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censure, and should it even be their purpose to bear up with a bold face for a long time, and never to flee like a coward, yet is does somehow strangely turn out, my good friend, that in the end they do not even gain their own applause, and there are times when this boasted rhetoric of theirs so fades and loses all its strength, as to seem in fact, no better than the prattle of a child. But since all this is said by way of scholastic digression, let us now desist. Otherwise such topics as these flowing in upon us more and more, will in the end wholly bury under the main inquiry with which we set out. If you please, then, let us resume our former positions, or return to the question: What is knowledge?

ARTICLE III.

LIFE OF ZUINGLI.

By R. D. C. Robbins, Professor of Languages, Middlebury College.

[Concluded from p. 299.]

The Conference at Baden.

EARLY in 1526, the proposition for a disputation to be held at Baden was renewed. It is not, perhaps, to be doubted, that the object with more than one of the movers was to deprive the reformed party of its head. They had tried flattery and threats in vain. As to reasoning, the man could not be found who could cope with Zuingli, especially where he had the Bible on his side. The grand vicar of the bishop of Constance, ever after the first colloquy at Zurich, had been looking out for some means to put down the fast spreading heresy. The only effectual method seemed to be, to induce Zuingli to leave the territories of Zurich, when it would be easy to have him arrested and condemned to death. Eck had been interested in this plan, and they were determined that their prey should not escape them. The diet of the cantons, influenced by Faber, Eck and others, demanded of Zurich to send Zuingli to Baden, to engage in a discussion with Eck upon important points of Christian doctrine. The council of Zurich, thinking that they had reason to suspect foul play,

entirely refused this request, but sent a safe escort to convey Eck to Zurich. But this would not answer their designs, and Eck declined. Zuingli then expressed his willingness to meet Eck at Schaffhausen or St. Gall, but the diet decided that a disputation should be held at Baden, which actually commenced on the 19th of May.

Some may be inclined to believe that an undue suspicion or timidity influenced the council of Zurich and Zuingli, in not yielding to the request of the diet. But in the circumstances, it would have been little better than foolhardiness, for Zuingli to have trusted himself among his enemies at this time. The five cantons that exercised authority at Baden, most devoted to the cause of the Pope, had heaped every indignity upon the head of his now most active opponent; they had declared that if he set foot upon their territory he should be seized; popular clamor had demanded his death; individual leaders in these cantons had not left it doubtful what his fate would be, if they could lay hands upon him. Only a few days before the disputation was to be held, two pastors in the diocese of the bishop of Constance had been condemned to death, because they would not renounce Lutheranism. The brother-in-law of Zuingli, Leonard Tremp, wrote to him from Berne: "I conjure you, as you value your life, not to repair to Baden. I know they will not respect your safe-conduct."¹ Oecolampadius, who at first favored his going, wrote to him from Baden: "I thank God that you are not here. The turn which matters have taken, makes me clearly perceive, that had you been present we should *neither* of us have escaped the stake."²

This debate was attended by a large concourse of people, and conducted with as little fairness as could have been anticipated from those who took the lead in it. For Eck, who was the leader of the Catholics, a splendid chair was placed, but a very unpretending one was deemed good enough for his antagonist Oecolampadius. During the eighteen days of the discussion no sermons were permitted except from partisans of Rome. Oecolampadius, scarcely inferior to Zuingli in courage, firmness or learning, wanted his vivacity and warmth in order to enable him to carry with him in his discourse a mixed audience. Yet his noble bearing, serenity, firmness and ability could not fail to attract the more thoughtful of his antagonists, and the whisper was heard: "Oh! that that tall fallow man were on our side."³ It is to be doubted, however, whether even the reformer himself could

¹ Quoted by D'Aubigne from Zuingli. Epp. p. 483.

² Melch. Adami Vitae Theology. Germ. p. 45 seq.

³ Bull. Chron. i. p. 353, quoted by D'Aubigne.

have materially influenced the decision. The whole plan had been made by the Romanists, and everything that could thwart it was watched with lynx-eyed vigilance. Eck, as it is said, with a voice like that of a town-crier, and the look of a butcher, could be allowed any declaration or severity,¹ but any free or pointed remarks upon the other side were at once checked. Still, Oecolampadius was not at all daunted, but followed up his antagonist with promptness. When Eck was driven by Haller and Oecolampadius to take refuge for argument in the custom of the church, the latter replied: "In our Switzerland, custom is of no force unless it be according to the constitution; and in all matters of faith the Bible is our constitution."

The inquiry naturally arises, how did Zuingli busy himself during these eighteen days. He did not, we may be assured, eat the bread of idleness or drink the waters of forgetfulness. Four persons were appointed by the Catholics to take notes of the proceedings, and all others were prohibited from doing it under penalty of death. One young student, however, whose memory was unfailing, listened, and in secret committed his recollections to writing, which with letters from Oecolampadius, were daily despatched to Zuingli by persons who gained access to the city as market men or otherwise; and his answers returned. In this way he was after all the soul of the discussion. Myconius² says: "Zuingli availed more in meditating upon and watching the contest, and transmitting his advice to Baden, than he could have done by disputing in person in the midst of his enemies." He also prepared an address to the cantons, containing a refutation of the theses of Eck, and likewise answers to Fabius and Eck.

During the progress of this disputation, the Romanists caused the most extravagant accounts of their success in disputation with their antagonists to be circulated abroad. At the close of the meeting a large majority of the ecclesiastics signed the theses of Eck, and voted to exclude the books of Zuingli and Luther, forbade any change in worship, pronounced an excommunication against Zuingli, and required of Basle the deposition of Oecolampadius from the pastoral office. Still, even at Baden, there was a strong feeling that the

¹ An oath was said to break from his lips at times. Thus a contemporary poet writes:

"Eck stamps his feet, and claps his hands,
He raves, he swears, he scolds;
I do what Rome commands,
And teach whate'er she holds."

² Vit. Zuingli.

advocates of reform had been silenced by vociferation and intrigue, rather than argument. Oecolampadius turned his face toward Basle with trembling steps, not knowing what might befall him on the way or at the end of his journey. But his people not heeding the decree passed at Baden, received him with open arms. Haller, too, returned to Berne to receive a fresh accession to the number of the faithful, after a short struggle with his enemies. At Glaris, Schaffhausen and Appenzel, the decisions also were not received as binding. Thus it not unfrequently happens that a triumph procured by unlawful means is ruinous in its consequences. There was great unanimity of sentiment in the canton and town of Zurich. Zuingli writes to Haller about this time: "Everything here below follows its appointed course; after the rude north blast, comes the gentle breeze. The scorching heat of summer is succeeded by the treasures of autumn. And now after stern contest, the Creator of all things, whom we serve, has opened for us a passage into the enemies' camp. We are permitted at last to receive among us the Christian doctrine, that dove so long denied entrance, but which has never ceased to watch for the hour when she might return. Be thou the Noah to receive and shelter her."¹

The Convocation at Berne, and its Results.

