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apply the virtue of that sacrifice to His Church below, and by the channels of holy ordinances, by prayer and meditation and preaching and sacraments, to bestow upon her "the innumerable benefits which by His precious blood-shedding He hath obtained to her."

T. T. PEROWNE.

ART. IV.—A DAY AT EISENACH.

PART II.

OUR subject being Eisenach, we must pass somewhat abruptly from the first period of Luther's association with that place to the second. In the time that intervened events had occurred of the utmost moment, both to his own biography and to the effect of that biography upon the world. These were the fixing of the Theses upon the church door at Wittenberg, the burning of the Pope's Bull, and the defence before the Diet of Worms. It must be added that these were the really romantic and attractive incidents of Luther's life, as, on the other hand, they contained the germ of all that followed in the ecclesiastical and theological history which is connected with his name. The short residence in the Wartburg marked the separation of two very different periods of his life. After his departure from that solitary place of constrained rest, all was storm and controversy and anxiety. The time of protest and of the mere proclamation of great principles was past, and the time both of new church-organization and of the difficult re-settlement of theology on a primitive basis was begun.

We cannot too carefully remember that the months spent in the Wartburg were intimately connected with the Diet at Worms. The crisis of Luther's departure from that place was the moment of the greatest peril of his life. He was under the ban alike of the Pope and of the Emperor. In these circumstances, starting in his waggon from that city by the Rhine, on the 26th of April, he took the usual road to the north-west, towards Wittenberg, through the country which has been slightly described. His first resting-place was Frankfort. Thence he wrote a characteristic letter to his friend Lucas Cranach, the painter who made the above-mentioned portraits of his father and mother. He relates in a few strong words what had happened at Worms. "My service to you, my dear Master Lucas. I expected his Majesty would assemble fifty learned doctors to convict the monk outright. Not at all.

'Are these books of your writing?' 'Yes.' 'Will you retract them?' 'No.' There's the whole history. How we Germans are duped by Rome! But the time will come when we shall sing 'Hallelujah!'" The next stages were Friedberg, Grunberg, and Hirschfeld. Then he came to Eisenach. D'Aubigné describes from Luther's letters an amusing scene which took place here in the home of a memorable part of his boyhood. All the people crowded round him and requested him to preach. The parson was afraid, and came attended with a notary and a witness, and with some hesitation protested. And now "through the crowded church rang the manly voice," which in boyish tones, some twenty-three years before, had sung in the streets of Eisenach. At the close of the service the parson came to Luther with the duly signed document in his hands, which was to secure himself from dismissal, and humbly said: "I ask your pardon; I have taken this course through fear of the tyrants who oppress the Church."[1]

Leaving Eisenach, Luther did not follow the direct route by Gotha and Erfurth, but, with a true Saxon home-feeling, turned aside to Möhra, his father's birthplace, that he might see his relations, and especially his grandmother, who died a few months afterwards. A sharper contrast can hardly be imagined than this quiet day at Möhra, compared with the recent turmoil and mental strain of the Diet at Worms. From Möhra, after having said farewell to his relations, he took the road towards Gotha. It was in the evening, at a spot well-known and now marked by a monument, not far from the Castle of Altenstein, about eight miles to the south of the Wartburg, that five armed horsemen attacked the waggon, dragged Luther out of it, placed him on a horse, and hurried him through the woods. They took first one direction and then another, so that the confused prints of the horses' feet might baffle any pursuers. There is a touch of humour in the description which Luther gave in a letter afterwards of his own discomfort and fatigue. "Longo itinere, novus eques, fessus," is his epitome of what he went through that evening. About eleven o'clock at night this strange party came to the base of a steep hill, which was slowly ascended. On the summit was the castle, the present appearance of which has been described, but which in Luther's time was far more isolated and more difficult of approach. It was a thoroughly strong, safe, and secluded fortress, which the Reformer's friend, the good Elector, had provided for him.

Luther's stay in the Wartburg includes two main topics—

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[1] "History of the Reformation" (Eng. Trans.), vol. ii., p. 348.

his own personal experience, and his translation of the New Testament. A word must be written on each of these points.

