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ARTICLE I.
LIFE OF ZUINGLI.

By R. D. C. Robbins, Professor of Languages, Middlebury College.
[Continued from p. 594.]

His Preaching at the Convent of Einsiedeln, and its Results.

ONE of the duties assigned to Zuingli in the convent at Einsiedeln was the preaching of the gospel. And most faithfully did he perform this part of his duty. He was to be sure, cautious, at first, as both his own distrust of himself, and his knowledge of the prejudices of others, admonished him to be. His reverence for the fathers, influenced him to give more heed to their interpretations, than he subsequently felt at liberty to do. Still he adhered to his general principle of explaining scripture by scripture; and as he by degrees became imbued with the spirit of the writers of the Bible, his own pulpit exercises became in a high degree spiritual and effective in the reformation of his hearers. He insisted on the necessity of sincere repentance, newness of life, and firm trust in the Lord Jesus Christ, as revealed in the Bible, as the only Redeemer and Saviour of sinners. Works, so far as they are the expressions of right feeling within, are praiseworthy; but all penances and mortification of the flesh are without efficacy in procuring absolution from sin. He endeavored to dissuade his hearers from any trust in the aid of the saints, and of the virgin, whose power was supposed to have been exerted so often there, and from honoring any image or likeness of

man or God, but the only perfect image of humanity and the God-head, Jesus Christ. By the inculcation of such and similar doctrines, the way was gradually prepared for a more formal and public attack upon the superstitious practices and beliefs of the age.

He chose the annual festival held in commemoration of the supposed miraculous consecration of the convent, called the Angels' Consecration, when immense crowds flocked to Einsiedeln. He ascended the pulpit and rose amidst the assembled multitude for his customary discourse. After making an exordium full of warmth and feeling, in order to gain the attention of his auditors, he thus proceeds to remark upon topics connected with the day and the assembling together in that place: "Cease to believe that God resides in this temple more than in every other place. Whatever region of the earth you may inhabit, he is near you, he surrounds you, he grants your prayers, if they deserve to be granted; but it is not by useless vows, by long pilgrimages, offerings destined to adorn senseless images, that you can obtain the divine favor; resist temptations, repress guilty desires, shun all injustice, relieve the unfortunate, console the afflicted; these are the works pleasing to the Lord. Alas! I know it, it is ourselves, ministers of the altar, we, who ought to be the salt of the earth, who have led into a maze of error the ignorant and credulous multitude. In order to accumulate treasures sufficient to satisfy our avarice, we raised vain and useless practices to the rank of good works; and the Christians of these times, too docile to our instructions, neglect to fulfil the laws of God, and only think of making atonement for their crimes, instead of renouncing them. Let us 'live according to our desires,' say they, 'let us enrich ourselves with the goods of our neighbor; let us not fear to stain our hands with blood and murder; we shall find easy expiations in the favor of the church.' Senseless men! Do they think to obtain remission for their lies, their impurities, their adulteries, their homicides, their treacheries, by prayers recited in honor of the Queen of Heaven, as if she were the protectress of all evil doers? Undeceive yourselves, erring people! The God of justice suffers not himself to be moved by words which the tongue utters and the heart disowns. He forgives no one but him who himself forgives the enemy who has trespassed against him. Did these chosen of God, at whose feet you come hither to prostrate yourselves, enter into heaven by relying on the merit of another? No—it was by walking in the path of the law, by fulfilling the will of the Most High, by facing death that they might remain faithful to their Redeemer. Imitate the holiness of their lives, walk in their

footsteps, suffering yourselves to be turned aside neither by dangers nor seductions; this is the honor that you ought to pay them. But in the day of trouble put your trust in none but God, who created the heavens and the earth with a word; at the approach of death invoke only Jesus Christ, who has bought you with his blood, and is the sole Mediator between God and man."¹

The impression made by such sentiments thus glowingly expressed, at such a place and time, can be more easily imagined than described. Astonishment was depicted upon every face, so directly did the preacher discard all that had given notoriety to the very place where he stood, and so directly in opposition to all that had been heard on that festival day in Einsiedeln for a century or more. But mingled with the astonishment, very diverse feelings could be read in those upturned faces, and detected in the low murmur that occasionally rather heightened than interrupted the stillness and solemnity of the house. Many, filled with indignation at the insult offered to the objects of their most sacred veneration, seemed to expect that the very images and walls would cry out, and rebuke the arrogance and insolence of the speaker. Others, on the other hand, who, overcome by the power, and enlightened by the brilliancy of the exhibitions of truth, began to feel their doubts and fears giving way, and strong faith elevating them above their former superstitions, glowed with admiration of the apostle of truth who, they felt, spoke out the honest and strong convictions of a heart, which despised all fear of man, and was elevated above all earthly considerations. Between these two classes were all grades of feeling, according as the regard for the faith of their fathers and their own earlier belief, or the conviction of the faithful exhibition of the truth upon their judgment prevailed. Doubt, and desire for further light were strong in many a breast, as the assembly broke up that day. Murmurings, now unrestrained by the sacredness of the place, were heard from little groups collected here and there in the region around the convent; others discussed and doubted; and still others openly applauded. The fact that Zuingli escaped personal insult and injury is perhaps a sufficient proof that he carried a large part of his audience with him.

The records of the time also give us an additional proof of the influence of this sermon, which, says Schuler,² 'if ever anything did, produced effects like that of the first preaching of the gospel by Peter at Jerusalem and Paul in Asia.' Many pilgrims were seen, on all

¹ Heas, p. 62 sq.

² S. 246.

the ways leading from Einsiedeln, returning with the gifts and tapers which they had brought as offerings to the virgin and saints. Frequently as they met other bands of pilgrims they stopped to recount to them the doctrines which they had heard. Thus many were induced to turn about and leave their pilgrimage incompleted, as a weariness to the flesh and without advantage to the spirit. The result of the preaching of Zuingli was accordingly an immediate diminution of pilgrimage to the Loretto of Switzerland, and the people of Einsiedeln themselves, penetrated by the spirit of the truth, forgot their prejudices, and no longer troubled themselves about those who came to worship at their long renowned shrine. It is true that some of the monks were exasperated at the prospect of the diminution of their revenues, and the neighboring convents, too, fearing that the craft by which they obtained their wealth would be endangered, began to spread injurious reports of the reformer.

His Relation to the Papal Hierarchy.

