

# ZWINGLI;

OR,

THE RISE OF THE REFORMATION IN SWITZERLAND.

A LIFE OF THE REFORMER,

WITH SOME NOTICES OF HIS TIME AND CONTEMPORARIES,

BY

R. CHRISTOFFEL,

PASTOR OF THE REFORMED CHURCH, WINTERSINGEN, SWITZERLAND.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN,

BY

JOHN COCHRAN, Esq.

---

EDINBURGH:

T. & T. CLARK, 38 GEORGE STREET.

LONDON: HAMILTON, ADAMS, & CO. DUBLIN: JOHN ROBERTSON. PHILADELPHIA: SMITH, ENGLISH,  
& CO.

---

MDCCCLVIII.

## SIXTH SECTION.

### REACTIONARY MEASURES OF THE PAPAL PARTY FOR CHECKING AND SUPPRESSING THE REFORMATION.

---

“Yea, the time cometh, that whosoever killeth you will think that he doeth God service. And these things will they do unto you, because they have not known the Father, nor me.”—  
JOHN xvi. 2, 3.

---

#### 1. THE OVERTURES OF THE POPE AND THE INTRIGUES OF FABER ARE ALIKE UN- ABLE TO SHAKE ZWINGLI’S FAITH.

THE more we consider the precipitation with which Rome fulminated her damning edicts against the heralds of evangelical truth, which were often carried into execution by fire and sword, the more must we feel astonished and surprised at the advances which the popes more than once made towards Zwingli. He had already gained a decided victory over Faber and the Romanists. In the Religious Disputation he had, in very clear and unmistakable language, declared his secession from the Pope. He had already professed his faith in the gospel, when the Roman Legate, Ennius, appeared in Zurich, with a letter from Pope Adrian IV., addressed to Zwingli, from which we extract the following: “Although it is commanded to our Nuntius, to treat, in regard to our affairs, with all your people openly and in common, yet have we commissioned our said Nuntius, inasmuch as we have a more exact knowledge of your distinguished merits, and repose an especial confidence in your obedience, to deliver to you this our letter personally, and to testify to you our favourable disposition. We exhort you also to give all credence to the said Nuntius, and with the like disposition in which we are disposed to consult your honour and advantage, to labour in the affairs of us and the apostolical chair, whereby you will have reason to rejoice in our very peculiar favour and regard.” What were the overtures made to the Reformer we learn from the following statements made by himself and Dr. Francis Zingg. In the Exposition of the 37th Article of his Propositions, Zwingli writes on this subject (in the summer of 1523): “A few days ago I have received, both by letter and by word of mouth, great promises from the Pope, which I have answered as God will, in a Christian and unmoved frame of mind. It is, however, no matter of doubt that I could attain to a greatness such as not every one could reach to, if the poverty of Christ were not dearer to me than the worldly pomp of the papists.” To his teacher and friend, Thomas Wyttenbach, he wrote, on the 15th June 1523, in reference to the same subject: “God grant the Swiss people a sense to understand and love His Word, for the Pope of Rome is seeking anew to press

his yoke upon them. To me, too, he has sent a brief, under the fisherman's ring,<sup>1</sup> with brilliant promises; but I despatched the messenger with an answer according to his merits, telling him in plain language, that I believed the Pope to be anti-Christ." To attain his object with reference to Zwingli more surely, the Pope had also written to his friend, Dr. Francis Zingg of Einsiedeln, and begged him to gain the Reformer for Rome by the like prospects already opened up to him by Ennius. Zingg being afterwards asked by Myconius what he was empowered to offer Zwingli, replied, "*all but the papal chair.*" No ecclesiastical distinction would have been too brilliant, no living too lucrative, no sum of money too large, had Zwingli consented for such a price to become, instead of a disciple of Christ, a disciple of the Pope. Rome was made to experience with deep shame that the crown of thorns and the cross of Christ are dearer to the believer than all the glory and riches of a depraved church. None felt more painfully all the shame of this refusal than the General-Vicar Faber. For gold and posts of honour he had himself travelled to Rome. He had, at the feet of the Pope, for a miserable Judas-reward, belied his better conviction, and betrayed his Saviour. Now he had to look on the friend of his youth, who had already, in a manner so brilliant, defeated him in the Religious Disputation, and dealt at the same time the severest wounds on the Romish Church, despising, with a Christian magnanimity, all those great offers—offers, too, which, so to say, were brought to his very door at Zurich and laid at his feet. This double discomfiture scorched as with a flame his soul within him, and he now called into play every engine of calumny and of secret intrigue, that he might, if possible, annihilate Zwingli. "I have, as truly as that Christ is gracious," so wrote Ambrosius Blaarer on this subject to Zwingli, "compassion with the miserable man, and the more so the less that he knows his own wretchedness. We will pray that he obtain a new heart, that for the future he may be ashamed to have recourse to such desperate expedients." The Legate Ennius, on receiving this repulse to the papal overtures, went straight to Faber at Constance, and there the plan was discussed by these minions of Rome for annihilating the Reformer, and destroying his work. Zwingli, informed from different quarters of the threatening danger, wrote to his friend, Werner Steiner, in Zug: "I am told that Faber and the papal Legate, Ennius, design to attack me in some dangerous manner. Had I, however, at any time feared secret attacks, I should never have formed so strong a resolution as I have done to preach the gospel. It is my wish that my adversaries come forward openly, they will then see how mightily Christ protects me." For the execution of their nefarious designs, the inhabitants of the five cantons of Lucerne, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, and Zug, appeared to be the fittest instruments. Here an ignorant and corrupt clergy wielded a fatal power over the conscience, while adroit and reckless demagogues, who in foreign military service had gained