Those who believe that the Reformation was a vast blessing to mankind, and that a Divine Providence guides the steps of those who are chosen to follow a difficult path at a perplexing time, must pause at the threshold of the Wartburg to consider what this imprisonment and seclusion meant for Luther himself. At the turning-points of religious history, great events are not accomplished by eminent men without some contemporary training (it may be a very severe training) for their own spirit. I may perhaps be allowed to repeat here some words which I used elsewhere on Luther's birthday. He was before long to be engaged in the task of organization amid a thousand difficulties, and for this he was to be prepared in solitude. For his own character, for self-discipline, for the learning of high spiritual truths, such solitude was required. We have sacred and lofty precedents which justify this view. Moses was on Mount Horeb before he grappled with the problem of reducing a horde of slaves into a nation. Elijah was in the same wilderness before his brave conflict with Ahab. St. Paul was in Arabia before his restless task of evangelizing the world began.[1] St. John was in Patmos before the ripe influence of his old age was given to the Church at the close of the first century. Luther called the Wartburg his Patmos. This time of constrained loneliness was a great opportunity—far greater than he knew himself; for among his other faults he was very impatient.[2] The great castle above Eisenach stands as a strong and permanent memorial of this phase in the Reformer's history, of his inner struggles, of his preparation for the future—not without useful lessons, possibly, for ourselves.

How great this impatience was, we can gather from his correspondence with his friends while he was in the Wartburg, and from his treatises on large religious questions which he wrote during that short time between the 4th of May, 1521, and the 1st of March, 1522. On this manifold work I must not touch, except to sum up in his own words the strong, overpowering feeling that lay at the base of them all. "For my Germans was I born; my Germans I must serve," is what he says in a letter written from the Wartburg to his friend Gerbell.[3] But Luther in this prison was to render to his dear

[1] Perhaps the imprisonments at Cæsarea and in Rome are instances more in point for the purpose of the present comparison.

[2] Address at the meeting held in London at Exeter Hall on November 10th.

[3] Those who were in Germany last autumn with their minds attentive to this general subject must have observed various little publications concerning Luther in the booksellers' shops. Among these may specially be mentioned "Luthers Aufenthalt auf der Wartburg," by Witzschel, published at Vienna.

Germans a greater service in his translation of the Bible. For this work he had signal gifts, in which we must recognise the indications of Divine purpose. First, he was a man of the people; he knew their heart, and he was a master of the language which moved their heart. Next, he was a man of genius; and genius often accomplishes what immense talent and immense industry fail to accomplish. A third qualification for this work, of even higher value, was this, that through the struggles of his own heart and conscience he had gained a true spiritual insight into the Word of God; he *knew* what *faith* meant. Once more, he was a well-trained scholar; his early teaching at Eisenach had been carefully followed up by subsequent learning and teaching; and he translated not from the Vulgate, but from the Hebrew and the Greek. Finally, he did this work alone. The result is not a compromise among a large number of well-instructed divines. The benefit of individuality is apparent in this case, as in the cases of Jerome and Tyndale. Thus it came to pass that, though there were earlier translations of the Bible into German, they all failed to touch the hearts of the German people, whereas Luther's translation may be said to have created the German nationality. I have heard the matter compactly stated thus: the nationality of Germany has been formed by its language; this language grew out of the German Bible; and this Bible was Luther's work. Some words from an American writer, in whose learned pages the Luther-spirit is a living power, may conclude this slight notice of the Wartburg: "Luther raised a barbarous jargon into a language which, in flexible beauty, and power of internal combination, has no parallel but in the Greek, and in massive vigour no superior but the English. The language of Germany has grown since Luther, but it has had no new creation. He who takes up Luther's Bible grasps a whole world in his hand."[1]

With the quitting of the Wartburg we enter upon a new and altogether different period of Luther's life. He was now face to face with terrible subjects—the war of the peasants,[2] the selfishness of the German princes, the wild fermentation of religious opinion, the necessity of re-organizing Church-order and Divine worship. These topics belong, for the most part, to other parts of Germany, and they do not in themselves fall within the limits of this essay. To one topic, however, of this period we ought to give a little attention; for it is closely connected with the growth and settlement of Lutheran theology, and with the special occupation of Luther's

[1] Krauth's "Conservative Reformation and Theology" (Philadelphia, 1871), p. 18. The earlier German Bibles are enumerated by this writer.