The effect which this preaching of Zuingli had at Rome, upon the emissaries of the Pope, who were in authority in the church, was perhaps different from what we, who look back under the influence of subsequent developments of popery, should expect. Not a word of warning or rebuke was administered; no mark of the displeasure of his ecclesiastical superiors was exhibited. On the contrary, the papal legate, Antonio Pucci, mentioned Zuingli, as one who might become highly useful to the court of Rome, both from his ability in the pulpit, and from his influence in the cantons; and Pope Leo X. sent him, as a mark of favor, a diploma which gave him the title of chaplain acolyte to the Holy See.¹ He was, indeed, at this time, politically a friend of the Pope, not because he consulted for his aggrandizement, but for the good of his country, and felt that the French party, as it was called, which was *then* hostile to the Pope, was also hostile to the best interests of the cantons. Besides, it was an object which Leo could not overlook, to attract men of learning and influence to his cause, and he hoped, perhaps, that Zuingli would follow in the path that Erasmus afterward pursued, or in one leading more directly to Rome. Furthermore, Zuingli had, as yet, shown no disposition to withdraw himself from the control of the church, only to bring about a reformation of abuses. It also should be remembered,

¹ Hess, p. 65.

that the jealousy which afterwards watched for the least indications of defection, was not yet awakened.

There was no want of faithfulness or plainness in Zuingli's dealings with the leaders of the church at this time. Even before the sermon at Einsiedeln, he had written to Hugh of Landenberg, bishop of Constance, to urge him to put an end, in his diocese, to puerile and dangerous practices, which would otherwise produce incalculable mischief; and to inform him of the course which he himself felt constrained to enter upon, in disclosing the truth, opposing errors, and assailing abuses. The legate, he says, conversed with me four times upon this subject, (the corruption of the church,) and I obtained from him the most brilliant promises. I freely explained to him what must be done, and added thereto, that by God's help I was going forward to preach the Gospel, by means of which, popery would become not a little shaken and weakened. He also gave up his pension at this time, and consented to receive it for three years more only at the urgent request of the legate, so that he might not seem to have come to an open hostility with his highness the Pope. But he adds, "I will not for any money, suppress a single syllable of the truth."

To cardinal Schinner, with whom he had long been on terms of political intimacy, and with whom he had frequent opportunities of consultation at Einsiedeln, he spoke with a plainness deserving the highest praise: "The new lights which have been diffused since the revival of letters, have lessened the credulity of the people, are opening their eyes to a number of superstitions, and will prevent them from blindly adopting what is taught them by priests equally destitute of virtue and of talent. They begin loudly to blame the idleness of the monks, the ignorance of the priests, and the misconduct of the prelates, and will no longer give their confidence to people whom they cannot respect. If care be not taken, the multitude will soon lose the only curb capable of restraining its passions, and will go on from one disorder to another. The danger increases every day, and delay may be fatal. A reformation ought to be begun immediately, but it ought to begin with superiors, and spread from them to their inferiors.

"If the princes of the church would give the example, if they would return to themselves and to a conduct more conformable to the Gospel; if bishops were no longer seen to handle the sword instead of the crozier; prelates to put themselves at the head of their subjects, in order to wage inveterate war against each other; ecclesi-

astics of all ranks to dissipate in scandalous debauchery, the revenues of their benefices accumulated upon their heads; then we might raise our voices against the vices of the laity, without fearing their recriminations, and we might indulge some hopes of the amendment of the people. But a reform in manners is impossible, if you do not get rid of those swarms of pious idlers, who feed at the expense of the industrious citizen, and if you do not abolish those superstitious ceremonies and absurd dogmas equally calculated to shock the understanding of reasonable men, and to alarm the piety of religious ones."¹

In reference to his efforts with Cardinal Schinner and others, he writes to Valentinus Compar, in 1525, "Hear, my Valentinus, what I say to you, and can prove by living witnesses: Before a separation in religious matters was effected, I conversed with the leading men in the church, cardinals, and bishops, and expostulated with them upon the errors that had been introduced through human traditions, and admonished them to make a beginning of removing the multitude of abuses and errors; for, if this be not done, the already overpowering burden threatens to overwhelm them with a terrible crash. Eight years ago, (1517,) while I was yet at Einsiedeln, I spake upon this subject with the Cardinal of Sion, and afterward during the first part of my abode at Zurich, and plainly and clearly pointed out to him, that popery rests upon weak and almost failing foundations. I substantiated it by plain and undoubted passages of the Holy Scriptures. Geroldseck, Zingk, and Sander, who are all yet alive, can bear witness that they have often heard me talking thus with him. Yes, I can assure you that the cardinal more than once expressed himself as follows: 'When, by the grace of God, I shall be again reinstated in my former dignity and power, and be quiet and firm in my position, (he was not at that time in favor with the Pope, and the majority of the cardinals), I will use all my influence to bring to light the arrogance and deceit of the Pope, (he spoke in anger at his own want of favor with him,) and a true reformation shall everywhere be effected.'" He often, Zuingli adds, talked with me upon the doctrines of the church, and the Holy Scriptures, and expressed his knowledge of, and opposition to, the errors of Rome.² These assurances of the cardinal were probably in a measure sincere, but both he and the Pope were too much occupied with their ambitious schemes, and their projects for personal and family aggrandizement, to give much heed to the spiritual abuses and wants of the church. Yet, Zuingli labored on, and was instant in season and out of season,

¹ Hess, p. 65 sq.

² Schuler, 257-8.

in the performance of the work assigned him. In the meantime his reputation for learning and piety increased day by day. He was in constant correspondence with such men as Erasmus, Faber, Henry Lorit, or Glarianus, Gasper Hedio, Wolfgang Capito, Beatus Rhenanus, and many other of the literary men of the age. Their letters are filled with commendations of his learning, and value to the church, his faithfulness and ability in the discharge of his ministerial duties, and the expectations that had been awakened in his friends, in regard to the results of their labors.

His Appointment as Preacher at Zurich.

His fame was indeed beginning to be too much noised abroad for him to remain in his quiet retreat at Einsiedeln. His two years of study and investigation, with occasional practical duty, had not been lost in settling his views and giving him confidence to go forward in the work of reforming the church. He had been gradually coming to the conviction that this reform must proceed from him and other friends of the Gospel, and not from the hands of the church itself; and if the preachers of the Gospel would not exert themselves for reformation, the preachers of violence would have recourse to revolution.¹ It was now plain that his master had need of him to labor in his vineyard in a more public capacity. And an ardent desire filled his soul to diffuse the light which had shone upon his own darkened mind. He however did not go forth from the quiet of the monastic walls without many regrets and many forebodings in regard to the combats and struggles and opposition which would beset his new faith, but his confidence was not in an arm of flesh. His love and gratitude and his pecuniary interest would have inclined him to yield to the urgent solicitations of his friends at Einsiedeln to remain with them; but he was influenced by higher and more enlarged desires of usefulness.