For a time subsequent to the conference at Baden, Berne became the principal seat of the struggle between the papal and reformed parties. The elections of the year 1527, placed a number who favored reformation in the larger, while some violent partisans of the Pope were excluded from the smaller council. The people were urging upon them a decision in reference to the two mandates emanating from them in 1523 and 1526, the former in favor of the free preaching of the Gospel, the latter in favor of the Mass, reverence for images, and other Catholic superstitions. The larger part favored the form of worship introduced at Zurich. A majority of the citizens of the town, too, had embraced the new views. Six of the city companies (divided according to their trades), had abolished all unscriptural usages from their churches, and three others were prepared to follow their example; of the other six, the butchers only were decided for the Pope; others were hesitating. Many parishes, too, were ready for the abolition of the Mass, and the substitution of a more Scriptural mode of worship. The importance of the question both to themselves and the other cantons, several of whom would follow the lead of Berne,

¹ Quoted by D'Aubigne, Book XI. ad fin.

was so great, it was thought that another convocation of the clergy should be called to decide upon the matter. Accordingly, in November, the invitation was given out to all "Bernese and strangers, priests and laymen," to assemble there, at the beginning of the following year. The Catholic cantons immediately taking alarm at the unexpected position of Berne, and fearing the result of the discussion, met at Lucerne to concert measures to prevent its taking place. But their opposition, although couched in terms friendly to Berne, yet contained menaces which rather confirmed than weakened the Bernese in their resolution. Offended at the firmness of the council of Berne, they prohibited a free passage through their territory to attend this convocation. Even the emperor was desirous that the meeting should at least be postponed.

In the meantime, preparations were making at Berne for the reception of the convocation. Both Oecolampadius and Haller depended upon Zuingli to take the lead in the discussion. The latter wrote to him: "All look to you for support. . . . I do not doubt that you will come and confound our enemies. I am too weak for so great a burden; show me how to acquit myself of the task imposed upon me, or rather fulfil it yourself."

Zuingli did not hesitate to comply with this request. He felt too sensibly the importance of this discussion, in enabling even Zurich to maintain her freedom of worship against those cantons who were ready to take arms for the reëstablishment of the Catholic religion. A considerable number of the doctors from the neighboring cantons, and from Germany, and the rural clergy around, assembled at Zurich, to proceed under the same escort with Zuingli. On Tuesday, the 2nd of January, the clerical corps started with three hundred men, chosen from the companies of Zurich, and headed by a civil officer. Notwithstanding the declaration of some of the enemy, that they would go a hunting when this game passed, and kill or cage some of them, they arrived at Berne on the 4th, without any considerable disturbance on the way.

On the 7th of January the discussion commenced. Besides Zuingli, Oecolampadius and Haller, Pellican, Collinus and Bullinger, Capito, Burer and Andrew Blarer, and other distinguished men, were present. The ecclesiastics altogether numbered about 850. The meeting continued nineteen days, on each of which, except one, two sessions were held, each opened by prayer. The most important regulation, which the presidents solemnly promised to enforce, was, that no proof should be admitted which was not taken from the Scrip-

tures, and no explanation of the Scriptures, that did not come from the Scriptures themselves. Our limits do not allow us to detail the particulars of this convocation. Its influence, even during its progress, was manifest to every beholder. In the same pulpit, where a few years before Samson had made his arrogant and groundless offers of expiation for him, Zwingli's voice now almost daily resounded. Not in vain did he expound the oracles of truth. On one occasion, it is said, when a priest came in to say Mass at one of the altars, just as Zwingli entered the pulpit, he had the curiosity to hear what the heretic would say. His subject was the Eucharist, and his arguments were as goads fastened in a sure place. The feelings of the priest were immediately so changed, that he laid his sacerdotal robes on the altar upon which he was to officiate, and in the presence of the assembled multitudes, embraced the reformed doctrines. The feast of St. Vincent occurred on the 22nd, and the question was asked by the canons whether they should perform the regular service. It was replied, that those who received the doctrine of the theses as discussed in the meeting, ought not to say Mass; others could proceed as usual. All preparation was made for the festival; the tapers were lighted, incense filled the house of worship, but silence reigned. No sound of the voice of the priest, or response of the lay-worshipper, echoed from the naked walls. At evening only the organist appeared, where usually the vespers were chanted with great pomp, and played a dirge over the lost worship, by which he had gained his bread. After he had left, some misguided men, who could not distinguish the instrument of superstitious rites from the intelligent agent, broke the organ to pieces. On the next day only the butchers made their appearance at Mass, with a foreign priest to lead their devotions, attended by a few poor scholars whose soft voices took the place of the mutilated organ.

The convocation had now nearly finished its session. The several points at issue had been fully discussed, and the two councils felt called upon to decide what action they would take. Accordingly, on the 27th of January, they decreed that the Mass should no more be celebrated. Forthwith twenty-five altars were cast down and many images either mutilated or destroyed. This aroused the few champions of the Pope, and bitter and threatening words were here and there uttered through the streets. On the next day, while the fragments of images and altars were yet scattered about the aisles and porches, Zwingli entered the cathedral before an immense crowd and preached his farewell sermon with much emotion. "Victory," he said, "has

declared for the truth, but perseverance alone can complete the triumph. Christ persevered unto death. *Ferendo vincitur fortuna*. . . . Behold these idols, behold them conquered, mute and shattered before us. . . . The gold you have spent upon these foolish images must henceforward be devoted to comforting in their misery the living images of God. . . . In conclusion, stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ has made you free, and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage (Gal. 5: 1). Fear not! that God who has enlightened you, will enlighten your confederates also; and Switzerland regenerated by the Holy Ghost shall flourish in righteousness and peace." This appeal, made with the fervor for which the oratory of Zuingli was distinguished, was not without its influence. Some opposition was made on the return of the clergy to their respective abodes. But the three hundred chosen soldiers of Zurich, emboldened by victory, soon dispelled all annoyances, and on the 1st day of February, Zuingli reëntered Zurich as a conqueror, which he really was. The results in Berne need not here be detailed. It is sufficient to say that this most influential and conservative canton, except the small district of the Upper Limenthus, soon after adopted fully the reformed mode of worship, and passed rules and made regulations for the suppression of all kinds of vice. Charity, too, here as elsewhere proved to be the attendant of faith. Cloisters and monasteries were soon filled with the poor, the sick, and the maimed. Learning was a special object of attention. "An extensive college was founded," from the resources of the monasteries, "and Hoffmeister, Meyander and John Rellicanus were immediately appointed professors, the two former of divinity, the latter of the Greek and Hebrew languages."