[2] For this aspect of the Reformation in Germany, see Seebohm's "Era of the Protestant Revolution," pp. 26-31 and 131-136.

mind, alike in the Wartburg and in the Castle of Coburg. This is the composition of his two Catechisms. Both belong to the same year, 1529. Both were written in German. It is, however, the "Enchiridion," or famous "Smaller Catechism," to which reference is here specially made. Luther himself regarded, and rightly, the smaller work as the full flower and ripe fruit of the larger.

Luther found in his visitations about this time the most deplorable ignorance and immorality, both in town and country, and alike among priests and people. He perceived that close and systematic instruction in religious truth was everywhere required; and he addressed himself to this task without delay and with characteristic vigour. Next after the translation of the Bible, the "Shorter Catechism" is probably the work that exhibits the most clearly his peculiar genius, his spiritual insight, and his power over the German people. No doubt there are things in this Catechism—in the manner and proportion of its presentations of sacred truth—with which we of the English Church cannot altogether agree; still this little book constituted an epoch—as no other book ever did—in the history of systematic religious instruction. It has been said that "to Luther belongs the glory of fixing the idea of the Catechism, as the term is now used"—that "he is the father of Catechetics proper;" and that "his 'Shorter Catechism' is really the most ancient now used in the world."[1] To the age of the Reformation it was "an incalculable blessing;" and no religious book, except the Bible, has been in such wide circulation and incessant use in Germany ever since. One German writer says, "It may be bought for sixpence; but six thousand worlds would not pay for it." Another says, "There are as many things in it as there are words; as many uses as there are points." A third says, "That if all faithful preachers, throughout their lives, should confine their sermons to the wisdom shut up in these few words, they could never exhaust it." But, perhaps, two remarks of Luther himself regarding this small volume are still more to our purpose. In one place he says that it is "a Catechism that can be *prayed*." Elsewhere he says, "I am a Doctor and a Preacher; yet am I a child that is taught the Catechism. I read and recite, word by word, in the morning, when I have leisure, the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer. I remain, and ever shall cheerfully remain, a child and pupil of the Catechism."[2]

It was said in the earlier part of this paper[3] that we must

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[1] See Krauth, pp. 284-288.
[2] See Schaff's "Creeds of Christendom," vol. i., pp. 247-253.
[3] See THE CHURCHMAN for January, p. 295.

combine Coburg in one view with Eisenach. This combination helps us, as was remarked then, to acquire a more correct appreciation of the topography and scenery of some of the most interesting passages of Luther's life. But the combination helps us likewise to bind together two parts of his biography which were very intimately connected in their meaning and in their effect upon the world. The Castle of Coburg is, in fact, in some very important respects, the complement of the Castle of the Wartburg in this exciting history. The months spent by Luther in these two fortresses were, in fact, so to speak, parts of our experience. To name only one subject, it was here that he completed that translation of the Bible which he began in the Wartburg. In his letter from the Castle of Coburg he tells his friends of the difficulties which he met in translating the Prophets, especially in the case of Ezekiel. In the recent commemoration of Luther in Germany it is probable that there was almost as warm a recollection of him here at Coburg as at Eisenach; and, in fact, I had last autumn some opportunity of observing that it was so: for on the very day when I went from the former place to the latter, there was to be a gathering of students, with the singing of chorales, and with a sermon by an eminent preacher in connection with this very subject.

There were picturesque circumstances connected with the coming of Luther to the fortress of Coburg, as there were with his coming to the fortress above Eisenach. These circumstances were indeed far less exciting than in the former case, and they were, to a great extent, free from immediate peril. Still, they are quite enough to invite us to a careful observation, so that we may have a vivid recollection of the place. We must above all things remember that Luther's constrained residence in the Castle of Coburg was as closely connected with one Diet of the Empire as his constrained residence in the Wartburg was with another. At Worms, indeed, the interest was concentrated in the incipient heroic struggle against that false system of the Papacy which, in the form of the sale of Indulgences, threatened to destroy Religion. At the Diet of Augsburg the questions at issue related to a mature system of theology. Yet in regard to this too, as well as the former, Luther was the great moving power of the time. He began his journey from Wittenberg towards Augsburg on the 3rd of April, 1530. Palm Sunday, the 10th, was spent at Weimar, where the Elector joined with him in the Holy Communion. On the 15th they arrived at Coburg; and there Luther preached on Easter Day, as also on Easter Monday and Tuesday. It was thought well that he should remain here behind, and not proceed further towards Augsburg. This

was against his own will; but probably the advice was good; and here he was within easy reach of the Diet, and could maintain perpetual correspondence with Melancthon and others while the struggle was in progress.