Among the persons with whom Zuingli had been on terms of intimacy while at Glaris and Einsiedeln, was Oswald Myconius,² now a teacher of the Latin and Greek classics at Zurich. This man had been laboring with assiduous zeal, for several years (since 1516), first at Basle where Zuingli first saw him, and then in Zurich, to diffuse the light of learning, which had but just dawned in Germany

¹ See Schuler, S. 267. The truth of this was but too literally verified in the history of the Peasants' war and the Anabaptists.

² See page 587.

and Italy amidst the darkness which had so long brooded over Europe. A vacancy in the situation of preacher in the cathedral at Zurich gave him the hope of drawing his friend into his immediate vicinity, an object which he had long earnestly desired to accomplish. This was the more easily effected as Zuingli had by previous visits become favorably known to the inhabitants of Zurich, and the clergy in some degree appreciated his talents and learning, as well as his boldness in attacking the current vices of the age. The choice of the chapter was not, however, without opposition. October 29, 1518, Myconius wrote to him in accordance with the wishes of many at Zurich, to urge him to come to them: 'I will,' he says, 'neither advocate the case nor argue against it. It is doubtless perfectly understood by you. Revolve it in your own mind. But if you can give a favorable answer, then I shall not know how adequately to express my joy at the prospect of seeing my friend Zuingli pastor at Zurich. How very much I desire you to be in a position worthy of you. Farewell; listen to me.' Zuingli answered him: 'In a few days I will come to Zurich myself and talk with you in reference to this matter. In the meantime, make diligent inquiries about this place; whether the pastor must hear confessions and visit the sick; what sort of superiors and what compensation he has. And if you understand these and other things, I will in accordance with your counsel either act in the case, or relinquish all thought of it.' Among those who were rival candidates for this important post was one Laurentius Fabula, a Suabian by birth. A report went abroad and reached Zuingli, but was, however, immediately contradicted, that Fabula was elected. Zuingli gave to his friend Myconius a frank exhibition of his feelings on the occasion. "Is it still true," he says, "that the prophet is not honored in his own country; is a Suabian preferred to a Switzer? I had not indeed considered him as one to whom I should yield the precedence."—"Act thou now for me! I confess I begin to be more desirous of this place, since such a wight is striving for it, and what I had else given up without regret, I now look upon as a reproach. I had designed, if elected, to preach upon the Gospel by Matthew in course, a thing yet unattempted in Germany. But if they prefer this Suabian, they must see what he will bring forth from his wallet. Commend the matter also to Utinger, and you yourself take counsel as shall be for the best. But excuse my letter; it is written in haste, and more in accordance with feeling than reason." An answer was returned on the following day by Myconius: "Fabula," he says, "will continue to be fable. For my lords heard that he is

already father of six boys, and has very many benefices. I have done all I could, and perhaps have thus made myself too troublesome. You have both friends and enemies; of the latter, few; of the former, many, and those who are on the side of right action — still, there is no one who does not praise your learning. I will speak to you all things freely. With some your love of music is an objection; hence they call you a voluptuary and worldly. Others find fault with your earlier life;¹ you have had too much to do with people of pleasure (*qui voluptatibus studuerint*). I have refuted them, and so refuted them that you will no longer suffer in this particular. First I made the burgomaster Roust acquainted with your doctrine; you are pleasing to him. Then I was questioned by Hofman, who as you perhaps know, preached so pointedly and plainly, not in reference to your doctrine, to which he finds nothing to object, but concerning your life. I commended you, as both truth and friendship required, and gained the man entirely for my Zuingli." Myconius proceeds to speak of his influence with others, and of the encouragement he has to believe that Zuingli will be the final object of their choice. No answer of Zuingli to this letter is found.

A letter written by Zuingli to Utinger cannot be omitted in this connection. "I assure you," he says, "if theologians would not become *matrilogians* (babblers) or perverters of the truth for this place, I would relinquish it. I am surrounded here by most favorable circumstances. The baron of Geroldseck seeks to retain me here by great promises, and I have not yet explained myself to him fully on this point. Therefore let no one be too importunate with requests in my behalf. If my character will bring dishonor upon Christ, I will remain here; for I will not bring reproach upon his cause. And if my enemies thus go on in their calumniations, the Zurichers would hear my sermons unwillingly, and thereby the cause of the Gospel receive detriment. I therefore entreat you to consider the matter well, whether I shall thus be a greater injury than benefit to the cause; and then, you must regard God rather than man. They object to my love for music. Now indeed such fools do not deserve a thought," etc.²

A letter of D. Sander, agent of Cardinal Schinner, shows that he favored the choice of Zuingli. Two or three days before the election he writes: "Those who favor the appointment of Zuingli excel the others in number and worth. Be of good courage. Their calumnies,

¹ With reference to the earlier years of his ministry at Glaris.

² Schuler, S. 300.

if they for a time made an unfavorable impression, now avail nothing in alienating honest men from you. With God's help, I hope all things will go as we wish. The choice is to be made on the 10th instant. You have been much commended to the cardinal."¹ The election was finally made on the 11th of December, 1518, and Zuingli was pastor of Zurich with the approbation and highest hopes of the best citizens of the place.

The separation from Einsiedeln soon followed. No one perhaps felt it so deeply as the baron of Geroldseck. The years of Zuingli's abode at the convent were fraught with interest and profit to him. As a friend, counsellor and teacher had Zuingli been to him. He had been able to slake his thirst for knowledge with him, and as the friends of Socrates, with whom he unfolded the wisdom of the ancient sages, he counted it all joy that their friendship had strengthened and increased day by day.² Neither did it end with the separation from Einsiedeln. Afterwards, in 1523, Zuingli dedicated to him his *Essay* on the Canon of the Mass, and thus acknowledges his kindness and constancy: "Never since thou hast put thy hand to the plough hast thou looked back. Thou art indeed a friend of all learned men; but me thou hast for several years loved, cared for and protected, as a father his son. Thou hast not only made me thy friend, but hast admitted me with Zingk to the inmost secrets of thy heart. Go on as you have begun. Stand firm in your place. God will finally bring you to the goal. Only those who have fought the good fight, are crowned."³

A few words upon the subsequent history both of the abbot and administrator, as showing the influence of Zuingli's abode at Einsiedeln, cannot be out of place here. Conrad died in 1526, without employing any of the rites of the Romish church, and after having banished almost all superstitious observances from his abbey. Only two monks, indeed, remained there. A little before his death, hearing a disputation between Leo Juda, the successor of Zuingli, upon some abstruse point in theology, which he did not consider essential, he said with warmth: "What does all this signify? For my part, I wish with my last breath, to cry with David, 'Have mercy upon me,

¹ Schuler, p. 301.

