If what I say is esteemed empty and foolish, I have only to sit down in silence." After some more discussion by different individuals, of little importance to the question in hand, the

¹ Hess, p. 152.

² Ibid. p. 154.

assembly was dismissed, the members of the council remaining to consult upon the decision to be made by them. In the evening the meeting was again assembled, and the following decree communicated to them:—"That as no one had come forward to substantiate any accusation against their preacher and antistes, Ulric Zuingli, though numbers had previously reproached him as a heretic, and though he had submitted his doctrine to examination in propositions or articles duly published, and had challenged any one to convict him of error; therefore the burgomaster, council and people of Zurich decreed and confirmed, that the said Ulric Zuingli should go on to declare and preach the holy doctrine of the Gospel, and the oracles of the word of God, as he had heretofore done; and that all persons should abstain from criminating one another as heretics and offenders, on pain of such penalties as should show the sense which the Government of the country entertained of their misconduct."

When the decree had been read, Zuingli rose, and with the warmest devotion said: "We give thanks to thee, O Lord, who willest that thy most holy word should reign alike in heaven and in earth;" and turning to the council, he continued: "And on you, venerable Lords, the same Lord of all will bestow that strength and determination of mind, which will be necessary for supporting and advancing the doctrine of the Divine word throughout your territories; and I doubt not that the Lord God will abundantly reward this your present act." The grand vicar, on the other hand, complained that the decision was hasty, and desired that the matter should be referred to the doctors of some university. But Zuingli would submit to no arbitrator but the Bible as explained by itself. After some further discussion which was favorable to the cause of Zuingli in proportion as the temper and spirit that he exhibited was more gentle and Christian than that of his opponents, the assembly broke up. The influence of this colloquy can hardly be estimated, as it deserves, in reference to the progress of the Reformation, especially in Zurich. The clergy of the canton and many out of it, were present. It could not be expected that even the eloquence and zeal of Zuingli should, in a few hours, make converts of the canton; but this discussion gave him an opportunity of disseminating to some extent his doctrines, and turning the attention of the clergy to the word of God; and as no answer was made to him, although some of the leading men in the church were present, the impression would naturally and justly be, that his opponents were in the wrong. He had infinitely the advantage of his antagonists, too, in the fearless yet kind and gentle spirit

in which he did and said everything. The relation of the Government to him was now changed. Instead of opposing, it afforded him protection and encouragement. But Zuingli did not, as some would perhaps think him bound to do, make precipitate changes in the form of worship. He and his two colleagues, Leo Jude and Engelhardt, devoted themselves unceasingly to preaching and teaching the true doctrines of the Gospel. Others in different directions imitated their example in promoting the same views.

The Second Colloquy at Zurich upon the Worship of Images, and its Results.

All, however, were not contented to go forward in the same sure path which Zuingli chose for his steps. They desired a shorter way to the reformation of abuses, and accordingly published at Zurich a tract, "full of vehement declaration," entitled: "The Judgment of God against Images," in which their worship was represented as gross idolatry. This was a sufficient incitement to some to exert themselves to purify the city by whatever means it might be done. Some persons "of the baser sort" assembled and pulled down a crucifix which stood at the gate of the city. A commotion ensued, and the council interfered and arrested the offenders. In the debate of the council in regard to the punishment deserved, Zuingli maintained publicly that the law of Moses prohibited the worship of images, and the law, as never having been repealed, was yet binding upon Christians. The accused were accordingly not guilty of sacrilege, but yet deserved punishment for acting without the authority of the magistrate.

The council now found themselves in a dilemma. They respected the opinion of Zuingli and were not prepared to discard it; and yet they were solicitous about the impression that would be made upon the other cantons if they dealt leniently with the offenders. They had already incurred the suspicion of favoring heresy. They finally concluded, before making their decision, to summon the cantons, the University of Basle, etc., to send their deputies to another colloquy upon the question: Is the worship of images authorized by the Gospel, and ought the Mass to be observed or abolished? On the 28th of October, 1523, the assembly convened to the number of about 900 persons, including 250 ecclesiastics, most of the cantons refusing to comply with a call, which had previously been so disastrous to their party. The colloquy proceeded and lasted three days; but our

limits do not permit us to trace its progress from day to day. It is sufficient to say that the character of the colloquy was very similar to that of the preceding one in January. Few could be prevailed upon to open their mouths in favor of the Mass or the worship of images, and when they did so, they were triumphantly answered by Zuingli and Leo-Jude.