<sup>1</sup> The papal seal, on which Peter is represented as a fisherman.

themselves riches and standing at the cost of their sacrificed country, guided with violence or cunning according to the caprice or exigencies of the moment the Councils and the communities. Freiburg in Uechtland and Wallis formed a close league with all these papal cantons. Berne hovered between the papacy and the gospel, a vacillation which arose from the circumstance that a large part of the nobility were averse to evangelical preaching because of its forbidding foreign service. This party, hostile to the Reformer, and which, in the Confederate Diet, formed an overwhelming majority, was to be employed by Faber and the Romish Legate for suppressing Zwingli and his work. Already had the resolution been come to under this influence at a Diet in Berne to take the Reformer prisoner wherever he could be met with out of Zurich. What his fate would have been, a carnival sport enacted at Lucerne, in the presence of a vast concourse of people, shows. A man of straw, with Zwingli's name affixed to it, was dragged to the place of public execution, and there burned as a heretic. Some inhabitants of Zurich, who happened to be in Lucerne at the time, were forced to witness the malicious spectacle. Zwingli, on hearing of this display of spite, wrote to his friends, Zimmermann and Kirchmeier, in Lucerne: "I rejoice that I have been thought worthy among you to suffer shame for the name of Christ. I have, thank God, improbable as it may seem, borne no insult with greater equanimity than this. Your hope must ever grow more and more that Christ will not forsake His own."

2. THE PAPISTICALLY DISPOSED MAJORITY OF THE DIET GIVES THE SIGNAL FOR THE PERSECUTION OF THE EVANGELICAL PARTY. NICOLAS HOTTINGER IS IMPRISONED AND EXECUTED; ECHSLI'S IMPRISONMENT; HANS WIRTH AND HIS SONS; BURKHARD RUETIMANN; ZURICH'S DANGEROUS STATE.

There was great need for such a confidence, because the war-party in the papal cantons, stirred up by Faber and the Romish legate, began now to take strong measures against the preaching of the gospel. On the 26th January 1524, a series of resolutions were passed at a Diet held in Lucerne, and published in nineteen articles, having for their object the maintenance of the Papacy, and the suppression of evangelical truth. They contained, amongst others, the following decrees: "All the ancient and praiseworthy rites and customs of the Christian Church, shall continue to be observed as formerly by clergy and laymen." "None shall speak or dispute in the taverns, or over wine, upon the Lutheran or new doctrines." "Every one, whoever he be, man or woman, young or old, is called upon, in virtue of his oath, wherever he sees one or other of the articles infringed upon, to testify the same to our lords the governors and their officers." When these articles, which all the states, with the exception of Zurich, accepted, came to be published throughout the country, "the papists and their partizans,"

as Bullinger writes, “rejoiced, but true believers lamented.” The signal for persecution of the evangelicals was here given by the highest civil authority in the land, “the Diet,” and it was followed even to blood. The territory of the so-called “Common Lordships,”<sup>2</sup> was the principal theatre on which it displayed itself. While the Zurich governors here forwarded the Reformation, those of the papal cantons, according to their instructions, sought in every way possible to suppress it. The first victim of Roman persecution was the shoemaker, Nicolas Hottinger of Zurich, whom we have mentioned above as a zealous but somewhat rash and impetuous friend of the Reformation. Banished for two years from Zurich for his autocratic removal of the crucifix from Stadelhofen, he sojourned during this period in the neighbouring county of Baden. Following his trade here, he neglected no opportunity of giving expression to his religious convictions. In Zuzach he had once said in the “Angel” inn: “The Romish priests interpret Scripture falsely, and do not perform the mass according to the institution of Christ. We must place our consolation and hope alone in God, and in none else.” On one of his fellow-shoemakers, John Schuetz of Schneisingen, asking him, “What is it with the new faith which the Zurich preachers are bringing in?” he replied, “They preach nothing out the pure Word of God, and the true gospel of salvation. Above all, they teach and prove by Holy Scripture that Christ died once for all for all believers, that He has by this one sacrifice cleansed them from all sin, and redeemed them, and that consequently the mass is a sin and a lie.” Speeches like these were conveyed to the ears of the popish-minded governor in Baden, Fleckenstein of Lucerne, who forthwith gave the order to imprison the zealous advocate of the gospel. Suddenly Hottinger, at the end of February 1524, was seized in Coblenz, when on a journey connected with his calling, and carried prisoner, first of all to Baden, and afterwards to Lucerne. Upon his steadfast confession of his faith, Fleckenstein cried to him: “Your doings, sir, will be brought before a court where you will get a sentence according to your merits.” On which Hottinger replied: “I commit my case to God, and I pray to Him, through Jesus Christ, that He may graciously preserve me in His truth till death.” In Lucerne he was, notwithstanding the intervention of his numerous and influential friends, as well as of the government of Zurich, condemned to death by the deputies of the twelve places.” On the announcement of the sentence, he began to speak of God and the redemption through Christ Jesus, when the amman, Troger of Uri, angrily interrupted him: “We are here to judge, and not to listen to sermons. There is no use of talk; out with him.” Hottinger

<sup>2</sup> Under “Common Lordships” are to be understood those Swiss provinces which, from the circumstance of their having been acquired by conquest, were placed under the jurisdiction of several cantons, and ruled alternately by governors appointed by them. Thus Zurich divided the rule with the papal cantons, and in part with Berne, over the former county of Baden, the free domain on the Aargau, Reussthal, Thurgau, Rheintal, Sarganserland, and the four Italian bailiwicks in the present canton of Tessin.