² Memorabilia, B. I. Ch. VI. 14: *Και τοῖς θεοαυροῖς τῶν πολλῶν σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν, οὗς ἐπέκειο κατάλειπον ἐν βιβλίοις γράψαντες, ἀνετίκτεν, κοινῇ σὺν τοῖς φίλοις διερχομαι, καὶ ἂν τι ὄρωμεν ἀγαθόν, ἐπιλεγόμεθα καὶ μέγα νομιζόμεν κέρδος, ἐὰν ἀλλήλοις φίλοι γινώμεθα.*

³ Schuler, S. 237.

O God, according to thy loving kindness; enter not into judgment with thy servant, O Lord!' I concern myself about nothing else."¹

As soon as it was decided that Zuingli was to go to Zurich, Geroldseck, full of anguish at the prospect of separation, besought Zuingli to exert himself to procure for them a successor, who should be of a like mind and spirit with himself. To him he committed the whole responsibility of the selection. Leo Juda, then pastor at St. Pilt in Elsass, who had long been a dear friend, was suggested to Zuingli as a suitable person. He immediately communicated with him, and obtained his consent to come to Einsiedeln. He entered upon his duties there, in the summer of the following year, 1519. Leo soon endeared himself to Conrad and Geroldseck, and followed in the footsteps of his predecessor, by engaging in every good word and work, and even after Zuingli's death, was a pillar of the reformation. Geroldseck remained at Einsiedeln, until 1525, when he went to Zurich, to live in the neighborhood of his old friend, and died with him on the battle field at Cappel. Friends were they in life, and in death not divided.

Parts of the letter which Zuingli wrote to Leo Juda, inviting him to Einsiedeln, are too descriptive of the feelings of the man, to be withheld here: "I will not now enlarge further upon the intimacy of our former friendship, for I am persuaded that you, in accordance with your noble nature (*humanitas*), are as mindful of it as I am myself. As I am always mindful of you, so am I desirous for your welfare. Whenever I have heard that anything disagreeable had happened to you, I immediately applied myself to thinking how I could be of service to you. I know that you, although not born among the Switzers, have a prepossession in favor of them. I am sensible of your great learning and wisdom, that may be compared to that of Cato; and I would fain give you a proof of my care for you. The people of Zurich have lately invited me there.—— The baron of Geroldseck, administrator of the cloister, has shown his regard for me in this, as well as other things, that he has committed to me the business of communicating to you, his invitation to this place. Herewith is offered, first, the opportunity of being transferred in the most honorable manner, among the Switzers. Then, if you come, you will find the administrator obedient to your every wish. All things are now committed to your disposal.—— The administrator has become so anxious for you, that he wishes before all others, to gain you to himself. Seize, therefore, upon this favorable circum-

¹ Calvin and the Swiss Reformation, p. 17.

stance, while it is in your power. The people over whom you will be placed, are a simple people, who will gladly, since I have broken the road, hear Christ preached. There is no want of the means of living here. The baron is only moderately learned, but is a lover of learning, and prizes literary men above all. Moreover, I shall not be over six hours distant from you, so that you can, if you wish, avail yourself of my society. Let this, which I have so hastily, but from the heart, written to you, move you. Make the journey hither, at the expense of the administrator. I know you will not regret it. Now, if you have well weighed the whole matter, farewell."

The following letter of *Beatus Rhenanus*, written from Basle, five days before Zuingli's call to Zurich, is interesting both as showing the spread of the sentiments which Zuingli had promulgated, and the confidence which was everywhere placed in him by his friends. Such expressions of sentiment and feeling must, too, have been a cordial to his spirit, amid the perplexities and troubles which everywhere beset the path of the true reformer. "Nothing," he says, "is so painful to me, as to see Christianity overloaded with so many useless ceremonies, yea, follies. The cause of this, I find in the priests, who themselves corrupted by scholastic and sophistical theologians, preach rather heathenish or Jewish doctrine; I speak of the majority of the priests. For I well know that you, and those of kindred spirit, propound the purest wisdom of Christ, out of its original sources, unfermented by the interpretations of a Scotus or Gabriel (Biel,) but according to the simple and true exposition of Augustin, Ambrose, Cyprian, and Jerome. They spout forth, from the places where the people receive all that is said, as undoubted truth, noisy words upon the power of the Pope, forgiveness of sin, purgatory, legends of the saints, restitutions, testaments, vows, punishment in hell, antichrist, etc. You, on the contrary, preach briefly, and, as it were, paint out before our eyes the whole doctrine of Christ, that he, sent by God, came into the world to teach us the will of his Father, and to persuade us to despise the world, i. e. its riches, honors, power, and allurements, and whatever pertains to these; and on the other hand, to seek with all our hearts, a heavenly country; to teach us peace, concord, and that beautiful community of all things, (for Christianity is nothing else,) as Plato, one of the greatest prophets, once represented it, although his Republic was regarded only as a beautiful dream; to remove from us a childish love of earthly things, native land, parents and kindred, health, and other good things; for his life is elevated above all human precepts. If, however, Switzerland had many men

like you, it would be easy to improve our countrymen by better morals. Surely indeed the people are easily moulded, if only those were not wanting who could and would teach of a risen Saviour, Jesus Christ."¹

Zuingli's Reception at Zurich.