Soon after the assembly had dispersed, the council liberated all the prisoners, except the leader Hottinger, who was banished for two years.¹ As a result of this colloquy, the reformation gained new adherents as well as some more active opposers. At Schaffhausen, for instance, the report of the deputies gained the abbot over to the side of the reformation, where he ever after remained. Dr. Erasmus Ritter, too, from a strong opponent, became a warm disciple of Zuingli. The council of Zurich did not, however, feel sufficiently confident to go forward very actively and openly in reforming abuses. Yet being sensible of the ignorance of the clergy in the Scriptures, they caused "A short Introduction to the true Christian doctrine" which Zuingli had prepared, to be printed and sent to all the clergy, "that by means of it they might learn to preach the truth sincerely and without adulteration," and left them to say mass or not, as they chose. The consequence was that it was much neglected both by clergy and people. They also sent the little book of Zuingli to "the three bishops of Constance, Basle and Coire, as also to the University of Basle, and each of the twelve cantons," asking them, if they could bring from Scripture any good reasons for retaining the worship of images or the Mass, that they would communicate to them, and, that their decision should be delayed until Whitsuntide, to hear from them. They were resolved after that time was elapsed, unless some satisfactory answer were received, to proceed to the abolition of those popish observances.²

The bishop of Constance alone made a reply, which, however, did not move the council; yet from the importance of the subject they requested Zuingli to answer it; which he did not hesitate to do. The impression of this treatise upon the council was so great, that early in the following year, 1524, they gave permission to all who had given pictures or images to the churches, to remove them. Soon after, an order was given, and carried into execution, to exclude all

¹ His banishment finally resulted in his death by violence, although contrary to the intentions and exhortations of the Senate of Zurich. See Hess, *Life of Zuingli*, p. 167, 168, and Calvin and the Swiss Reformation, p. 91.

² Calvin and the Swiss Reformation, pp. 91, 92.

objects of superstition from the churches in the city. About the same time deputies from the other cantons, except Schaffhausen, assembled at Lucerne, and passed severe decrees against all the doctrines and innovations of the reformers. Zurich, alarmed at the violent spirit exhibited, sent in a remonstrance and asked an explanation of their conduct, but received little, besides vague assurances of friendship, in answer. The images and pictures from the churches were first deposited in a hall for preservation, but *intemperate* zeal was engendered by opposition, and the images were ruthlessly broken or defaced, and the pictures committed to the flames. The example of the capital was soon followed by a large part of the canton. Many other superstitious observances were abolished, or fell into disuse, very soon after this first step was taken. "They," says Mr. Scott, among other things, "abolished offerings for the dead, the blessing of palms, of holy water, . . . extreme unction," etc. The Mass was still allowed to be celebrated. Other expostulations and threats from the cantons followed, and firm and unequivocal replies from Zurich. The bishops finally in June sent a long answer to the application made to them in the previous year, but no new arguments were adduced, and Zuingli, to whom the task was committed, did not find it difficult to answer it. In the meantime the spirit of reform at Zurich was spreading more and more.

Reforms in Switzerland. Publication of the "True and False Religion."

A letter from Pope Adrian VI., soon after his elevation to the papal throne, commending their zeal, excited the cantons to another and severer reprimand of Zurich, and a warning to Schaffhausen and Appenzel not to follow its example. They assured them that they would tolerate no one in their borders who favored the Lutheran heresy. Several of the cantons went still further, and declared that they would neither call the Zurichers to the diet of the Helvetic states, or sit with them there. An occasion presented itself for them to put their threats in execution. Two men by the name of Wirth, father and son, were condemned to death, in reality, for favoring the cause of the reformers, although they had been given up by Zurich for trial on the express condition that their religious sentiments should not be taken into the account. Zuingli with others blamed the want of decision in the council in respect to this affair, and predicted fatal consequences.