said: "Let it be done to me according to the will of God, and may He forgive their sins to all them who are against me, and who seek my death." A monk held up a crucifix to his mouth. He put it aside with the remark, "The sufferings of Christ must be engraven on the heart by faith. Not the wooden image on the cross, but His sufferings and death, have obtained for us salvation." An immense multitude of people accompanied him to the place of execution, many of whom were so touched by the words and demeanour of the martyr, that they wept loudly. "The Almighty God," said Hottinger, turning to the people, "grant you His grace, that you may come to the knowledge of the truth, and be saved." Then looking straight up to heaven, he said, with a loud voice: "I commend my soul into Thy hands, O my Lord and my Redeemer Jesus Christ; have mercy upon me, and receive my spirit." Having thus spoken, he bowed his head with patient resignation to the stroke of death.

While the impression of this deed of blood, which gave a lamentable proof of the cruel severity with which the papal cantons were prepared to suppress the Reformation, was yet fresh, there came a deputation from "the twelve places" to Zurich, to move this state to depose Zwingli, and to desist from the work they had commenced. The Council of Zurich answered in writing to this proposal: "We will do in all respects," they say, among other things, "as far as in us lies according to the terms of the Charter, as becomes true and loyal Confederates. But in what concerns the Word of God and the salvation of our souls and our conscience, in that we shall not yield." In the very same year, 1524, a Diet was held at Zug, from which Zurich was excluded, in which a letter from the Pope was read to the delegates, calling upon them to extirpate heresy within the bounds of the Confederacy. A fresh deputation was despatched to Zurich, who intimated to the Council of this state: "They were forthwith to desist from the begun Reformation, and not, for the sake of two or three persons, to throw the whole Confederacy into a state of confusion and dissension." If they would not agree to this, then the cantons remaining true to the faith of their fathers should forthwith proceed to imprison the adherents of the new faith wherever they found them, and punish them in property and person, nor would they suffer the Zurich deputies to take their seats with them in the Diet. Zurich, though not a little dismayed at these menaces, returned the firm and dignified answer: "In matters of faith we shall ride ourselves by the Word of God. If some cantons refuse to sit with us in the Diet, we have the unshaken confidence that God the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, in whose name the Confederacy was founded, and in whom alone we trust, will not abandon us, and that we at last, through grace, will be allowed *to sit with Him*"

The joyous spirit of faith which animated Zwingli was also shared by the community of Zurich, and pervaded the councils in their deliberations and resolutions. But on the other hand, louder, and still more loud, sounded the threatenings of the Papists, like the murmurs of the distant thunder in the approaching

storm. In the "Common Lordships," in particular, the evangelical party were placed in imminent danger of imprisonment, and of suffering the utmost for the faith, during those periods when they came to be ruled by papistically disposed governors. Under such circumstances it was that the Evangelicals, on hearing that the menaces of the Romanists were on the point of being carried into execution, bound themselves to lend each other aid, which was also rendered in some communities of Thurgau, where the Swiss governor Amberg, who had formerly made a hypocritical profession of a leaning to evangelical doctrine, now expressed openly, and with menaces, his hatred against it. Suddenly, and at a hint communicated to him by the Diet in Zug, he caused Zwingli's friend, Parson Echslin of Burg, by Stein, upon the Rhine, to be surprised in the night of the 7th July 1524, bound and carried prisoner to Franenfeld. On the cry of help being raised, his parishioners hasten intrepidly to the rescue of their beloved pastor; but it is too late. The watch of Burg discharge their signal-guns, and the alarm-bells are ringing through the whole valley, summoning the inhabitants to a general levy. With the men of Stammheim came the under-governor Hans Wirth and his two sons, Adrian and John, two evangelical ministers full of faith and ardent zeal for pure doctrine, while among the men of Nussbaumen appeared the under-governor there, Burkhard Ruetimann. The two under-governors were named leaders of the whole body that had assembled in a general levy to free their beloved pastor. Arrived at the right bank of the Thur, they were obliged to halt, the ferry-boat having been removed. The leaders employed this delay to bring the excited multitude into order, which was the more necessary, for unhappily, as usually happens in popular tumults, some bad characters had mixed themselves among them. From this place a deputation was despatched to the governor at Franenfeld, with the request that he would liberate the imprisoned pastor against bail. Some were even for rescuing him by violence. "Pastor Echslin," said under-governor Wirth, "is so dear and worthy a man, that I would willingly give all I have, nay, the heart in my body, for him." Contrary to custom, and to all justice, the governor Amberg refused to accept bail, and to set free the prisoner. In the meantime the enraged mob had turned their attention to the near-lying and rich Carthusian monastery of Ittingen, whose prior was said to have been in the habit of stirring up the governor to measures of severity against the evangelicals. The doors of the cloister were burst open, and the mob poured itself, hungry and thirsty, and in part desirous of plunder, over the church, cloister, cellar, and store-houses. In vain were the entreaties and exhortations of under-governor Wirth and his sons, as well as of Ruetimann. With the better part of the people these departed, after they had first slaked their thirst at the cloister well. After their departure a fire broke out in the chambers of the cloister, which burned this rich monastery to the ground. According to report an angry father, whose son had been torn by a boar belonging to the cloister, set fire to it.

The smoking embers of the Carthusian monastery gave to the hatred of the papal cantons against the evangelicals a fresh stimulus, and inflamed them to the fiercest hostility. Zurich, indeed, as soon as it heard of the riot, commanded all its subjects who had taken part in it to return home. It also promised to institute a strict and impartial investigation into the whole affair. The Diet was adjourned by the papal cantons to Beckenried. A bloody revenge was called for. The implicated communities, nay, Zurich itself, were threatened with war, and it was sworn to extirpate the heretical doctrine with fire and sword.