Zuingli took up his residence at Zurich Dec. 28th, 1518. He had previously visited his beloved Glarians, and resigned his benefice there, and recommended his pupil and friend Valentine Tschudi as his successor, who was immediately instituted into the office of priest of Glaris. At his departure, he was honored with many tokens of respect and love from the people of his former flock. The same honor also awaited him at Zurich. The favor with which his appointment was received by the friends of liberal sentiments may be seen from a letter of Glarian, who however himself sympathized strongly with his native townsmen of Glaris in their loss: He says that "his young Swiss friends, especially those of Zurich, shouted for joy when his appointment was announced; I indeed foresee, also, that your learning will draw down upon you much envy. But be as you have hitherto been of good courage, even if, as Hercules, you are compelled to battle with monsters. Easily will you conquer with perseverance and wise management. Now I would gladly have a prebend at Zurich, so that I might live with you. By your influence will the Christian faith be diffused in Zurich. If I return again to Switzerland, I would wish to become a fellow-combatant with you."² Zuingli himself was duly sensible of the importance of Zurich, and this was his principal motive for going there. He says: "It could scarcely be but that, if the grace of Christ were preached and received in so celebrated a city as Zurich, the rest of Switzerland should follow the example."³

We shall better understand the importance of this place if we look for a moment at its previous history and position, at the time of Zuingli's appointment. It owed its origin to a college of canons founded and endowed by Charlemagne in 810. "Forty years after, Louis the Germanic caused a convent for nuns to be built near by, and his daughters Hildebrand and Bertha were the first abbesses."⁴ A town gradually grew up around under the fostering care of the ecclesiastics. But the inhabitants soon became impatient of ecclesiastical domination, and by degrees, aided by imperial favor, became independent and enjoyed all the rights of sovereignty. Until the fifteenth century,

¹ See Schuler, S. 305-7.

² Schuler, p. 307.

³ Calvin and the Swiss Reformation, p. 18.

⁴ Hess, p. 73.

however, its power did not extend beyond its own walls, and even until the reformation the two monasteries preserved their particular jurisdiction and maintained their independence. These monastic establishments, as in other cases, did not answer the design of their original founder. Charlemagne, at least, intended his college as a nursery of learning, but it proved an asylum of idleness. Still, some preparation had been made during the quarter of a century which had just passed, for the work of Zuingli. Young men began to frequent foreign universities, a school had been established, over which Myconius presided, and the clergy, who had previously hardly been able to read and write, had received some small impulse, but still the preaching was mostly done by monks, whose main object was to minister to the temporal interests of their convents. Their bickerings among themselves, immoral lives, and puerilities in the pulpit, did not increase the respect due to religion among the lower orders. "It had," it is said, "become an object of derision to some, of indifference to others, and the vulgar were only acquainted with its outward practices." Corruption had crept in with foreign intercourse, and especially by means of foreign gold, which those intriguing for the alliance of Switzerland had proffered. The severer virtues of former days had long been unknown among them, and the venality of many of the magistrates threatened the destruction of the government. And notwithstanding a glimmering of light had here and there beamed upon them, yet it is not said without reason that "Letters wanted a restorer; both the governors and governed an intrepid censor, who should dare to recall them to their mutual duties; and fainting religion an orator capable of rekindling its arder, and restoring its influence upon manners."¹ How well Zuingli was fitted for this task our knowledge of his previous course will suggest, and how well he executed it the sequel may show.

There were many things to encourage our reformer in his work at Zurich. "Where," says Schuler, "could the reformation be so easily established and unfold itself in freedom as at Zurich? Not in Glaris or the canton of Schweitz, dependent upon the caprices of a people whose freedom was without limit, and who had no schools; not in a cloister as at Einsiedeln, which was too much subjected to the power of the church; not in Berne, ruled by the interests of certain families; not in Luzerne, where the people were too much devoted to warlike pursuits, and too far removed from Germany, and the free spirit there, which was constantly becoming more active and efficient, so that there

¹ Hess, *Life of Zuingli*, 82-4.

was no one man there of character and power, who protected the friends of the reformation; and not indeed in Basle, the nursery of learning and culture, but situated at the extremity of Switzerland, and on that account not fitted steadily and effectively to operate upon the heart of the father-land. In Zurich, among free citizens, at a time when the greatest and purest patriotism prevailed, when a wise and noble-hearted council was at the helm of government, when rich ecclesiastical foundations furnished abundant means for schools and institutions of liberal culture,—there in the centre of free Switzerland, must it find its true home.”¹

Soon after Zuingli's arrival at the place of his destination, he presented himself before the provost and chapter, and thanked them for making him their choice. They then proceeded to make known to him the regulations of the chapter in reference to the pastor's duties, which proved to have reference mainly to the increasing and management of the revenues. Religious duties, such as the administration of the sacraments and preaching, especially the latter, although required by the statutes, yet might be, for the most part, performed by his substitute.²

Zuingli, undaunted by these instructions of the chapter, so foreign to his notions of the real duties of the priest's office, proceeded, on his part, to make known what course he should pursue in his ministrations. As he had before suggested to Myconius in a letter, he did not propose to preserve the order of the dominical lessons, but in the beginning of his ministry he proposed to give his hearers an account of the life of Christ, according to the order in the Gospel of Matthew. “Too long,” he said, “has the life of Jesus been concealed, to the injury of Christian souls. The Evangelists shall no longer bear their name in vain. I will preach the Gospel not in accordance with human teachers, but in the sense of the Divine Spirit itself, which I shall discover by a comparison of Scripture with itself, which I will accompany with sincere and hearty prayer. This will I do with a view only to the glory of God, and the instruction and edification of the faithful.”³

This plan pleased a majority of the chapter, but some regarded it

¹ S. 289, 290.

² “You will,” they say, “use your utmost diligence in collecting the revenues of the chapter — not overlooking the smallest item. You will exhort the faithful, both from the pulpit and in the confessional, to pay all dues and tithes,” etc. See D'Anhigne, p. 340, for a more extended account of these instructions of the chapter.

³ See Schuler, S. 310, and Hess, p. 84.

as an innovation, that would not be favorable in its results; if such things were begun, where would the end be? One, Hofmann, a canon, who had been desirous of obtaining Zuingli, was specially scandalized by this announcement of the new pastor. He was opposed to all change in religion. He claimed that Zuingli should not be permitted to carry out his plan, which would prove more injurious than beneficial to the people. He also entreated the provost, to warn him that he would make the people sceptical in reference to the objects of their former faith. This warning was duly communicated, but our reformer could not easily be shaken in a resolution which he had thoughtfully and honestly made. He replied, "that he was only returning to the practice of the primitive church, which had been retained down to the time of Charlemagne; that he should observe the method made use of by the fathers of the church in their homilies, and that by Divine assistance he hoped to preach in such a manner that no friend of the Gospel should have reason to complain."¹ The wisdom of this course of Zuingli cannot be questioned. He could go forward step by step in counteracting previous erroneous teachings and belief, with the sanction of the inspired word, even as it were, led on by the guidance of the Spirit of God, which ought to shut the mouths of gainsayers.

His First Preaching at Zurich, and its Results.