This treatment of the cantons influenced the Government of Zurich to provide against other more direct measures of hostility, and to appeal to the cantons of Berne, Glaris, Schaffhausen and Appenzel, who returned a favorable answer and were ever after more inclined to befriend her. The several parishes of Zurich were also assembled to find whether the people would sustain the magistrates in carrying out the changes they had begun to make. They expressed themselves ready for any emergency, and the council accordingly proceeded in its work with boldness. Instead of the recitation of the canonical hours, the practice was adopted of assembling five times a week for the public reading of the Scriptures in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and finally in German, and for listening to an exposition of them, beginning and concluding with prayer. Religious houses were also suppressed and revenues given to charitable purposes. The utmost watchfulness was maintained by Zwingli to prevent the embezzlement or abuse of church funds by individuals. His desire was only that they should receive a more enlightened and pious destination than before.

During this same year (1524), a public discussion was proposed by the Catholic cantons to be held at Baden, Dr. Eck taking the lead on their side, and Zwingli on that of the reformers. But the conduct of the cantons had been such of late that it was immediately suspected, that their object might be to get Zwingli away from under the protection of Zurich, in order to take his life. He accordingly declined going "either to Baden or Lucerne," although he was ready to meet his antagonists under their new leader "at Zurich, Schaffhausen, S. Gallen or Glaris." The magistrates even *forbade* Zwingli to go to Baden, and thus the colloquy was not held.

The Roman Catholic cantons even felt themselves called upon to make some reforms, so much had the attention been turned to multiplied cases of abuse and neglect in matters of religion. Their scheme of reform, however, had reference mainly to matters of external form, which, although they did not perceive it, could not be corrected without abandoning the dogmas, combatted by Zwingli, upon which they rested.¹ But Berne alone adopted the regulations, the other cantons preferring to wait for the long expected council. The new Pope, too, in the beginning of 1525, thought it best to try his hand at reclaiming its allegiance to the Holy See. But his flattering words and honeyed tones had little influence with those whose ears and eyes had drunk in the sayings and reasonings of Zwingli. The latter in the last part

¹ Calvin and the Swiss Reformation, p. 116.

of this year and in the beginning of the next, published several works. To Valentine Compar, public secretary of the canton of Uri, who had defended the church of Rome in sincerity, and as well as the nature of the case admitted, he replied with great courtesy and kindness, but showed, among other things, the extreme superstition in which the people had been living in regard to images and saints. Not even the pagans, he said, were ever guilty of more gross idolatry than that practised towards the Virgin Mary at Lausanne and Einsiedeln.

The most important work of this time, and perhaps the best of all his works, was the "Treatise on the True and False Religion." It explains the fundamental principles of the Christian religion, and points out their relation to the doctrines and practices of popery. Much of the work is taken up in the discussion of the errors of the times, and yet not more than we should naturally expect from the circumstances. There is, indeed, a striking similarity of many of the views of Zuingli with those now entertained in New England. The three reformers, Luther, Calvin and Zuingli, it is true, agreed *substantially* in theological views, and yet there were points of difference in character and habits that led to some dissimilarities in them as theologians. Zuingli was less impetuous than Luther, but more venturesome than Calvin. He was less rigid perhaps than the Genevan reformer, in some of his theological tenets, and less fond of strictly theological speculation and reasoning, and not so much prone as the Wittenberg professor to place an excessive stress upon some to the exclusion of other parts of the Christian system. He probably believed as sincerely and heartily in redemption by Christ alone as Luther; for he explicitly affirms that our Lord Jesus Christ, "very God and very man,"¹ purchased everlasting life for all who rely upon him with firm and unwavering faith; and again, "Eternal salvation proceeds solely from the merits and the death of Christ." Still, he did not dwell upon this doctrine in his preaching, as if it were the whole of the Gospel. On the other hand, some of his expressions upon predestination, and upon the salvation of the virtuous among pagan nations, would hardly have been permitted, although they had sought it long, to pass the lips of the more cautious Calvin. The Christian system as a whole was the object of far more admiration to Zuingli, but enthusiasm for certain phases of it was stronger in Luther, whilst the author of the Institutes could mark out the metes and bounds of each dogma with more accuracy than either of them. The active life and early death