It must not be supposed that the reformed had not many struggles to pass through in becoming fully settled in religious belief and practice, both with external and internal enemies. Before the close of the year, a spirit of revolt, fostered by the inhabitants of Unterwalden, their near neighbors, was everywhere rife in the valleys and hillsides of the Hasli. Troops were in readiness for their aid both in Unterwalden and Uri; and if the council had not after some vacillation acted with spirit, the result could not have been other than disastrous. Indeed, the malcontents, with eight hundred from Unterwalden, actually marched to within six leagues of Berne, on their way "to re-establish the Pope, the idols and the Mass in that rebellious city." Now the right to repel this invasion was without question. The Bernese recalled their ancient virtues, and to the exclamation of Avoyer d' Erlack: "Let the strength of the city of Berne be in God

alone, and in the loyalty of its people," the council and the whole body of the people responded with noisy acclamation. Troops forthwith assembled, the revolted and their allies retreated to Unterlachen or entirely deserted, and scarcely did the first report of musketry resound among the neighboring hills, before, in answer to an address from the Bernese commander, the insurgents fell on their knees, confessed their wrong, and sued for pardon. Peace again brooded over the hills and valleys, and the eagle of Unterlachen, with the wild goat of Hasli, cowered before the bear of Berne. "The Bernese," said Zuingli, "as Alexander of Macedon in times of old, have cut the Gordian knot with courage and with glory."¹ The influence of this proceeding of Berne was for the time most happy.

War between Zurich and the Catholic Cantons; Differences adjusted by Berne.

The separation between the reformed and Catholic cantons, however, was not at all lessened by the suspension of hostilities at Unterlachen. The Catholic cantons, "enraged at the spread of the reformed religion," and fearing that it would soon gain the ascendancy throughout the country, began a system of more direct and violent persecutions. Fines and imprisonment, torture, banishment, were all visited upon the unoffending head of any one who would not say Mass. The clergyman who preached the reformed doctrines, was fortunate if he escaped mutilation, the faggots, or the halter. The union of the other cantons for self-defence, naturally became stronger as the rage of the enemy increased. Early in the year 1529, the Catholics took a step which was deemed an outrage not to be overlooked. They formed an alliance with the Emperor Ferdinand, brother of Charles V. According to the agreement, all who formed new sects among the Swiss people, should be considered worthy of death, which should be inflicted, if necessary, by the aid of Austria. Six thousand foot soldiers and four hundred horse were to be at the command of the Swiss, if they required them, and the reformed cantons blockaded and all provisions intercepted. As it may be supposed, this alliance produced not a little consternation, mingled with indignation. All the cantons not included in the alliance, except Friburg, met in diet at Zurich, and agreed to send a deputation to their neighbors to expostulate with them for their violation of the Helvetic confederacy in this alliance with Ferdinand, and to seek things that make for peace.

¹ Epistt. ii. p. 243, quoted by D'Anbigne.

But they were evasively, insolently or violently received by the respective cantons, and returned with the feeling that nothing would satisfy but the subjugation or expulsion of the reformed. The Zurichers burned with indignation and rage at such treatment. They were ready for immediate war. Even Zuingli, as averse as he had shown himself to mercenary war, could not look on and see the fair heritage that he had planted, overrun by the wild beast from the wood. He counselled immediate preparation for a forcible defence of their rights. The other allied cantons, and especially Berne, were unwilling to be precipitate in their movements. The latter would undoubtedly have prevailed but for an act of violence in the canton of Schweitz, in waylaying, condemning and executing a pastor when on his way to preach to a parish under the protection of Zurich. The flames of the pyre of the innocent man did not rage more furiously than the anger of the Zurichers, when the report of this wanton and brutal act came to their ears. Zuingli, in the pulpit, in the council and in the private circle, as well as by letters, urged to immediate and energetic action. "Let us," he said, "be firm, and fear not to take up arms. This peace, which some desire so much, is not peace, but war; while the war that we call for, is not war, but peace. If we shun it, the truth of the Gospel and the ministers' lives will never be secure among us." Zuingli did not doubt that this contest would lead to the attainment of the object for which he had labored hard and long, the free preaching of the Gospel throughout Switzerland. This it was that allured him on, while the sense of injustice impelled him forward. He was the leading, guiding spirit in Zurich at this time. He took a prominent part in the deliberations of the council, drew up resolutions, composed proclamations, and wrote letters for them. Even the details of warlike defences and the proper course of conduct to be pursued in reference to neighboring countries, was all thought out and committed to paper by him.

When the first clarion sounded the note of war, as it soon did, Zuingli was ready in person. The council told him that they did not wish him to expose himself to danger, especially as he would be singled out as a particular object of hatred. But he could not trust this cause in other hands. He knew, that the army as well as the State without him, would be as a vessel without a pilot. "No!" he replied, "when my brethren expose their lives, I will not remain quietly at home by my fireside. Besides, the army also requires a watchful eye that looks continually around it." On the 9th of June, four thousand armed men marched forth from Zurich, when, from the

walls, towers and battlements, the eyes of fathers, mothers, wives and children, among whom was Anna, the pastor's wife, looked anxiously, though proudly forth upon their departing relatives and friends. Zurich went forth alone to this contest. The army on the tenth, at daybreak, sent forth a herald to proclaim to the men of Zug the rupture of the alliance. A scene of the utmost confusion and dismay followed. The forces of the confederate cantons had not sufficiently arrived to insure a defence against the four thousand from Zurich. Just as the first detachment was to advance to the attack, a horseman was seen pressing with all possible speed up the hill toward them. He was soon within hearing, and besought the army with tears to postpone their march for a little while, and he would return, with God's grace, with the propositions of an honorable peace. The character of the man, who was known, had sufficient influence to decide the leaders of the army to halt. Zuingli alone had sufficient discernment to understand the reason of this proposal. The king of Austria, just at this time occupied with the Turks, could not bring the proffered succor, and therefore present peace was desirable for the hostile cantons. When the herald had turned to depart, Zuingli approached him and said: "You, sir, will render to God an account for all this. Our adversaries are caught in a sack; on this account they give you sweet words. By and by they will fall upon us unawares, and there will be none to deliver us." The herald replied: "I have confidence in God that all will go well. Let each one do his best." The Zurichers began to pitch their tents, while Zuingli paced his own, in uneasy and anxious thought, not knowing what catastrophe an hour might bring upon them.