On the first day of January, 1519, his 36th birth-day, Zuingli preached his first sermon at Zurich, in accordance with the plan that he had announced to his superiors. The fame of him that had gone abroad, the novelty of any divergence from the established order of religious worship, brought together a great multitude. He explained to them the course that he proposed to pursue, and did not lose the favorable opportunity presented, of showing that Christ is the sole author of salvation, and inveighing against all vice, especially superstition and hypocrisy. "It is to Christ," he said, "that I wish to guide you—to Christ, the true spring of salvation. This Divine word is the only food that I seek to minister to your hearts and souls." He also insisted on the necessity of amendment; thundered against idleness, intemperance, the excesses of luxury, and the passion for foreign service; he enjoined upon the magistrates to distribute impartial justice, and to protect widows and orphans,"² etc.

¹ Ballinger, Schweitz. Chron. T. III. A, as quoted by Hess, pp. 84, 85.

² Hess, pp. 85, 86.

On the next day, the first Sabbath in the year, he began his regular course of sermons, upon the life of Christ, as recorded by Matthew, to a more numerous auditory than that of the previous day. He, in these sermons, read the text, which was generally several verses, and explained it according to his own understanding of it, without restraint from the authorized translation, the Vulgate, or from ancient or modern expositions, although he used them as helps. The Greek text alone was ultimate and unchangeable authority with him. He pursued much the same course with the ancient fathers in their homilies. After he had explained the text, he brought forward all the circumstances of time or design, which could make the text profitable to his hearers, and applicable to the common affairs of life, thus teaching not only the meaning, but varied applications of Scripture. One thing which gave peculiar force to his preaching, was its appropriateness to the time and circumstances, to the feelings, thoughts, the religious, political, and moral position of the people of his charge. This gave clearness, life, power, to all that he said, and, as it were, compelled his hearers to apply it individually to themselves. "He was," says Schuler, "a preacher for all ranks and conditions of the men of his age. For he spake out of every heart, concerning those objects which are demanded by the nature of all the wisest as well as the weakest, and in clear and strong language, which bears the impress of truth, and enlightens every sound understanding and heart at the first view. Whilst for the learned he traced to their origin the most lofty and profound ideas, in which only the most practised thinkers could follow him; he preached the Gospel in so simple and sincere a manner, in the dialect of his people; discussed the most sublime truths with such simple clearness, that he, as his spiritual brother Paul, became all things to all. Must we not both admire and love this noble man, who with the boldest thinkers of all ages, ventured on the most lofty flights towards the sun of truth, who, with the feeling of one who expresses a well known and firmly believed truth, opposed doctrines which had been objects of common belief for centuries; but who, when he was once reminded by a child, that he had said something that was not right, was not ashamed openly to confess his error."¹

The influence of preaching so new and strange could not be small; it was at first various, as we should expect. The severity of his doctrines, expressed with so much sincerity and fervor and indeed elo-

¹ Schuler, S. 314, 315.

quence, did not repel all in even so depraved an audience as that at Zurich. Passion would not unfrequently flash from the eye or curl the lip of those of all classes, magistrates, ecclesiastics and common men, yet they could not resist the force of truth so simply and definitely exhibited, nor the power of eloquence at once so attractive and persuasive. They could not lose his sermons, and finally, convinced of their errors, were ready to "thank God for having sent among them this preacher of the truth." Others, however, enraged at his censures of their vices and opinions, and fearing that their private interests would receive detriment, if his influence should become dominant, exerted themselves to injure him. Sometimes they represented him as "a knave who by his hypocritical preachings was aiming to destroy the respect and submission of the subjects for magistrates;" sometimes, he was a fanatic, "whose unbounded pride led him to put his own reveries in the place of the decisions of the church;" and then he was a man destitute of religion and morals, who would, unless silence were imposed upon him, not only sap the foundations of virtue and religion, but introduce anarchy and discord into the State.¹ But such calumnies did not move Zuingli. He says: "I have for a long time permitted incredible falsehoods to be told about me, without giving myself any anxiety about it. For I have supposed that the disciple is not above his master; and if they defamed Christ falsely, it is not strange that they should calumniate me." He proceeded on in the even tenor of his ways without ever turning aside for the ill-natured growlings and cynic attacks that beset his path, and the most marked success attended his labors. "At the expiration of a year, notwithstanding much formidable opposition, he was able to reckon as many as two thousand persons who were so far, at least, his converts, as to avow his sentiments."²

Zuingli's own account, written in 1528, of the manner in which he had fulfilled the pastoral office, cannot be without interest: "It is now," he says, "four years ago that I preached through the whole Gospel of Matthew. — I then proceeded to the Acts of the Apostles, that the church of Zurich might see in what manner and by what persons the Gospel was at first propagated in the world. Next followed the First Epistle of Paul to Timothy; which, as exhibiting the rules of the conduct that become Christians, seemed admirably calculated to form a consistent and well ordered flock. As some now

¹ Compare Hess, pp. 86, 87. Myconius says of him at this time: "Insidiis adeo scatebant omnia ut ab eis nullum fere momentum esset vacuum."

² Calvin and the Swiss Reformation, p. 20, and Buchat, p. 71.

appeared not to be sound in the faith, I deferred the Second Epistle to Timothy, till I had gone through that to the Galatians, and then I explained it also. Some pretenders to wisdom then began impiously to say: 'Who after all is Paul? Is he not a man like ourselves? Though he might be an apostle, he was but of an inferior order — not one of those who personally conversed with Christ. Aquinas or Scotus is more to be relied on than he.' Such being the case, I next brought forward the two Epistles of Peter, the chief of the apostles, that they might clearly see whether one spirit did not animate both him and Paul, and whether both did not speak the same things. I have since entered upon the Epistle to the Hebrews, that the people might more fully understand the benefits and the glory of Christ. Hence they will learn, and indeed have in some degree learned, that he is the great High Priest; — and that he 'by his one offering of himself, once made, hath for ever perfected them that are sanctified.' Such are the things which we have planted: Matthew, Luke, Paul, Peter have watered them; and God hath given a wondrous increase — which I will not be the person to proclaim, lest I should seem to seek my own glory, and not that of Christ. Go now and say, if you can, that this plantation is not of our heavenly Father's planting. Thus, by no cunningly devised modes of address, but in the use of simple words of our own country's native growth, I have led the people to the knowledge of their disease — following our Lord's example, who commenced from this point. I have withdrawn no map from connection with his proper pastor, provided he were a true pastor and not a thief and a robber. From what source I derived the discipline of the church, I have already shown. I have earnestly exhorted the people to hold fast the glory of our profession; having a great High Priest, Jesus the Son of God, who is passed into the heavens; and not to seek honor one of another — a practice which led away the Jews from faith in Christ. As much as in me lieth I withdraw men from confidence in any creature, to the only true God, and Jesus Christ his only Son, our Lord; in whom, 'whosoever believeth shall never die.' With all the earnestness of which I am capable I urge them to seek pardon from him who invites us to turn to him even when we have sinned, saying: "Come unto me, ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." This word of his I so firmly believe, that should circumstances require, I think I have no need of either bishop or priest to make satisfaction for me; for Christ hath done that, who 'gave himself an offering for us, and hath washed us from our sins in his own blood.' I reverence the

whole order of presbyters (or priests) as the angels (or messengers) of God; but I abhor those 'whose god is their belly.' I bear, however, even with these, and suffer the tares to grow among the wheat. I exhort men to 'pray without ceasing;' but to do it with the spirit and the heart; 'in spirit and in truth,' as our Lord's words are; and to persevere therein with an importunity which might seem to be wearisome — according to the parable of the widow."¹