The under-governor Wirth and his sons, who had been long objects of hatred on account of their evangelical opinions, as also Burkhard Ruetimann were accused, if not of having themselves set fire to the monastery, at least of having instigated to it. "If any one be guilty," said the Zurich Council, "let him be punished, but legally, and not by violence." To prevent farther mischief, this state resolved to cause those who were named as guilty by the incensed cantons to be arrested. Wirth and his sons were advised by their friends to flee till the storm had subsided. "I trust in God, and will await the bailiffs," said the elder Wirth. "Never have the friends of God been overcome by his enemies," preached Adrian his son. When the armed myrmidons of the law came to take them, under-governor Wirth said: "My lords of Zurich might have spared themselves this trouble and cost; for had they sent a child to me I had gone with it." The three Wirths, and the under-governor Ruetimann of Nussbaumen, were brought to Zurich, where, during three weeks, they were closely interrogated, without anything being discovered in their conduct worthy of punishment. The result of the trial, however, by no means satisfied the other places, which sat with Zurich in the Thurgau court of justice. They required the deportation of the prisoners to Baden, that the investigation might be conducted by all the cantons in common. Zurich would not consent to this, for the reason that the right of the lower jurisdiction belonged to this state alone, while the prisoners, according to the result of the examination, had committed no crime which could make them amenable to the higher jurisdiction. "Breaking of the peace and sacrilege are crimes," said the papists, "which come under the jurisdiction of the higher courts." "If you will not deliver up the prisoners, we shall fetch them by force. We request a decisive answer, Yes or No." In Zurich, the opinions as to what ought to be done, were divided; Zwingli held that the legal right should be defended, and the extradition refused; others were of the mind that to prevent greater evils, the request should be complied with. A middle course was at length adopted. It was resolved to deliver up the prisoners to Baden, on condition that they should be tried there only for the incendiarism at Ittingen, and not for matters of faith or doctrine. The condition, which was accepted by the delegates of the twelve places, was afterwards, contrary to plighted faith, shamefully violated.

The prisoners, placed in the centre of the delegates of the Council and a

company of armed men, were marched off to Baden, August 1524, to the great distress of many of the inhabitants of Zurich. "Alas! alas, what a miserable setting out that was," cries Bernhard Weiss, referring to their departure. Zwingli preached,—“God will call us to account for this; and exhorted the people earnestly to pray to God that He would have mercy on the poor prisoners, comfort them, and strengthen them in the true faith. On their being conducted at Baden through the press of the gaping multitude, the elder Wirth said to his sons: “Behold, dear sons, there is now accomplished in us what the apostle Paul says, 1 Cor. iv. 9, ‘We are set forth, as it were, appointed to death;’ for we are made a spectacle unto the world, and to angels and to men.” The governor Amberg, the author of their misfortunes, was among the spectators. Wirth stretched out his hand towards him, and prayed him not to be so furious, for there is a God in heaven who sees all things. On the following day they were subjected to a searching interrogation. Their innocence in regard to the plundering and burning of Ittingen, was placed in the clearest light by this examination, as well as by the depositions of witnesses, especially by a letter from the prior of the monastery. But the judges, who were resolved to have their victims executed as criminals, were not satisfied with this result. They were now examined upon the abolition of the mass and images. On this, the deputy from Zurich arose and said: “This is contrary to the agreement.” “We know what we are about,” rejoined the deputy from Lucerne, with insolence, “and act according to orders.” “In that case, we decline to sit with you,” said the Zurich deputies, “and shall, without delay, make report of this matter to our superiors.” The victims of a bitter hostility to the gospel were now, with coarse insults, put to the rack, in order to extract from them the confession of a capital crime. Wirth, the father, was exposed to the torture from morning till noon; his son John from twelve till two o’clock. Who has taught you heretical doctrine? Zwingli or who else? the latter was asked. On his crying out in an agony of pain, “O merciful eternal God, help and comfort me,” one of his judges called out to him, “Where is your Christ now? Let your Christ help you now.” On at length Adrian’s being brought in, the Bernese Sebastian von Stein said to him: “Misterkin,<sup>3</sup> tell us the truth; if you don’t, I swear by my knighthood, which I won where God himself suffered, that we shall open your veins one after the other. You have waylaid your old father with this damnable heretical doctrine, and are about to be the death of him, for we shall do our utmost to tear up this heresy by the roots.” On this, Adrian begged they would not rage and storm so, but have mercy, and hear the truth quietly. “Misterkin,” rejoined von Stein, “The apostles were not like you, but desired to die with joy.” On his being elevated by the rack-rope, this same

<sup>3</sup> “Misterkin,” as much as my little priest; for in Roman Catholic Switzerland the priest is usually called Mister (Herr.)