While the preliminaries of a peace were pending between the armies, the deputies of the Zurich council presented themselves to make known what Zuingli had been apprehensive a delay might bring. Berne had risen up to compel the belligerents to make peace, and sent five thousand men in arms to sustain their authority. This, with the returning answer of the herald, was enough to stagger any one of less firmness, but Zuingli was not ready to yield. "Let us not," he cried, "be staggered; our destiny depends upon our courage; to-day they beg and entreat, and in a month, when we have laid down our arms, they will crush us. Let us stand firm in God. Before all things let us be just; peace will come after that." In the mean time both armies were increased and encamped so near each other, that they could call to each other, and the army of Zurich imparted in a friendly manner of their abundance to the wants of

the army of the five cantons. Zuingli's influence was most conspicuous among the troops of Zurich. Everything was conducted with the most perfect order. Every day Zuingli or some other minister preached. No gaming, profanity or lewdness was practised. Prayers were offered before each meal, and obedience to superiors was nowhere questioned. Psalms, hymns, national songs and amusements which tended to give strength and activity to the body, were everywhere the pastime of the soldiers.

After the complaints on both sides had been listened to, in accordance with the decision of the diet that had been assembled by Berne at Arau, a treaty was concluded on the 26th of June, 1529. This treaty was apparently favorable to the reformed party, although it did not guarantee all that Zuingli desired. It stipulated liberty of conscience, a renunciation of the alliance with Ferdinand, the defraying of the expenses of the war by the Catholic cantons, and the redress of some minor grievances. It was, however, hard for the five cantons to give up the deed of the alliance with Austria, but they were finally compelled to do so. When the reading of this document was commenced, the bailiff of Glaris was so indignant at its treason and meanness, that he dashed his knife into the parchment and cut it to pieces in the presence of the army. Bullinger expressed his feelings about it in few but significant words: "It was not Swiss."

The troops of Zurich returned in triumph to their homes. But the deeper insight of Zuingli did not allow him to join in the general rejoicing. The most that his inclination not to seem obstinate could allow him to say, was: "*I hope that we bring back an honorable peace to our dwellings. It was not to shed blood that we set out.*" But in the midst of the rejoicings of his fellow-citizens he could not refrain from using the almost prophetic words: "This peace which you consider a triumph, you will soon repent of, striking your breasts." The hymn that he composed at this time, being burdened in spirit, has often resounded among his native mountains and echoed from palace to cottage in the Swiss valleys.

The Conference at Marburg between Luther and Zuingli.

It was in the month of September of this year (1529), that the conference at Marburg was held between Luther, Melancthon and their coadjutors, and Zuingli, Oecolampadius and others of the Swiss theologians. We cannot do justice to Zuingli, without here giving a brief outline of the controversy that occasioned this conference.

Nothing, perhaps, is more characteristic of the German and Swiss reformers than the way in which their views in reference to the Eucharist became established and were defended. Luther, in 1519, had attempted to reform the sacrament of the Eucharist. He then said: "I go to the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and I there receive a sign from God that Christ's righteousness and passion justify me; such is the use of the sacrament." Precisely what he meant may be doubtful, and probably his own views were not so fully established as at a later day; but he was understood as advocating the same doctrine which Zuingli subsequently maintained: that the bread and the wine are merely symbols of the body and blood of Christ. The abuses of the Anabaptists seem to have called forth from Zuingli a renunciation of the doctrine that he had been supposed to hold, accompanied with the most violent and unreasonable invectives against the Sacramentarians, as he termed the Swiss divines.

Zuingli early doubted in regard to the doctrine of Transubstantiation, but with characteristic prudence and good sense, he did not feel justified in attacking a dogma so deeply rooted in the minds of men, and on which so many religious usages and feelings were based, until he was himself perfectly assured of its erroneousness, and could both refute it from Scripture and substantiate the true doctrine. His mission was not to throw down merely, but to build again upon an imperishable foundation. Before 1525, he maintained in his sermons the absurdity of the idea that the bread and wine were the actual body and blood of Christ, and in that year, as has been before stated, in his "Commentary on True and False Religion," he established fully his belief that the symbols undergo no supernatural change in the Eucharist. In 1527 he again felt called upon to take his pen in order to answer "the excellent Martin Luther." He replied to heated and violent words with the coolness, not to say haughty calmness, of one who was sure of his position, and was prepared to defend it against any opposition. Pamphlet followed pamphlet without avail, since Zuingli's calm reasoning had as little influence with the impetuous Luther, as the mystical and subtle attempt of Luther to hold a middle way between the doctrines of the Romish church and the Swiss reformers, did with him whose only source of appeal was the word of God interpreted by the proper use of reason and common sense.

A rupture seemed inevitable between the parties of the reformers. Already, indeed, the Saxons and a great part of northern Germany were declaring for Luther, while the Swiss and several of the imperial

cities were ready to follow Zuingli. The Catholics in Germany were also prepared to take advantage of this discord, which they were zealously fomenting, in order that they might be enabled to suppress the two parties one after another. The landgrave of Hesse perceived the danger which threatened the Protestants, and immediately exerted himself to bring about a reconciliation. But when he found that he availed nothing, he formed a design of confronting the two chief antagonists with one another, hoping thus to procure the agreement which he had hitherto labored for in vain. He accordingly invited them to his town of Marburg with such friends as they would choose to bring with them. At first, Zuingli, with the manly, open and daring spirit which he ever exhibited, assented to the landgrave's request. Still, for a time he seemed likely to be detained. The danger to him of passing from Zurich to Marburg, through the territory of the enemies of the reformation, was not doubted even by the landgrave. He accordingly promised an escort from Strasburg to Hesse. But this was not enough to satisfy the Zurichers. Zuingli, who would have gone through fire and water, if the prospect of aiding the reform had been before him, entreated the council to permit him to go. "Be assured," said he, "if we doctors meet face to face, the splendor of truth will illuminate our eyes." But the council positively refused the request.