¹ Christus, verus homo et verus Deus. — Opp. I. p. 206.

of the pastor of Zurich, if nothing else, would have prevented him from reducing his views to so rigid a system and fortifying them against attack on all sides, as his Genevan brother was permitted to do. Calvin was the profounder scholar, but Zuingli possessed in far higher degree a genial scholarly spirit. In culture, the latter was more nearly allied to Melancthon than either Luther or Calvin. Each of the three had his peculiar part to perform, and performed it well. Luther moved the passions especially of the lower orders in Germany; Zuingli won over and persuaded the youth, the magistrates, the better informed of the clergy, and the private citizens of the cantons; Calvin influenced Francis I., the dutchess of Jessura, the educated in France, Italy, Switzerland, Germany, the world. Luther delighted more in depressing man, the poor, guilty subject of an enslaved will; Zuingli in elevating God. Indeed, in his views of God, there is a loftiness of sentiment and a simplicity of feeling well worthy of his piety and learning.

The views of Zuingli upon original sin have perhaps been more questioned than any of the other parts of his system. Still, he explicitly states his belief in the fall of man and its consequences: "Before the fall, man had been created with a free will, so that if he had been disposed he might have fulfilled the law; his nature was pure; the disease of sin had not yet tainted it; his life was in his own hands. But having desired to be 'as God' he died, and not he alone, but all that are born of him."¹ It is true he says: original sin is not properly sin, but a malady of our nature, consequent upon the fall; and yet he distinctly asserts the criminality and ill desert of our natural evil disposition, and says that it "deserveth God's wrath and damnation,"² which would seem to be enough to satisfy the demands of a strictly orthodox faith. Other passages almost without number might be referred to, did our limits permit, to show the substantial correspondence of his views of Christian doctrine with the approved standards of the present day.

Change in the Manner of Celebrating the Lord's Supper.

In the appendix to "The True and False Religion," Zuingli again discussed the subject of the Mass and the Eucharist. For some years he had not hesitated to declare his dissent from the doctrines of the Romish church in this particular. Jesus Christ, he said, died on the

¹ Quoted from one of his discourses.

² See Calvin and the Swiss Reformation, p. 257.

cross and made a sufficient expiation for the sins of all men. There is therefore no need of further sacrifice, and the Lord's Supper should be only a commemoration of his death. He had submitted his views to the Senate in 1523, and proposed some changes in the canon of the Mass, still retaining some of its accessories, which he did not then think contrary to the spirit of the Gospel. They postponed a decision, and he now rejoiced that they had done so; for further investigations had convinced him that a more radical change must be made. With all his usual candor, which led him frankly to acknowledge a change in opinion, he writes subsequently: "My first advice was not followed, and I am thankful to providence that it was not; this would only have been substituting one error for another, and the rite newly established would have been much more difficult to abolish than that of our ancestors."

This discussion of Zuingli called the attention more directly to the necessity of reformation in this particular, and in the beginning of 1525, Engelhardt, Leo Jude, Myconius and others united with him in pressing upon the Senate a radical reform in the mode of celebrating the Lord's Supper. The most of the Senate were prepared for action, but some few had doubt in reference to the reformer's explanation of the words: This is (represents) my body, and he was requested to defend his interpretation, which he did "so satisfactorily, that the Senate that same day passed a decree abolishing the Mass, and ordering the Eucharist to be thenceforward celebrated according to the institution of Christ and apostolical practice." Zuingli himself relates an experience of his, connected with this discussion, which is not without interest. He had not been able to refer to a passage entirely satisfactory to himself of the use of the verb *to be*, in the sense required in the disputed passage. This subject had occupied his thoughts during the day, and, when he laid himself down to rest, it mingled with his nightly visions. In his perplexity, suddenly a monitor seemed to stand by him (whether white or black,¹ he says, I do not remember, for it was a dream), who said: Simple man, why do you not answer from the twelfth chapter of Exodus; 'It (the lamb) is the Lord's passover.' He adds: I awoke immediately, sprang out of bed, and examined the words in the Septuagint, and the next day publicly discoursed upon them with so much success as to remove every doubt from the minds of all who sought to understand the Scriptures; and such sacraments followed as I never at any other

¹ A proverbial phrase which Zuingli frequently used, meaning "I can give no account of the matter."

time witnessed."¹ Zuingli was not probably the first or last, who has been helped out of a difficulty after a day of toil and anxiety by a suggestion in sleep.