Bernese mockingly said to him again: "Misterkin, this is the nuptial gift we present you with for your new housewife."<sup>4</sup> Ruetimann's trial was of shorter duration, and he was this time spared the torture. The deputies then rode off to their several homes, while their mishandled victims were left to pine in jail till the 28th of September. On this day they were brought to a public trial, after they had been repeatedly questioned by torture. The wife of the elder Wirth, Anna Keller, had come with the Council's speaker, Escher, from Zurich, to move the judges to compassion and mercy for her husband and sons. On their waiting upon Hieronymus Stocker of Zug for this purpose, and on Escher's reminding him of Wirth's upright and honourable character, Stocker said: "Ay, it is even as you say, dear Escher; I have been twice governor in Thurgau, and a more honest faithful servant than Wirth I have never met with; in joy or in sorrow, his house and heart were open to all; the stranger and the fellow-countryman both found in him the man of honour. Therefore, if he had stolen or murdered, I would have helped to spare him; but he has burned the image of the holy Anna, Christ's grandmother; therefore he must die without mercy." "God forbid," rejoined Escher, "that a pious man, who has burned nothing but wooden images, should find less grace than a thief or a murderer. This will have a bad ending." The governor Wirth, his son John, and Burkhard Ruetimann, were condemned to death; Adrian was spared to the entreaties of his mother. On the sentences being made known to the prisoners in the tower, the elder Wirth said to his son Adrian, who had been pardoned: "My son, since God spares you in life, see to it that neither yourself nor any friend of ours take it in hand to revenge our innocent deaths. God in heaven saith, 'Vengeance is mine.' He in His own time avenges all innocent blood shed. He will grant us His grace, and strengthen us in true faith till death." As Adrian in deep distress wept bitterly, his brother John said to him: "Dear brother, you know that we have faithfully preached the Word of God; but where the Word of God is there is always the cross. Therefore leave off weeping and be comforted. I praise God that He has held me worthy of this day to suffer and to die for His Word. His name be praised eternally. His will be done." In conclusion, they besought Adrian to comfort those near and dear to them, since they were led to death not for any crime but for the cause of God. A great crowd of people pressed round them as they were conducted from the prison to the front of the Town-Hall, where the confessions made by them at the trial, and the sentence of death, were read over. The former were so disfigured, and in part falsified, that governor Wirth could not resist expressing his indignation at this dishonest proceeding. But his son John, his companion in condemnation, said: "Not so, dear father, let it pass. The Lord in heaven knows who we are, and how all has been gone about. Anti-Christ must always trick himself out with lies and deception. One day the great judgment will be held, when dark

<sup>4</sup> Adrian had shortly before, married a nun.

and secret falsehood, as well as the bright truth, will equally stand in light. It is ours now to overcome with faith and patience.”

They were then handed over to the officers of justice, and led to the place of execution. As they passed by the chapel of St. Joseph, the ecclesiastic who accompanied them, exhorted governor Wirth to kneel down and pray to the saints. His son John answered the priest: “Why should we kneel before wood and stone? God in heaven is alone to be called on and worshipped. To Him do you also turn.” And turning to his father, he continued: “Dear father, remain steadfast, you know there is only one Mediator between God and man, Christ Jesus.” “Certainly, my son,” returned the old man, “and with His preserving grace I will remain true to Him till death.” On their approaching the place of execution, the son took leave of the father in the following words: “Dearest father, from this time forward you are no longer my father nor I your son, but we are brothers in Jesus Christ, our Lord, for whose name’s sake we are now about to suffer death. And if God will, we shall this day come to Him, who is the Father of us all, and shall possess with Him, and all the saints, everlasting rest, joy, and bliss. Therefore, dear brother in Christ, be of good cheer, commit yourself to the Lord, and let Him reign.” “Amen,” said the father, “the Almighty bless thee, dear son and brother in Christ. To Him be glory, praise, and thanks, for ever and ever.” The three victims of persecution for the faith knelt down one after the other, “in the name of Jesus,” and were beheaded. The Christian end of these men made a deep and sad impression on the people, who saw, with indignation, on their naked bodies the marks of the cruel treatment they had experienced on their trial. The two hoary-headed martyrs left behind them sixty-seven children and grandchildren. Their property at first was confiscated to the government, but at the intercession of Basle, Schaffhausen and Appenzell, this resolution was so far modified, that the widow of the governor Wirth obtained her deceased husband’s property, after paying eight hundred florins costs, and twelve gold crowns to the executioner. Adrian Wirth received the appointment at a later period to a country charge in the canton of Zurich, where for forty years he laboured with distinguished success. The imprisoned Echslin, after being dragged from prison to prison, and shamefully maltreated, at length received his liberty, and was chosen by Zurich to a country charge.

The quarrel between Zurich and the other cantons, on account of the affair at Ittinger, lasted for three years, during which time Zwingli set forward the Reformation-work in Zurich, without letting himself be interrupted by these proceedings, deep as the interest was which he took in them. The unintermittedly continued efforts to establish and disseminate evangelical doctrine, meanwhile, incensed its adversaries to the highest pitch. Often were they on the point, during the affair of Ittingen, of levying war on Zurich, and thus at one stroke suppressing Zwingli and his doctrine. The danger from this quarter was the greater, because in Zurich itself there were people to be found in all ranks, but

more especially in the ranks of the nobility, who were hostile to the Reformation, and devoted to the interests of the papacy. An official examination entered into, gives the following examples of the state of feeling:—The butcher Steinbruechel had openly avowed: “I have in my house two spears, and if the Confederates appear before the town, neither one nor other shall be used against them; on the contrary, I shall go over to them and join them.” On the occasion of a quarrel between the evangelically and the papally disposed members of a family, the grandfather, who adhered to the old doctrines, said: “If the men of Baden come hither, I’ll give a hand to the delivering up of Zwingli, for he has caused mischief enough. Why does not some one hide in a corner, take him at unawares, and knock the fellow’s brains out with an axe,” These, although isolated cases, show what sort of reception the threatenings of the papal cantons found in various quarters in Zurich. But the murmurs of the nobility were deeper; for by the prohibition of foreign mercenary military service, pay, and other large sums of money from foreign princes went out of their hands; and by the dissolutions and revolutions that had taken place in the foundations and cloisters, they were deprived of schools and nurseries for their children.