Zuingli considered the matter conscientiously, and decided that the welfare of all Christendom was in jeopardy, and that his own private interests and those of Zurich ought not to come into the account. He therefore desired to take the responsibility of going to Marburg, confiding in that Being who never abandons those that put their trust in him. On the night of the 31st of August, he and Collin, the Greek professor, mounted two horses, hired for the purpose, and, without even informing his family of his destination, lest they should be anxious for his safety, set off at full speed towards Basle. Before leaving, however, he addressed a note to the two councils, saying: "If I leave without informing you, it is not because I despise your authority, most wise lords; but because, knowing the love you bear towards me, I foresee that your anxiety will oppose my going." This he sent to the burgomaster, with a new and more urgent request from the landgrave, which arrived at the very moment in which he was penning the above lines to the council. His absence was known the next day, and gave occasion to the greatest rejoicing among his enemies, who circulated various reports in respect to his absence. "The devil has seized him bodily and carried him off," says one; "No, he has

run away with a pack of scoundrels," says another; and a third, was sure "he had been drowned in attempting to cross the river at Bruck." The council, moved more by the mild and conscientious decision of Zuingli, than by the request of the landgrave, now approved of the step which he had taken, and appointed one of the councillors to attend him, who forthwith departed with his servant, and an armed guard. In six days Zuingli embarked at Basle, where he had safely arrived, with Oecolampadius and a company of merchants for Strasburg. After remaining a little time at the latter place, and counselling the magistrates in regard to resisting the power of Rome and strengthening their own little community in the true faith, he started with his friends for Marburg, escorted by forty Hessian cavaliers. Their way was over mountains and through valleys, but by taking secret and safe paths they arrived at Marburg without molestation or injury.

We must now look for a moment at the reception given to the request of the landgrave in Germany. "Luther at first," says D'Aubigne, "discovered leagues and battles behind this pretended concord, and rejected it." Then both he and Melancthon were suspicious of the influence of the Zuinglians over the landgrave. The reason which they gave for this influence was certainly not to the disadvantage of Zuingli: "Their error is of such a nature that acute minds are easily tainted with it. Reason loves what it understands, particularly when learned men clothe their ideas in a Scriptural dress." In fact they tried every means to avoid this conference. They desired the elector to prohibit their going, but in vain; they were compelled to comply with the request of Philip, and arrived at Marburg on the 30th of September, the day after the arrival of the Swiss delegation. Both parties were invited to the castle of Philip in order to bring them into closer contact, and were there entertained in a princely manner.

In accordance with the plan of the landgrave, the different parties were brought together for private conference before the public discussion. Luther was closeted with Oecolampadius, and Zuingli with Melancthon, it not being deemed expedient yet to confront the two principal antagonists. They commenced the colloquy early in the morning, and when the dinner hour arrived, they were yet closely engaged in discussion. After dinner Zuingli and Melancthon again renewed the discussion. The "Zurich doctor" in order to hold the "Wittenberg professor" who, he said, escaped him like an eel and was of Protean forms, took his pen and committed to writing what Melancthon dictated, and gave his answer in writing. Thus they

passed the afternoon in preparation for the general conference. This Zuingli wished to be public, but Luther objected, and finally all were excluded but "the princes, nobles, deputies and theologians." Many who had assembled from various places in Germany and Switzerland, were much disappointed at this exclusion, but were compelled to submit.

On Saturday morning, the 2nd of October, the landgrave, in citizen's dress, seated himself with his court beneath the Gothic arches of an ancient hall in his castle. Before him, at a table, Luther, Melancthon, Zuingli and Oecolampadius took their places, with their followers behind them. Luther, as he approached the table, took a piece of chalk and slowly wrote upon the velvet cloth: *Hoc est corpus meum*. Zuingli took his place without ostentation or parade. The discussion began between Luther and Oecolampadius, but soon passed from the latter to Zuingli. It is not possible to trace the progress of this conference. It may be found at length in various histories of the reformation. We cannot but feel that Luther exhibited some of his worst traits of character during this discussion; and where Zuingli used reason, he had recourse to dogmatic assertion. "This is my body," he would reiterate with violent asseverations, although he knew or ought to have known that it was merely begging the question, since the meaning of the passage was the point in discussion. In respect to argument, we cannot question that Zuingli's clear head, coolness and self-command gave him great advantage over his antagonist. In spirit, the most zealous defender of Luther must, it seems to us, yield the preference to Zuingli. It is true, he carried a little of roughness of expression from his native mountains, but we cannot see anything which does not exhibit a sincere desire for an honorable conciliation, or any desire to maintain his own positions when they were not in accordance with Scripture. We are ready to grant that there is a baldness in the expressions that Zuingli uses in explanation of his views, which strikes coldly upon the heart glowing with warmth of feeling toward the Saviour of sinners for the gift of his body and blood as an atonement for sin; and yet who could intelligently believe, in accordance with the doctrine maintained by Luther, that the body of Christ is drawn down into the sacramental emblems, so that the very substance of it is received by the communicant?

The landgrave was exceedingly disappointed that the conference was likely to end in even a further separation of the two parties of the reformed church, and did everything in his power, by entreaty, warning and exhortation in private, to effect a union; but in vain.

When was the sturdy German ever known to yield when he had taken his stand? The determined spirit that enabled him to accomplish so much for the reformation, had now taken an unfortunate direction, and its consequences are felt to this day.

Renewed Hostilities, Conflict, Defeat. The Death of Zuingli.