It was on easter Sunday (13th of April) that the Eucharist was celebrated according to Zuingli's ideas. On the table, covered with a white cloth, a basket of bread and cups filled with wine were placed. One of the assistants of Zuingli read the account of the institution of the Lord's Supper in the latter part of the eleventh chapter of first Corinthians, and our Saviour's words in regard to eating his flesh and drinking his blood, in John 6: 47—58. Zuingli exhorted the church to examine themselves carefully, so as not to eat and drink unworthily, and then, having offered a fervent prayer and repeated the words of Christ at the institution of the last supper, the elements were distributed, while the last discourse of our Saviour as recorded by the Apostle John was read. The whole service was closed with prayer and an appropriate hymn. Zuingli was not disappointed in reference to the influence of this change in worship. The churches could hardly contain the crowds that came to participate in it, and, says Hess: "The good works and numerous reconciliations that followed it, proved the sincerity of the devotion with which it was attended."

The Establishment of the New Academy at Zurich.

Zuingli was now desirous of placing the reform which he had commenced on a firm basis, and of leaving no incentives to a return to former superstitions. He took special interest in a Translation of the Bible into the Swiss-German for the use of his adherents. Luther's translation of the Pentateuch and historical books of the Old Testament, was published in Germany in 1523. This was now revised by Zuingli and his coadjutors, Leo Jude, Caspar, Meyander and others, adapted to the Swiss dialect and printed in 1525. Of the rest of the Bible they made an independent translation, which appeared in 1527. The subject of educational institutions had naturally ever been one of interest to a man of so scholarly tastes as Zuingli. He now formed a project both for directly weakening the influence of the Pope, and building up sound and well endowed institutions of learning. The chapter of the cathedral of Zurich, which held a considerable amount of property, was entirely independent in its jurisdiction. Zuingli, who had been admitted as one of its canons, was desirous that its revenues should be devoted to establishments

¹ See *The Swiss Reformation*, pp. 113, 114, and other biographies.

for education, and that it should be brought under the control of the civil authorities. He wished, however, that it should be effected by the mutual consent of all parties. He represented to them the disgrace of living by the altar without serving it, and of the necessity of reform to prevent the magistrates from undertaking it. He finally effected a mutual convention of the chapter with the Senate. The most important points of the agreement were, that the chapter should yield obedience to the council as its sovereign. Salaries should be paid to as many pastors as should be needed for the public worship of the town. As many as should be supernumerary, if they were old or infirm, were to retain their benefices, but others should not be elected to their places; and as the benefices became vacant they should be employed in founding professorships for lectures whose instructions should be gratuitous. The provost of the chapter was still to retain the administration of its revenues, rendering an account to the Senate, which in turn should protect the chapter in all particulars. Some slight opposition was made to so great a change without the sanction of the bishop or pope, but it was easily overruled.

Some members of the chapter became useful preachers, others enjoyed their benefices until removed by death. Five only quitted the city and retired to the Catholic cantons. The example of the chapter was soon followed by the abbey of Fraumünster, whose disposable revenues were employed in supporting a seminary established by the council, where a certain number of young men, destined for the pulpit, were sustained and instructed gratis. The establishments of several mendicant orders were also broken up, and their funds employed for charitable purposes, as in the care of the sick, relieving of the distressed, etc.¹

By the means above referred to, the foundation was laid for what was called the New Academy. The arranging of it fell mostly upon Zuingli, who was best of all fitted for the task, and most heartily interested in it. It was only by means of thorough education that he hoped to banish and exclude ignorance and superstition, and thus bless posterity. It is to be regretted that his life was not spared to rear the structure upon the foundation that he had laid, but we ought perhaps rather to give thanks for what he was permitted himself to do, and to prepare for others to execute. A school for elementary instruction in the learned languages was already in operation when Zuingli went to Zurich, but its pupils were few, and there was need of reform there as well as in the church. Zuingli early directed his