### 3. FABER EMPLOYS THE ILL-HUMOUR OF THE SWISS PAPAL PARTY AT THE DEFEAT OF PAVIA TO FORM A CLOSER ALLIANCE WITH THE EMPEROR. BADEN’S RELIGIOUS DISPUTATION; THOMAS MURNER; THE INSULTS OFFERED TO THE ZURICHERS. THE FORMAL ALLIANCE OF THE PAPAL CANTONS WITH AUSTRIA.

The warlike ardour of the enemies of the Reformation was cooled in an important degree by the following event, and Zurich, in the meantime, was secured against a surprise. In the battle of Pavia, the Imperial army had totally defeated the French, led by the king in person, who was made a prisoner in the battle. A numerous body of Swiss from the papal cantons had joined the French army. The corpses of from five to six thousand Swiss covered the bloody battle-field; five thousand, who were taken prisoners, but who were soon afterwards released, returned to their homes without arms and in rags, while many, exhausted with disease and hunger, died by the way. Everywhere the cries of widows and orphans resounded, lamenting the loss of husband or father, and deep were the curses uttered against the pensions from the foreign princes which had spread such desolation over the land. Under the influence of these calamitous events many called to mind Zwingli’s warning words, and reflected how different it would have been had his advice been followed; Zurich was for the moment more envied than hated. Zwingli, with all the earnestness, and in the spirit of one of the old prophets, spoke on the Sunday after St. Fridolin, of the olden times of the Confederacy, when, with poverty and simplicity of manners, piety, brotherly love, and courage, flourished. “Now,” said he, “by the destructive influences of foreign mercenary campaigns, the country is brought to the verge of ruin, and

calamity gathers on calamity.” He seriously exhorted the nation to earnest prayer that God would grant them a right understanding to know the truth, and to do what was well-pleasing in His sight.

The benefits to the Reformation from this turn in the public mind of Switzerland, which extended itself even to Lucerne and the mountain-cantons, Faber and his party, however, knew to disappoint, and they succeeded in diverting the course of events to the advantage of their own cause. In his struggle after ecclesiastical honours this zealous defender of the papacy had succeeded in arriving at the dignity of a spiritual counsellor of the Archduke Ferdinand of Austria, brother of Charles the Fifth. In this position he laboured to bring the enemies of the Reformation in Switzerland into closer alliance with the Austro-Spanish Imperial house, which formed the central point of influence for the party for the whole of Europe. In these labours he was greatly assisted by the ill-feeling created against France by the unhappy battle of Pavia. From this time forward the threads to all important undertakings against the Reformation in Switzerland as well as in other countries of Europe were attached and set in motion by the Austro-Spanish Imperial house, which the Pope well knew to draw ever closer to himself. In all these operations, Faber, as long as he lived, played a very important part. The great influence he wielded appears from the following undertaking, which he meditated and set in motion against Zwingli and the Reformation. The victories which the Reformer gained by the Religious Disputation, and the repeated challenge of the Zurichers, “prove it to us by the Word of God, then we shall follow you, and abstain from the Reformation,” made a very painful impression upon the bishops, prelates, and the whole papal clergy. They deliberated, therefore, as Ballinger mentions, day and night, how they might dam up, or yet better, how they might dry up, at its source, the stream that threatened to lay level with the ground the stately building of their power and magnificence. The more sagacious were well aware that the Reformation could not be suppressed by measures of violence or persecution, and that it must be conquered by those very weapons through which it had risen to its present power and ascendancy. Besides, their people generally expressed great dissatisfaction that the clergy were not better able to defend the old doctrines. A Religious Disputation, in which the popish party might be made secure of victory, through the arrangements adopted, and the selection of the judges to decide upon the result, appeared to be the best means of saving the “old Church.” Such a discussion which, according to their views, could only be held in some papistically inclined place, was, at the same time, to be made a snare for entrapping Zwingli into the power of his enemies. They were then to lose no time in at once condemning and burning him as a heretic.

In such a plan the Romanists conceived they had found, after long search, the means of fettering by human institutions the free preaching of the gospel, and of putting the hated Reformer out of the way by the semblance of judicial

procedure. To this work of darkness, Dr. John Eck, vice-chancellor of the High School of Ingolstadt, then the most celebrated champion of the papacy, at the instigation of Faber, the friend of his own and of Zwingli's studies, was to lend the arms of his extraordinary learning and great volubility of speech. Already he had, not without glory, disputed with Luther and Carlstadt at Leipzig, 1519, from 27th June till 13th July, and had, for his bearing on this occasion, been richly rewarded and honoured by the Pope, so that this opportunity of gaining fresh glory and money was by no means disagreeable to him; "for," as Bullinger says, "he loved, liked Balaam, the wages of unrighteousness." The higher clergy in Suabia and in Switzerland, as also the Suabian league, and the Archduke Ferdinand of Austria, raised, by taxation, vast sums of money. With these Eck was to be handsomely paid. At the same time, the leaders of the Romanists in Switzerland, well accustomed to being bribed<sup>5</sup> (Bullinger) were won over to the undertaking. In order to remove any scruples which might be raised in any quarter by the Swiss papal party against the Disputation, the Bishop of Constance as well as the Archduke Ferdinand and the Suabian league wrote special letters to the Diet, strongly advising its appointment. Such preparations having been made, Dr. Eck despatched an address in writing to the assembled Confederate deputies in Baden. In this document, after praising them for their faithful perseverance in the old faith, he exhorts them, as honourable, laudable, consistent Christians, not to let themselves be turned aside from their good and Christian undertaking, nor to be shaken by Zwingli's ensnaring and blasphemous writings. "For this Zwingli," continues Eck, "teaches in his works manifold errors, tarnishes the faith, wrests to a violent and heretical sense Holy Scripture, the Word of God, and substitutes for the true a false signification. Such I offer, when and where it may suit you, with the help of the Almighty, and with the grace of the Holy Spirit, to prove against the said Zwingli in a Disputation. For I am full of confidence that I shall, with little trouble, maintain against Zwingli our old true Christian faith and customs to be accordant with Holy Scripture and not opposed to the same, and to prove that his ensnaring doctrines, lately sent abroad into the world, are contrary to it, and have no foundation therein."