We cannot forbear to dwell a little longer on this part of the character and labors of one who must be acknowledged to have been the first preacher among the early reformers. There is abundant testimony from his contemporaries, who were best qualified to judge, of his power in the pulpit. Bullinger says: "His style was unaffected, simple and clear. There was nothing far fetched or unnatural in it. Everything was distinct and as it were presented on canvas before the eyes. There was nothing low and grovelling. It was full of animation and of a massive force, and it carried with it an irresistible loveliness. His exposition of Scripture was striking, acute, pious, incomparable. His skill in searching out the hidden meaning of a passage; his simplicity and naturalness in discussing it; his truth and accurateness in translating from a foreign language were incomparable. — How well he knew how to touch the heart with friendly words; how powerful was he in rousing the feelings; how naturally did he commend; how severely administer rebuke! All in him was *great*. In this man was a burning love of the right, unceasing exertion to advance the interests of his native country, and the most untiring zeal in opposition to vice and its adherents." Myconius says: "I never saw one administer rebuke with such dignity, or a preacher of the divine word who compared with him in zeal and strength of faith." The provost of Luzerne gives similar testimony. Thomas Platter describes, in the strongest language, the effect of Zuingli's preaching in causing him to forsake popery, and preach the Gospel.² Before Zuingli went to Zurich, many of the principal men had ceased to attend worship, not feeling themselves benefitted by the preaching of those in whom, the poet and historian Füsolin says: "Avarice and voluptuousness are the only qualities I can discover." Such persons were at first attracted by curiosity to hear Zuingli, but as D'Aubigne says, left the church singing: 'Glory be to God; this is a preacher

¹ Calvin and the Swiss Reformation, pp. 21, 22.

² After describing in glowing terms the effect of his preaching, Myconius says: "Quod dixi, veritatem et auctoritatem viri significat, contra quam palam ne matre quidem muli fecerant nisi anquam." — *Myc.* Vit. 45.

of the truth. He will be our Moses to lead us forth from Egypt.' They also gave warning to the magistrates not to oppose the preachers of truth; for in case they did, as fishermen were raised up after Christ was put to death, so now glass-workers and millers and potters and founders and shoemakers and tailors would be ready to teach in their stead.

The Mission of Samson into Switzerland, and Zuingli's opposition to him.

In the previous part of the same year in which Zuingli went to Zurich, Pope Leo X., in order to provide means for the aggrandizement of the papal seat at Rome, published a general indulgence of sin to all those in Switzerland who would aid by pecuniary contributions. The Franciscan monk, Bernardine Samson, to whom this business was committed, entered Switzerland in August, and executed his commission with "as much effrontery, indecency and extortion as the notorious Tetzl practised in Germany." Every artifice was employed which ingenuity could devise for the accomplishment of the object desired. When the confidence of persons of influence had been gained by flattery, intrigue or bribery, the most barefaced impudence was not concealed. When surrounded by a crowd of poor people, Samson would disperse them, by causing the attendants whom he kept around him, to proclaim with a loud voice: "Let the rich come near first, who can buy the pardon of their sins; after they are satisfied, the prayers of the poor shall also be attended to."¹ The power of the Pope, whose vicegerent he was, he said "was unlimited both in heaven and on earth; he had at his disposal the treasure of the blood of Jesus Christ and the martyrs; he had the right of remitting both sin and penance, past and future, and that the sinner would participate in divine grace the moment his money was heard to chink in the box."²

Zuingli, as is plain from previous references to his preaching, had long been an active opponent of the very things that Samson's mission was intended to cherish, namely, trust in any other than our Lord Jesus Christ for remission of sins. And his influence was such that Samson could not make much progress in the canton of Schwitz, where he first went, while Zuingli was in Einsiedeln. He then proceeded with more success to Zug, Luzerne and Unterwalden, although

¹ Bullinger, Schw. Hebr. Chron. iii. B., quoted by Hess, 8, 9.

² Hotting. Hebr. Ktch. T. iii. p. 31, cited in Hess, p. 89.

even in these cantons the leaven of the reformed doctrine was beginning to penetrate.¹ Before he went to Berne, he sent emissaries forward to counteract the unwillingness that was felt there to receive him. And when this was in a measure accomplished, he "entered the town with a splendid retinue under banners displaying jointly the arms of the Pope and the cantons; exhibited his letters of credence with great pomp in the cathedral church; and celebrated high mass before a crowded assembly, and proceeded with a high hand to the dispensing of pardons to individuals and communities, for the dead and the living." Nothing could exceed the barefaced impositions of this viceregent of the Holy See. "Here," said he, "are indulgences for the rich on parchment, for one crown; there, absolutions for the poor, on common paper, for only two batz." To a knight who presented himself before him on a beautiful, spirited, dapple-gray charger, he gave an indulgence for himself, for his troop of five hundred, for all his vassals on his domain of Belp, and for all his ancestors, on condition of receiving the horse on which he rode. He even granted absolution for all kinds of perjury, for thirteen florins.²

His entrance into the territories of the bishop of Constance, without his permission, as an invasion of episcopal rights, was followed by an order to all the parish priests to shut their churches against him. The bishop was sufficiently acquainted with Zuingli's sentiments, and his public hostility to indulgences, to know that he should have a supporter in him, not so much from his anxiety to prevent an infraction of ecclesiastical order, as to oppose the spread of error and superstition. He accordingly directed his vicar general, Faber, to write to him, to make known his high esteem for him, and promising him support in the good work which he had begun, adding an expression of his own strong feeling against Samson and the object of his mission.