¹ See Hess, p. 206.

attention to this object, and had much influence in encouraging the masters and inciting them to exertion, and of arousing the emulation of pupils. He had long been desirous that there should be a school which could be entered by those who had gone beyond the elements, where they could go through a complete course of Latin and Greek literature, and he now had procured the means of establishing it. Two professorships of humanity were established, and from these chairs not only the grammatical analysis and interpretation of ancient authors was to be taught, but the higher branches of philology and criticism, which would enable the pupils to appreciate the works which they studied, and gain the highest cultivation therefrom. This was but a stepping stone, however, to the main object with him, the study of theology, especially biblical theology.

In this department the New Academy was made to differ widely from the universities, both in respect to the manner and objects of study. The Old and New Testaments, instead of the schoolmen, were the basis of instruction. The two professors intrusted with the interpretation of the Greek and Hebrew text, were expected "to compare the originals of the sacred writers with the best versions, as the Septuagint and Vulgate; to cite the commentaries of the Jewish doctors on the Old Testament, and the Fathers on the New; to apply a knowledge of the manners and customs of the Jews to the clearing of obscure passages; to establish the true sense of each by its connection and parallel passages; to show its relation to other truths of religion, and finally, to point out the application to be made of them to morals and the instruction of the people."¹ These lectures were held in the cathedral, and not only students in divinity but all the ecclesiastics were expected to attend. Others also were encouraged to do so, and such was the interest in these subjects at the time, that large numbers of all the classes of society were assiduous in their attendance on the theological lectures. The influence in favor of classical learning was also such, that "a taste for the ancient languages was so thoroughly diffused, that twenty years afterward, it was not uncommon to meet with magistrates and merchants who could read the Old and New Testaments in the originals."²

The four professorships above mentioned, two of ancient languages, and two of biblical interpretation, were first endowed; and as other benefices became vacant, professors in other departments were added. Yet the interpretation of the Bible was the prominent object with Zuingli, and it cannot be doubted that his care in this particular was

¹ Hess's *Life*, pp. 209, 210.

² *Ibid.* p. 210.

of incalculable benefit to Switzerland in subsequent ages, in producing a large number of enlightened ecclesiastics, who were vigilant in watching against the introduction of error, and steady in cherishing whatever of good might spring up around them.

At the time of the establishment of the New Academy, men of the right stamp, and of requisite qualifications, could not be found in Zurich to take the chairs of instruction. Zuingli therefore procured Conrad Pellican, an Alsatian, well versed in the Hebrew, and familiar with the writings of Erasmus and Luther, who for thirty years was a faithful servant of the church of Zurich, and died at an advanced age, much respected "for his piety, modesty and erudition." To the Greek professorship, Rodolph Collinus was appointed, and he performed the duties to the greatest acceptance, and with the highest success.

Struggles against the Anabaptists.

Zuingli, like Luther and Calvin, was not compelled to contend against the Catholics alone. Those appeared in the ranks of the reformed, who by their extravagance and fanaticism, were more troublesome than open enemies. It is well known, that the Anabaptists, after being partially suppressed in Germany, spread over Switzerland and France. It was as early as 1521, that Thomas M^unzer, after being driven from Saxony, arrived on the borders of the cantons. He was there met by Conrad Grebel, and Felix Mantz, from Zurich. These men were possessed of considerable learning, and had aspired to professorships in the Academy of Zurich. Zuingli had incurred their displeasure by not depriving some canons of their benefices, which had been promised them during life, in order to endow the chairs which they aspired to. This circumstance, together with their own restless dispositions perhaps, inclined them to listen to M^unzer. Still Grebel soon attempted to gain over Zuingli, and probably would have succeeded, if Zuingli had been ambitious of becoming the head of a party, rather than of forwarding the reformation from love of the truth. "Let us," said Grebel, "form a community of true believers. They alone will be blessed. Let all communication with false teachers be broken off." Zuingli replied: "Christ commands that the tares should be allowed to grow with the wheat until the harvest, and shall we make a separation which he did not deem necessary? Rather let us labor to diffuse a knowledge