Coburg is a familiar name to us, through our loving and reverential memory of the Prince Consort. Not far off is Rosenau, his quiet birthplace. The Castle of Coburg, which is approached through a park sloping upward from the town, and which never can have had such a formidable relation to it as that in which the Wartburg stands to Eisenach, was a frequent home of his boyhood.[1] The far-reaching views from these bastions over the forests and cornlands of this part of Thuringia were in 1530 not less familiar to Luther. It seems natural to note one or two particulars of his residence there which bear a distinct impress of the place. It ought first to be carefully remembered that his famous hymn, "Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott," was written here. The association of this hymn with the great struggle of the Diet of Augsburg is very memorable; nor ought we to forget, as one of those picturesque helps which are full of reality, that when he wrote it he was *in a fortress!* Looking out from the castle window upon the entangled mass of thorns immediately below, and observing the incessant movement, and hearing the incessant noise of the birds among the branches, he writes: "Under my window is a wilderness of thorns, like a little forest, and these jackdaws and crows are holding a kind of *Diet*. Such coming and going! Such cries and caws—old and young all together! It is a marvel that their throats and their breath last out so long. I wonder whether anything of this kind is going on among you." It seems that it is with this outlook from the castle windows of Coburg[2] that another passage of his correspondence, written in a different spirit, is to be associated: "Looking out of the window, I have been watching two wonders—first, the glorious vault of heaven, with the stars supported by no pillar, and yet firmly fixed; the second, great thick clouds hanging over us, and yet with no ground on which they rested; then, when they had greeted us with a gloomy countenance, came the luminous rainbow, which itself, like a thin frail roof, bears the vast weight of water;" and he proceeds to compare those who, in the midst of the troubles of the day, were destitute of faith, to men seeking for pillars to prevent the heavens from falling.

But there are likewise incidents in this residence in the Castle of Coburg peculiarly attractive to us for their connection with

[1] See Sir Theodore Martin's "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. i., chap. i. ii. iii., comparing Mr. Rimmer's Book, chap. xii.

[2] Köstlin (p. 419) adduces it in this connection.

the personal life and character of Luther. It was from this place that he wrote that charming letter to his little son Hans which has been frequently quoted during the recent commemoration. It was here that he heard of his venerated father's death, an event which deeply moved him. And it is due to Luther's religious habit of life to record what was written to Melancthon by Dietrich, who was Luther's secretary in the Castle of Coburg. Passing through one of the corridors, he heard him praying in his chamber, and the prayer was on this wise: "I know that Thou art our Father and our God; all this matter is Thine; the danger is Thine as well as ours; it is only by Thy constraint that we have put our hands to it." The historians add that he spent daily three hours at least in prayer, and that those hours were some of the most favourable for study.[1]

Our main subject, however, is not Coburg, but Eisenach, and, in concluding, we must return to that place. There the memory of Luther is kept for ever fresh by the circumstances that have been related. At the same time, in justice to this dignified little capital of the Thuringerwald, it must be noted that it has two other biographical associations of great interest, namely, with St. Elizabeth of Hungary and with Sebastian Bach.

Charles Kingsley's "Saint's Tragedy" is a book which the traveller ought to have in his hands at Eisenach, not only because of the intrinsic merits of the poem, but because its publication marked the beginning of an eminent career. Both for biography, too, and for legend, the association of St. Elizabeth with the grim fortress of the Wartburg and the town at the base of its hill ought to be kept in memory. We can conjecture the place where, in a time of protracted famine, she "built a hospital at the foot of the Wartburg, wherein she placed all those who could not wait for the general distribution."[2] In one of the shaded pathways on the slope of the hill above is a broken fountain, which is the scene of a characteristic legend. St. Elizabeth was taking down, in a covered basket, dainties for the sick poor in Eisenach from the Castle, when her husband met her at this point and, speaking roughly and harshly, as he was wont, asked what she was carrying. In a moment of fright she said she was carrying flowers, on which he rudely removed the covering of the basket, when, by a miracle, there dropped out roses and violets. We need not stay to examine the morality, as to truth-telling, which lies embedded in this story; but we may so far moralize as to say, in Scriptural language, that husbands should not

[1] "Nullus abit dies, quin ut minimum tres horas easque studiis optimas in orationibus ponat."—See D'Aubigné, iv., p. 220.