In consequence of the efforts of Zuingli, there was a strong exhibition of feeling against Samson at Zurich, and he did not dare approach directly there, but went to Bremgarten, a town about four leagues from Zurich, where he was received by the magistrates; but the parish priest, Henry Bullinger, father of the reformer of the same name, refused him entrance into his church, as he came without the sanction of the bishop. Neither threats of the anger of the pontiff

¹ In Zug, Zuingli's friends, Meiner, Steia, Kolin and Müller, and in Lucerne, J. Jacob, Zimmerman and J. Kilchmeyer were laboring for the reformation. Schuler, S. 277.

² See Hötting. *Helv. K. Gesch.* III. 29, and D'Aubignas, p. 344.

and the cantons, where he pretended to have been everywhere graciously received, nor even a formal excommunication had any influence in causing Bullinger to retract his refusal. Zuingli, in the mean time, as the enemy approached, lifted up his warning voice with redoubled energy against trusting in any remissions except by the merits of Christ alone. "Go," he said, "if you will, and buy indulgences, but be assured you are in nowise absolved. They who grant the remission of sins for money are but companions of Simon, the magician, the friends of Balaam, the ambassador of Satan.

Samson, however, determined to visit Zurich. "I know," he said, "that Zuingli will oppose me, but I will stop his mouth." He now pretended a special mission from the Pope to the Diet of the cantons which was then assembled at Zurich, in order to gain admittance to the city. But the falseness of his pretext was soon discovered, and he was ordered by the Diet not only to take off the ban of excommunication from Bullinger, but to leave Zurich and the cantons forthwith. His fear of a detention of the money that he had already amassed, if he refused, influenced him to depart soon, and make a hasty retreat into Italy, with a cart load of gold, drawn by three horses, as the result of his eight months' speculation. Men now began to be ashamed of the imposition to which they had submitted, and the new pastor at Zurich received a fresh accession to his previous reputation. But the bishop of Constance had committed himself to Zuingli farther than he found it convenient to be committed in his position, and extricated himself as best he might. Zuingli says: "I failed not, with all reverence and humility, publicly and privately by written addresses, to urge him to countenance the light of the Gospel, which he now saw bursting forth, so that no human counsels could suppress it. But, from causes which I pretend not to assign, a change had taken place; and they who had lately excited me by their reiterated exhortations, now deigned me no answer beyond mere public and official communications, which bore no more resemblance to those that had preceded them, than a mite does to an elephant."¹

The Pestilence at Zurich.

In the summer of 1519, the next year after Zuingli went to Zurich, a pestilence raged in Switzerland, and in Zurich alone carried off twenty-five hundred persons in a short time. When it first made its appearance, Zuingli had been ordered to the baths of Pffeffer, to re-

¹ Quoted in Calvin and the Swiss Reformation, p. 28.

cruit, after the severe toil to which he had subjected himself. The students who had resided with him at his own house, and his brother Andrew were sent home, in order to avoid danger. He could not himself, however, remain away, when disease was making such ravages in his flock, but hastened back, and was unwearied in his attention to the sick, until he was attacked, near the end of September, and brought to the brink of the grave. He however after a time gave signs of recovery, and at the beginning of November, his friends were cheered with the intelligence that he seemed out of danger. At the end of this month, although yet feeble, he again appeared in the pulpit, and by the close of the year, was completely restored. During this sickness, he composed three short precatory poems expressive of his feelings at the beginning, middle, and end of his sickness. These poems were first printed by themselves, but subsequently were incorporated in the Zurich Hymn Book, and published in various other forms, sometimes accompanied by a melody, (in connection with two others for other lines,) also composed by Zuingli. One of the editors of his works¹ says of this poem, for the three parts may be considered as forming one whole, "It appears to us in every respect a true master-piece of spiritual poetry for that age, since it is equally distinguished by condensed religious thought and deep feeling, fittingly expressed, as by an artistic, labored, and correct external form." These poems have much interest as indicative of the effect of suffering and approaching death, upon his spirit. He now had occasion to put in practice some of the lessons which he had so often given to others, an implicit reliance upon Christ for pardon and consolation; and doubtless this sickness had a great influence upon his whole subsequent course as a reformer. He was thrown into the furnace of affliction, and came out seven times purified.

The solicitude of the friends of Zuingli for his safety, whilst ministering to the necessities of the dying, as well as when himself on the borders of the grave, shows the estimation in which he was held. Letters reached him from Basle, Tockenburg, and elsewhere, exhorting him to be careful for himself. At one time it was noised abroad that he had fallen a victim to the terrible scourge. The whole city of Basle resounded with lamentations. Hedio cried out in anguish of spirit, "Alas! the deliverer of our country, the trumpet of the Gospel, the magnanimous herald of the truth is stricken with death,

¹ Werke, II Bde. Abth., 2, S. 259. And see a translation of them in *Hist. Reform.*, pp. 348, 349.

in the flower and spring tide of his age." The university of Basle, too, shared in the grief, and it was often said there of him, "He whom God loves, is made perfect in the morning of life." When the report of his death was contradicted, the joy was commensurate with the grief that previously had been felt.

ARTICLE II.

PROOFS OF THE EXISTENCE OF GOD. A REPLY TO ANSELM, AND ANSELM'S REJOINDER.

[SEE JULY NO. 1851, P. 584.]

Translated by Rev. J. S. Maginnis, D. D., of the Rochester University, N. Y.

I. A BOOK IN BEHALF OF THE FOOL; OR A REPLY TO THE REASONINGS OF ANSELM IN HIS PROSLOGION. BY GAUNILON, A MONK OF MARMOUTIER.

1. WHEN one doubts or denies the existence of a being which is such that nothing greater can be conceived, in proof that such a being does nevertheless exist, it is alleged in the first place, that he who denies or doubts this has already such a being in his intelligence or understanding, since when he hears this mentioned he understands what is said; and in the next place, that what he understands must of necessity exist, not in his intelligence alone, but also in reality; which is proved from the fact that it is something greater to exist in the intelligence and in the reality, than to exist in the intelligence alone. And if the being in question exists in the intelligence or understanding alone, then whatever exists in reality also will be greater than this, and thus that which is greater than everything will be less than something, and will not be greater than everything, which is a contradiction. Therefore, that which is greater than all, which is now proved to exist in the intelligence, must of necessity have an existence, not in the intelligence alone, but in reality also, since otherwise it could not be greater than all.

2. To this it may peradventure be replied, that this being is said to exist already in my intelligence only because when I hear it mentioned I understand what is said. May I not also, in the very same