of the truth, and not to foment schism, and produce disorder and confusion."¹

This repulse, however, caused only a temporary suspension of the efforts of the Anabaptists with Zuingli. He had sometime before expressed an opinion unfavorable to infant baptism. They now represented that his agreement in this respect with M \ddot{u} nzer was a bond of union. Zuingli immediately replied, that further examination had convinced him of the error of his former opinion, and he proceeded to expound fully what he believed to be the true doctrine.² This was so contrary to their belief that the baptism of infants is a horrible abomination, a "flagrant impiety invented by the devil and Pope Nicholas II.," that they abandoned the attempt to gain over the "Old Dragon," as they called the reformer, to their way of thinking and acting.

They next attempted, after gaining some adherents away from Zurich, to influence the people by appearing in considerable numbers in the town, in fantastic apparel, denouncing Zuingli and exhorting to repentance, and proclaiming the speedy destruction of the town, were it not soon converted. Great alarm was thus caused, which probably would not have been quieted by a weaker arm or less determined will than that of Zuingli. The council, in order to prevent the recurrence of such scenes, appointed, as usual, in case of disagreement, a colloquy between Zuingli and the leaders of the fanatics, forgetting that reason or reasoning would be as utterly lost upon these demons, as upon the veritable inmates of the mad house. Disorder, however, was for the time suppressed in Zurich, but in the country, where the influence of the leading spirit at Zurich could not be felt, partisans of the new doctrine increased, and the most ridiculous as well as painful scenes were witnessed. The anxiety of Zuingli at this time can hardly be imagined. The whole labor of anxious years seemed not merely about to be lost, but to be turned to the destruction of those whose life and salvation it should have proved. But he did not sink into inactivity from discouragement. Trusting in an Almighty arm, he was instant in season and out of season in opposing the evil that had come in upon them like a flood.

The excesses that ensued were such that the council felt called upon to use rigorous, coercive measures to restrain those who made obedience to a higher than civil law a cloak for all sin. Zuingli advocated the employment of gentle means first, hoping that the mis-

¹ See D'Aubigne's *Hist. Ref.* Book XI., and Hess's *Life*, pp. 226, 227.

² See a summary in Hess's *Life*, p. 228 seq.

guided might thus be restored to the use of right reason. At his request another colloquy was appointed, and some few yielded assent to the arguments employed, but by retracting, they lost all influence with their party. Finally, the Senate had recourse to imprisonment, and in one case, which seemed to threaten a general insurrection, even to capital punishment. Zuingli took no part in these severe measures, but exerted himself in every way to restore to all a proper state of feeling, in the emergency. He drew up in the form of a tract his views of baptism, and dedicated it to the council of St. Gall, which caused it to be read in the churches. "The spirit which is abroad among us," said he, "is like the waters of the torrents which rush from our mountains, hurrying with them everything within their reach. At first small stones only are put in motion, but these are driven violently against larger ones, until the torrent acquires such strength that it carries away everything it encounters in its course, leaving behind lamentations, vain regrets and fertile meadows changed into a wilderness; it occasions disturbances, banishes charity, and where it found fair and prosperous churches, leaves behind it nothing but mourning and desolate flocks." The Anabaptists, not thinking that they had been listening to the word of God by his servant, cried out: "Away with the book! away with the book. Do you keep the doctrine of Zuingli, we will have the word of God." Well might the council have replied: Our God is a God of order and not of confusion. In the pulpit, too, he lifted up his voice unceasingly, but it was exceedingly difficult to influence those who were not only exhorted not to attend the discourses of the reformed preachers, but even to avoid all communication with those without the bounds of their own party. Thus the minds of the proselytes seemed sealed up against all good impressions. Still, the influence of Zuingli in his writings, preaching and in private, together with the loss of their leaders by the execution of one, the death of another, and the banishment of others, soon put a stop to the outrages and violence of this sect, and with that a large number of its adherents were soon no longer to be found.¹

¹ Zuingli, Opp. Tom. II. p. 230. Bullinger, adv. Anabb. et alii.

[To be concluded.]