The cessation of hostilities by the treaty of the 26th of June, 1529, returned Zuingli again to his more immediate duties as preacher of the Gospel, and pastor of his flock. "His eye and his arm were everywhere." He preached daily, and his house was constantly open for consultation, for the clearing away of difficulties, exposition of difficult passages of Scripture, for consolation to those in trouble. "The sweetness of his disposition, too, and the holiness of his life, gave an efficacy to his words which few could resist." As a natural consequence of these labors, and the encouragement given to all by the late triumph of free principles, the cause of the reformed was everywhere strengthened. Aggressions were not unfrequently made by those desirous of extending the principles of reform, upon the territory of the Five cantons, perhaps not always in the most judicious manner, yet with the best intentions, and with unquestioned success. These cantons, which had rebelled against the treaty that circumstances forced upon them, now began to gnash their teeth in anger. The persecution of the Protestants commenced anew. The gulf that separated the two parties, was daily deepening and widening. The victims of intolerance appealed to Zurich for protection and aid. Zuingli could not resist such an appeal. His eloquence again resounded in the senate-chamber. "These are Swiss," said he, "whom a faction is attempting to deprive of a portion of the liberty transmitted to them by their ancestors. If it would be unjust to force our adversaries to abolish the Catholic religion from among them; it is no less so, to imprison, to banish and to deprive citizens of their property, because their consciences have urged them to embrace opinions which they think true."¹ The senate of Zurich, influenced by this appeal, not only offered an asylum in their midst for the persecuted, but sent a remonstrance to the other cantons against their violation of the previous treaty, which forbade compulsion in matters pertaining to religion. But things were continually growing worse and worse. A meeting of the cities in favor of the reformed religion was called. They met first in February, 1531, at Basle, and in March at

¹ Hess's Life, p. 300.

Zurich. The latter city was in favor of an immediate appeal to arms, but Berne plead for a diet of all the cantons, and finally carried the measure. The 10th of April was appointed, and the meeting was to be held at Baden. The evangelical cantons assembled, but were still divided in opinion. Zuingli maintained that the rupture of the alliance on the part of the Five cantons, and their "unheard-of insults" called loudly for decisive action, before the emperor should have done with the Turks, when he would be ready to assist their enemies who had renewed their alliance with him. The deputies again separated without definitive action. Zuingli raised his voice anew, with a power that was not to be contained within the walls of the church in which he stood; it penetrated the council chamber, and was heard in the hovel and in ceiled houses. Before April had passed, a deputation was sent from Zurich to all the allied cities to lay before them the grievances and abuses of the Five cantons, and to demand of them a careful and immediate decision as to what should be done. The advice of Berne was finally adopted. An armed intervention is richly deserved, say they, but we fear the interference of Austria and Italy; our crops will be destroyed, and innocent men will fall with the guilty. Let us rather than take up arms, close our markets against them, and cut of all intercourse with them. They will thus appreciate our value to them, and be disposed to bring about an adjustment of difficulties. Zurich was warm in its opposition to this course of proceeding, and Zuingli repudiated it as neither humane nor likely to be successful. It would only irritate, not soften, and would give time for preparation on the part of the enemy. Now as ever, when the judgment respecting the result of a course of conduct was in question, Zuingli was right. The effects of this blockade were no sooner felt, than "one general cry of indignation arose among all the inhabitants of the Five cantons." War would have ensued forthwith, if the interest of the Catholics had not favored delay. The reformed cantons were not prepared for this effect upon their enemies, and began to be at variance among themselves. Some blamed the inaction that had given new strength to their enemies. Others reproached Zuingli with stirring up civil war by his defence of the persecuted. The Catholics, too, took occasion to foster the discontents against Zuingli, and thus weaken his influence. His wise and active counsels they most of all feared, and would if possible counteract. It is not strange that they in some degree succeeded. More than human wisdom and influence would have been required, to rebuke sin, censure wrong and restrain sensual indulgence as Zuingli had done, without some

enemies. He was sensible of the secret opposition to him, and, as it was of a nature not to allow a public defence, he began to think that his usefulness would be impeded, and he accordingly resolved to leave Zurich. His determination was communicated to the council in July, 1531, in the following words: "For eleven years I have announced to you the Gospel in all its purity, as became a faithful pastor. I have spared neither exhortations, nor reprimands, nor warnings; I have represented to you on many occasions how great a misfortune it would be to all Switzerland that you should again allow yourselves to be guided by those whose ambition is their God. You have made no account of my remonstrances. I see introduced into the council, men destitute of morality and religion, who have nothing in view but their own interest; who are enemies of evangelical doctrine, and zealous partisans of our adversaries. These are the men who are now listened to, and who have the sole direction of affairs. As long as you act in this manner, no good is to be hoped for; and, since it is to me that all our misfortunes are attributed, though none of my counsels are followed, I demand my dismissal, and will go and seek an asylum elsewhere."¹

This determination, so sudden and unexpected, found neither friends nor enemies prepared for it. But the council immediately sent a deputation to urge him, by all the motives of friendship and patriotism, to relinquish his purpose. But he was not to be moved by such arguments. He stood like a rock, and would have done so until his dying day, if more powerful motives had not been presented. The blow that would be given the reformation by the step he was now taking, was then explained to him, and he at once relented, and promised to remain and labor on as in former days. But union was never reinstated in the council.

In the meantime, France attempted to bring the contending cantons to an agreement; but in vain. The diet was again the only remaining hope. It convened five times in a little more than two months, from June 18th to August 23d. But the Five cantons would not listen to any propositions before the law of non-intercourse was repealed; and Zurich and Berne would not rescind that, until the preaching of the Gospel was made free throughout Switzerland. Zurich was constantly becoming more undecided and vacillating; and from this Zwingli sagured unfavorably both for the cause, and for himself. Still, his courage was proof against all opposition and discouragement. He was conscientiously walking in the path of duty

¹ Hess, p. 306.

and could not be turned aside. He felt little anxiety for himself. His great solicitude was for the cause which he had espoused. He writes: "In vain do you attempt to divert me from my career, by reminding me of the tragical end of those who have preceded me; your predictions cannot inspire me with dismay; I will not deny my Saviour before men, etc. Whatever may be my fate, I know that truth will triumph even when my bones shall long have been reduced to dust. We ought to regard ourselves as instruments in the hand of the Most High. We may be broken, but his will shall nevertheless be accomplished. Let us shun neither the dangers nor the sufferings necessary to reëstablish Christianity in its ancient purity, even though we ourselves should never enjoy its restoration, but should resemble those warriors whose eyes have closed forever before they have beheld the victory purchased by their blood. There is a God in heaven who beholds and judges the combatants; there are men on earth who will reap the fruit of our labors, when we shall have obtained their recompense in a better world."¹

While things were in this most unsatisfactory state at Zurich, Zuingli with two attendants went with the utmost precaution at night to Bremgarten to consult with Bullinger and the two deputies from Berne. This caution was necessary, since if the Catholics should know of Zuingli's presence there, he could not hope to escape violence. His words were most solemn and impressive on that night, and but little hope was in them. He seemed to look forward to disaster, whatever course might be taken. The Bernese were filled with agitation, and promised to do all in their power to sustain the sinking cause. Before daybreak, Zuingli and the others who had been consulting with him, accompanied by Bullinger, might have been seen threading their way through the deserted streets, in the direction of the gate toward Zurich. The silence which precedes intense action, was in their steps; and their faces, though calm, were burdened with care and solicitude. The warmth of Zuingli's nature shone out in the darkness of this night. He felt that he was taking a final adieu of his former pupil and friend. Three several times he repeated farewell greetings, and with gushing tears gave him a parting blessing. "Oh, my dear Henry!" said he, "may God protect you! Be faithful to our Lord Jesus Christ and to his church." At the separation an omen appeared to the soldiers, which, when described to Bullinger, filled him with sorrow, as foreshadowing the death of his friend.