Zwingli did not leave this challenge of Eck's long unanswered. "Tell me," he writes in reply to him, "how dare you maintain that, out of love and reverence towards God, you had written to the Confederates, while, both by life and doctrine, you manifest very plainly that you do not believe on God at all? Did you believe in the God whom we Christians adore, you would never dare to fight against His Word. But what do we see? We see you, for some years back, contending against the Word of God in so wicked and foolish a manner that all Christians must hold you to be an enemy of God, nay, men of your own party

<sup>5</sup> As above-mentioned, the recipients of pensions and presents from foreign princes were the most violent enemies of the Reformation.

can no longer place that confidence in you which you hoped to acquire. If gratitude, fear, and love towards God dwelt within your bosom, you would, if I really were the seducer of the people that you describe me to be, first of all have exhorted me in a friendly manner, for so God always speaks to sinners first; and had you been a servant of God, and given yourself up to the guidance of the Holy Spirit, you would have thus acted in conformity to what God commands in His Word: "If thy brother shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone," Matt, xviii. 15. But you write to a pious Confederacy a letter without my knowledge full of insolent vituperation of me. What need have you of addressing me to appoint a time and place to dispute? If you are so desirous of it, come when you will to Zurich. The gates of this city stand open to you at all times, and I shall know how to answer you, depend upon it. If I have, by my preaching, led my people astray, it is reasonable I should be made to lead them again upon the right track, by being proved, in the midst of them, to be a false teacher. You confidently assert that, by the grace of the Holy Spirit, you will maintain the old Christian faith in its integrity against me. Tell me, pray, what you mean by the old faith. Have you any older than the faith on the true God, the Creator of heaven and earth, and on Jesus Christ and the Holy Ghost? Or are you able to communicate older instructions upon this faith than those to be drawn from the Word of God itself, which God has spoken by Moses and the prophets, and at length by His only-begotten Son and His apostles? The old faith, in my opinion, is that which is in accordance with what was settled from the beginning, and the old doctrine is that which God himself has revealed; but these are somewhat older than your fathers and customs of which you boast. Set off, then, gladly on a journey to Zurich. It is time that I should cease to teach false doctrine where I have done so; but much more is it time that you cease to delude the poor people by your wickedness and deception, and to circulate calumnies against the pious servants of the Lord behind their backs." The Zurich Council, sent through their own messengers a pressing invitation, with a safe-conduct, to Dr. Eck to repair to Zurich, as the accused Zwingli ought, in justice, to have his guilt established in the presence of his own magistracy. Eck, however, declined this invitation, under the pretext that he had already entered into arrangements with the Diet.

The deliberations as to the mode in which the Disputation should be conducted, and the place where it should be held, were continued by the Confederate deputies for a considerable time; Faber at length succeeded, by dint of persuasion and bribery, in getting this point arranged to his satisfaction. Zurich was not invited to any of the deliberations. They selected the small town of Baden in the Aargau as the place of disputation, and its object was promulgated to be, "to silence Zwingli and such like who promulgate delusive and ensnaring doctrines, to turn the common people from his errors, and to pacify their minds." The aim thus was not to investigate truth, but to put Zwingli to silence. The

letter of safe-conduct betrayed also the openly pronounced object of the discussion, which letter was put into the hands of the Council, with the pressing request they would provide in every case that Zwingli should come, safe-conduct being secured to him and his friends, *provided* he arrived in no dangerous way, and demeaned himself in a manner worthy of the safe-conduct. The Council, however, recognised, after obtaining the opinion of a Commission named for the purpose, “that, according to Confederate law, every accused person ought to be tried at the place of his residence, and that, therefore, Zwingli was only bound to justify himself in Zurich, where he preached.” While the Council, by this declaration, firmly refused to assist at the discussion in Baden, Zwingli, on his own part, replied to the safe-conduct sent to him by the Diet, in the following terms : “I thank God, gracious lords, that in your wisdom you have resolved upon a public disputation, and shall by no means withdraw myself from the same, in so far as Holy Scripture, explained by itself, be recognised as the only and last judge, the articles to be discussed be fixed upon beforehand, the Assembly and all its members be sufficiently secured against violence. But how, dear sirs, can you desire that I should journey to Baden, which is under the jurisdiction of my determined foes, ‘the five places?’ Have not they publicly allied themselves together to proscribe my doctrine? Do they not decry me in every document they issue as a heretic? Have they not, even in the general invitation to the Conference, repeated the charge, although, in the invitation to Zurich, it be omitted ? Do I not know that they, along with Freiburg, have formed the resolution, two years ago, to take me where they could find me, and to bring me to Lucerne? And is it not a common saying among their people, that one is not bound to hold a safe-conduct with heretics? In Freiburg, they burned my writings, in Lucerne my effigy. I might well know who, with honest intentions, would advise me to put myself in their hands. This I have plainly stated to the Great Council of Zurich, placing myself, however, entirely at their disposal to do with me as they may deem fit. Once more I offer to defend my doctrine against any opponent, be it in Zurich, in Berne, or St. Gall, without doubt considerable and respectable towns.” In reference to the safe-conduct, he called their attention to many ensnaring passages, especially to the one that the safe-conduct was only to be kept so long as he conducted himself in a manner worthy of it. With such a condition, no free discussion could take place; for should he, for example, say, “the Pope is anti-Christ,” this speech would be maintained to be unworthy of the safe-conduct, and it would be broken. That Zwingli, moreover, rightly penetrated the designs of his enemies is sufficiently clear from the following statements and occurrences. Eck and Faber had openly declared that heresy could only be thoroughly extirpated by the use of fire and sword. Immediately on the resolution of the Diet being published that the Disputation should