[2] See Kingsley's "Poems" (Ed. 1880), note to p. 64.

harshly chide their wives, or be bitter against them, when they are engaged in deeds of charity.

The connection of Sebastian Bach with Eisenach consists simply in the two facts that he was born and spent his early boyhood there, and that up to the middle of the last century gatherings of the Bachs, all musicians, and sometimes numbering, it is said, as many as a hundred and twenty, were annually held there. There are some curious contrasts between the lives of Bach and of his contemporary Handel, who, in fact, was born in the same year. One of these contrasts was this, that there is no record of any member of Handel's family caring for music, whereas Bach belonged to a multitudinous family of musicians.[1] The exact spot where Bach was born is well remembered. Round the base of the hill of the Wartburg, on the north, there sweeps an open and pretty valley, with some cliffs of moderate height, named the Marienthal, which leads to the long winding gorge of the Annathal among the woods. It was in the Marienthal that John Sebastian Bach was born and spent his boyish days.

It was, however, the biography of Luther which gave occasion to the writing of these pages; and with one further word concerning Luther and Lutheranism I may now end. Severe remarks are often made by Englishmen, not always with full information, regarding the modern decay of religion in his land of Germany, accompanied by an assumption that this decay is in a great measure due to Luther. It must be conceded that there is in Germany a prevalent neglect of public worship; but, not to go into any further argument, it can be urged with perfect truth that there may be an ostentatious display of religious observance, with crowds in the churches, while there is very little real religion; and that, when churches are thinly attended for public worship, there may be a great deal of domestic religion, with modest and most fervent efforts for evangelization and charity.

Just one illustration of this view shall be given. It was my last impression of Eisenach. Immediately within the entrance through the tower gateway on the right, near the Nikolai Kirche, in an old house covered with creepers, is a Deaconess Institution. There I found, among a company of young crippled children, and with portraits of Luther and Melancthon upon the walls, some of those admirable women whom I have seen, not only in various towns in Germany, but in far distant places—at Alexandria, at Jerusalem, at Beyrout—exercising their loving care and trained skill in the nursing of the sick, the rescue of the fallen, and the training of children. It is

[1] See Hullah's "History of Modern Music," p. 130.

sometimes imagined that all these scattered Deaconess Institutions of Germany are affiliated to the one motherhouse of Kaiserswerth. This, however, is a mistake. The house of Deaconesses at Eisenach, for instance, is a dependency of a larger one at Hanover; and I had seen previously at Nuremberg some of the sisters of an independent house established in that city.[1]

Now what I have to remark is, that this invaluable establishment of Deaconesses is a distinct outgrowth of the religious system established by Luther. And other modern institutions in his country, of the most earnestly religious and most practical character, could be enumerated.[2] The principle of faith which he proclaimed has not been without its proper fruit of good works in the land of Germany.

J. S. HOWSON.

ART. V.—THE ECCLESIASTICAL SUPREMACY OF THE CROWN.

THE Report and Recommendations of the Royal Commission on the Ecclesiastical Courts have now been under anxious consideration for many months, and have met with both favourable and unfavourable criticisms. On the whole, however, it must be confessed that the criticisms which are favourable have predominated. It is thought by many that the Report is a fair compromise, and that without any sacrifice of principle it offers a *modus vivendi* between parties who are at variance on points of doctrine in the National Church. Whether such a *modus vivendi* is really desirable or not is another question.

There are many, however, on the other hand, who are unable to view the Report in this favourable light, and regard both it and the recommendations on the whole as nothing short of a complete capitulation to the party of innovation. They regard the Report as *wrong in principle*, the chief objection being that it seemed to them to conflict with, and, indeed, to be subversive of, the Ecclesiastical Supremacy of the Crown: the design of this article is to show that such is the case.

It is above all things important in the first place to state clearly what is meant by the Ecclesiastical Supremacy of the Crown. A few quotations will suffice to make this clear. It

[1] A proof of the strong power and wide usefulness of the Deaconess Institutions of Germany is afforded by the recent publication in three volumes of Schäfer's "Die weibliche Diakonie." (1879-1883.)

[2] See de Liefde's "Charities of Europe," 2 vols. (1865.)