¹ Hess, p. 311 seq.

Sadness and gloom seemed to envelop the reformer more and more at every step, but the light from within and from above shone upon and enlivened his path. His words of fire no longer softened the stony hearts of his people. They were more and more indisposed to active measures. His cry of anguish was uttered, and he already saw his flock scattered and torn by the beasts of prey that were lying in wait for them. "They will give thee, O Zurich, thy reward; they will strike thee on the head, but God will not the less preserve his word." Omens of ill were seen by one and another in Zurich, and passed from mouth to mouth until all but Zuingli were in a fever of excitement and consternation. Blood flowing, phantoms clothed in white, banners floating in the clouds, and other unusual phenomena in the heavens above and in the earth beneath, portended, it was thought, the direst calamity. Even a comet made its appearance in the sky, with some manifestations not understood by the popular star-gazers of the age. Zuingli himself, such was the spirit of the time, seemed rather to contemplate with calmness the result of the premonitions than to reject the warnings. "This ominous globe," said he, alluding to the meteor, "is come to light the path that leads to my grave. I must yield up my life, and many other good men will fall with me. I see great calamities in the future; the truth and the church will mourn, but Christ will not abandon us." Thus Zuingli often expressed the certainty of his own death, and the defeat of the reformed cantons; yet the shadow of a doubt does not seem to have crossed his mind, that the course that they were taking was the only one which would be approved by the Master whom he served, and which out of the midst of evil would educe good.

While inactivity was the watchword at Zurich, preparations were making with the utmost diligence and secrecy in the Five cantons. Means were taken to ensure the concealment of their purposes and actions. The silence of a summer noon seemed to have settled down upon hill and valley. At length a whispering breeze came over the towns and villages of Zurich, betokening a rising tempest. But the people saw nothing unusual in it. It had not, however, swept over one cheek without sending the blood to the heart, although a stouter heart never beat. One eye had discerned in the black cloud that was hanging over them, the thunderbolt that was ready to fall upon their defenceless heads. At length on the 8th of October a messenger appeared, and announced that two days before, the banner of Lucerne was floating in the great square, and before another sun had descended far in the western heavens, the troops of the

Five cantons would be in the disputed territory of the bailiwicks. This report was not believed by the councils, but they thought fit to dispatch a messenger to reconnoitre. He crept stealthily upon Zug, and heard the beating drum and saw the rushing to arms. He hurried back with all possible speed, and made his report. Still, but a few members of the council assembled, saying: The Five cantons are only making a little noise to frighten us into raising the blockade; so true is it, that *quem Deus vult perdere, prius dementat*.

The troops, as it proved, were actually on their way to Zurich, and repeated messengers at length so aroused the councillors, that they came together before dawn on the following day. Before they separated, it was announced that a detachment of the army had seized upon a town in the free territory, and the main body was concentrating at Baar, not far from Cappel, the first town in Zurich toward Zug. Now terror sat upon every face. The war had actually begun, and no preparation had been made on the part of Zurich. Six hundred men with six guns were dispatched to Cappel, under Galdec, whose brother was in the camp of the enemy, and who was commanded to act only on the defensive. Still irresolution kept possession of the council, and the utmost exertions of Zuingli and others, could not prevail upon them to have the tocsin sounded to call the citizens to arms, until seven in the evening. The terrors of the following night, dark, stormy, with an earthquake at nine o'clock, which violently shook the city, the clashing of armor, the ringing of alarm-bells, the clang of the war-trumpet, the cries of women and children, with stratagems, treasons, and discontented murmurings, were heart-sickening, and foreboded the terrible calamity of the following day. At ten o'clock on the following morning, only seven hundred men were under arms; and when subsequent delay ensued, two hundred of these sallied forth in confusion, and the remainder were ready to march about eleven, A. M. Zuingli receives orders to accompany this cavalcade. He does not hesitate, although assured that he is going to his grave. His impatient horse stood champing the bit and pawing the ground at his door, while the last affectionate farewell was said to his wife, children and friends. He is soon in the saddle, and loving eyes follow his retreating steps for the last time. They had not been a long time on the march, before the sound of the cannon indicated that the battle had already begun, and Zuingli impatient to bring succor to those who must now be in such imminent peril, proposed to the officers to increase the speed of their horses. "Let us," he said, "hasten our march, or we shall perhaps

arrive too late. As for me, I will go and join my brethren. I will assist in saving them, or we will die together."¹ All were encouraged by this exhortation to press on, and they arrived at the battleground, three leagues from Zurich, at three o'clock in the afternoon.

It appeared that the Catholics, not knowing the numbers of their enemy, had not hazarded a general battle, but when they had sufficiently reconnoitred to learn the small number with whom they had to contend, put their whole force, 8000, in motion against the little handful of Zurichers, scarcely 1500 in number. I have not the heart to follow step by step the progress of this battle. At first, animated by the exhortations of Zuingli, the troops of Zurich gained some advantage, but it was momentary. Their front ranks were soon mown down, and the rout became general. Zuingli was at his post in the thickest of the conflict, with his helmet on his head, and his sword by his side, as was customary with the chaplain of the Swiss troops. He did not, however, make use of his arms. Soon after the battle commenced, while he was stooping to console a dying soldier, a stone hurled by a vigorous arm struck him upon the head and closed his lips, though not in death. He again rallied his sinking energies and devoted himself anew to his work. Again and again was he struck down, but the spirit strong within him would not yield. The fourth stroke from a lance under his chin soon proved fatal. Darkness was fast creeping over his eyes. But one more effort brought him upon his knees. He felt and dimly saw his life-blood pouring from his wounds, but strong in faith he turned his now nearly sightless eyeballs to heaven, and exclaimed in confident trust: "Is this any evil? They can indeed kill the body, but they cannot kill the soul." He had scarcely uttered these his last words when he fell backward. It was in this condition, under a tree in a meadow, with his eyes upturned to heaven and hands clasped, that the spoilers from the army of the Five cantons found him, yet struggling between life and death. They did not at first recognize him in the midst of so many of the dead and dying, but soon perceiving a body in which life was not extinct, they asked if he desired a priest to confess himself before he died. Unable to speak, he signified by motions that he did not. Then, they said, at least think in thy heart on the mother of God and call upon the saints. But when he again shook his head, with his eyes still raised to heaven, they, angry, began to curse him, and said: "No doubt he is one of the heretics from the city." When they had turned his face toward a fire, and discovered

¹ Hess, p. 319.

that it was Zuingli, a mercenary soldier from Unterwalden struck him upon his throat, exclaiming violently: "Die, obstinate heretic." Thus perished the great and the good man, in the vigor of manhood, when he was not yet quite forty-eight years old, slain by a hand that was unworthy to unloose the latchet of his shoes.

Several things are to be taken into account in passing judgment upon the part that Zuingli took in the tragic scenes that preceded his death. In the first place, it should not be forgotten, that he lived in the sixteenth century, when the principles of toleration were little known, and not in the nineteenth. And then, it is plain that it was no personal quarrel in which Zuingli suffered himself to be engaged. No one can doubt, that he as really felt that his country and his God demanded the sacrifice that they were making (for he felt it to be nothing else than a sacrifice), as he felt any conviction of duty during his whole life. David imprecates curses upon his own enemies, feeling that they were rebels against One whose is the earth and the fulness thereof. With equal sincerity, Zuingli took the place which the laws of his country assigned him, and felt that in so doing he did God service. Could we have had much confidence in the sincerity of his life, if he had been willing without a manful struggle to yield up the conquests that he had gained over error, ignorance and superstition? Censure the *measures* that he pursued as you will, lift up your voice without hesitation or doubting against the propagation of the truth by forcible means, but beware of calumniating one who, although not free from the errors which attach to humanity, yet must be acknowledged to have been in many respects far in advance of the spirit of his age.

The loss of so valiant a champion of the truth, at such a time, and when his armor yet graced his stalwart frame, according to human calculation, was much to be deplored. The Providence which thus removes the pillars of a most favored cause, always excites wonder, but yet ever remains inscrutable. We are not, however, to suppose that those on whom the tower of Siloam fell, were sinners above all men. He who seeth the end from the beginning, frequently so disposes of events that the good die first. From the ashes of the dismembered body of Zuingli, which his enemies scattered to the four winds of heaven, God was able to cause to spring up those who should ere long take vengeance upon the evil doer.

The first report of the disaster at Cappel, reached Zurich in the evening, and passed with electrical speed through the city. "Then," says Bullinger, "there arose a loud and horrible cry of lamentation

and tears, bewailing and groaning." Confident in their cause, the people had felt sure of victory. They were, accordingly, at first astounded by the result, and suspected treachery in their civil rulers and in their Christian teachers. The council-chamber scarcely escaped the stain of blood, and Leo Jude, just then recovering from sickness, evaded the infuriated mob by the aid of a few friends who concealed him from them. But as the definite information of the death of one and another reached the ears of their friends, the flaming torches in their hands and the rage in their hearts go out in darkness and despair. Moaning and wailing succeed to clamor and rage. Darkness, thick darkness, brooded over the city except where little companies were watching over the mutilated bodies of friends, or waiting in suspense for more definite information with regard to the fate of those dearer than life. When, on the following day, information was brought in regard to the treatment of Zuingli's body, the anger of many of the Zurichers was again aroused, but not against their teacher and guide. With tears streaming from their eyes his friends exclaimed: "His body they may fall upon, and kindle the funeral pile, and dishonor his ashes — but he lives — this invisible hero lives in eternity, and leaves behind him an immortal monument of glory that no flames can destroy." "Thus," says D'Aubigne, "Zurich consecrated to Zuingli a funeral oration of tears and sighs, of gratitude and cries of anguish. Never was there a funeral speech more eloquent."¹

The news of the death of Zuingli fell upon one heart with still keener anguish. His wife, Anna Zuingli, had heard from time to time the reports of the disasters to the troops of Zurich, with apprehensions which can be better imagined than described. Her only resource in the hours of suspense was in communion with the God in whom she trusted. At length the cry was raised in the streets: "Zuingli has fallen," "Zuingli is dead." In the anguish of the first emotions of a widow's heart, she fell upon her knees and directed her thoughts as well as she was able, to the widow's God. She had scarcely arisen from her suppliant posture, when it was again announced that her son, Gerold Knonan, was also numbered with the dead. In quick succession the fate of her brother, brother-in-law and indeed all her near friends was communicated to her. She was alone with her young children, who beholding her tears, fell into her arms and mingled theirs with them.

Many thoughts and feelings press upon us and struggle for utter-

¹ Page 841.

ance, as we witness the close of such a life as that of Zuingli by such a death. It would be pleasant to compare more particularly the lives and the influence of the three great Reformers, and especially their influence in and after death. We could, too, linger long around that battle-field, and express our burning indignation at the treatment of the lifeless tabernacle of as brave a heart and as noble a soul as has often strayed away to this degenerate earth of ours. We might, also, point to some, yea to many acts of this same soul, and say in the light of the history of intervening centuries, they are wrong, they will assuredly lead to bad results; and we could just as confidently, if not bereft of the little stock of humility that is ordinarily given to men, affirm, that like or even far greater errors would have been ours in like circumstances. But we only add, as in spirit standing by the grave of him whose life we have imperfectly sketched: *κοῦρά σοι χθὼν ἐπάνωθε πέσοι.*

ARTICLE IV.

CLASSICAL STUDIES.

By Calvin Pease, M. A., Professor in the University of Vermont.

It is proposed, in the following Article, to treat of CLASSICAL STUDIES as a means of general culture, under the three following heads:

1. Of the nature of literature generally as a source of culture;
2. Of the essential likeness and the incidental differences between the best, i. e. the classical literatures of different periods and countries; and
3. Of the bearing of classical studies upon the social and civil relations.

1. *Of the nature of literature generally as a source of culture.*

It is somewhere remarked by the late John Foster, that in respect to the generality of readers, no effect at all is produced, by the noblest works of genius, on their habits of thought, sentiments and taste; that their moral tone becomes no deeper, no mellow. It is