be held in Baden, Thomas Murner<sup>6</sup> had exclaimed from the pulpit in Lucerne, "Zwingli, I warn you that your last hour is come." In a conversation, the deputy of Lucerne had replied to one who observed that the safe-conduct would certainly be kept with Zwingli if he came to Baden, "if we had him once here he should have prison-diet for the rest of his days." Captain Ueberlinger of Baden was willing "to be called his life-long hangman if they would but let him be the judge over Zwingli." From Berne, Zwingli's brother-in-law, Tresp, wrote to him, "As you value your life, abstain from going to Baden, for I know from a sure hand that no safe-conduct will be held with you." The Romanists, however, showed by their actions, still more plainly than by these threatening and warning expressions which escaped some of the members of their party, the design they had in view. In Lucerne, Henry Messberg was put to death by a slow process of drowning for speaking against the nuns, and Jack Nagel was burned alive for the dissemination of "Zwinglian doctrines." At Schwyz, Eberhard Polt of Laccien, and a priest from the same quarter, suffered death by fire for speaking against the ceremonies. In Thurgau, also, there was an individual burned by the orders of "the five places" for impugning the mass. Faber displayed a like spirit of persecution in his own district. Peter Spengler of Freiburg, (in Breisgau,) was, at the command of the episcopal bench of Constance, of whose movements Faber was then well known to be the mainspring, drowned as a heretic; and only a few days before the commencement of the Disputation in Baden, Faber assembled, in the open marketplace at Mersburg, a consistory under his presidency, to try for heresy John Huegelin, parson of Lindau. He confessed that he "believed the Holy Scriptures and the articles of the true primitive creed; against this he had taught nothing; was, therefore, no heretic, but a true Christian." He was deposed from the priesthood, and condemned to suffer death by fire, which punishment he underwent with prayerful resignation and Christian fortitude.

Such proceedings showed very plainly what ends Faber, Eck, and the Romanists had in view by the Disputation at Baden. Zwingli especially had too much perspicacity of mind, and knew his adversaries too well to be ignorant of their designs. In some preliminary fencing with Faber and Eck in writing, which preceeded the discussion, and in which he made them feel very sensibly his immense superiority to them, he clearly showed that he penetrated their artifices: "I and not the Disputation am the object in view, if I were once under the ice the Disputation would be at an end." "You and your knaves," cries he to Faber, who jeered at him for his mistrust, "and all to whom money is dearer than truth, right, and their very life, I trust only as far as I prudently can. But I will

<sup>6</sup> Thomas Murner, a native of Strasburg, a not unlearned but a low-minded venomous monk, had, after many devious courses, and many struggles in life, at length settled down at Lucerne, where he gained the favour of the heads of the state by his intemperate invectives against Zwingli and the Reformation. He was, with the town-parson Bodler, a man of a like stamp, a demagogue of the papal party in this town.

not stake my life on what a knave might stake it. Suppose that one of your villains, by a shot or a stab deprived me of life, and a magistracy apprehended him, (which might be difficult, for in such cases flight is generally secured,) of what use would it be to twist such a fellow upon the wheel? Know that I hold myself much too dear to venture myself among you, not, indeed, for my own sake, but for the sake of my dear Lord Jesus Christ, whose Word I may longer help to proclaim and defend with all the faithful, and stop the mouths of you papists. You are a well-spring from which blood pours forth, for you have followed after bloodshed for years. I shall give an account of my doctrine to every man to whom it is due, but not in the *place* where every one may wish to have it. Thereto the rights of your god, the pope, do not at all bind me. Let me be heard before my own community, there I am ready to justify myself. Christ himself says: ‘Ask them which heard me what I have said.’ Ask ye also the church congregation who heard me, or read my books, and if you find anything wrong in them, write against it; you do not require my person to do this. And although you were to take my life, yet you must refute my doctrine with the pen, for unless you do this, you cannot tear it from the hearts of those in whom I have implanted it. You stigmatise me for saying, ‘One should not expose himself to a useless death.’ Do you not know that Christ teaches the same doctrine in the words, ‘When they persecute you in this city, flee ye into another;’ and again, ‘Neither cast ye your pearls before swine?’ You feel deeply offended at this, and yet I have employed the words of Christ in their true sense, which is, that we should not cast our costly treasure of pearls, which the truth is, before those who will not accept it, but who will despise and persecute it. These Christ calls swine. Of such swine you are certainly one, and your fellows belong to the same breed, who keep crying ‘heretic,’ ‘heretic,’ when the gospel of Christ is proclaimed in their hearing by any of Christ’s ambassadors.”

Firmly as Zwingli resolved to avoid the snare so clumsily laid for him, by declining to appear at Baden, the Council, with equal firmness, refused to allow him to go. Thus the Disputation at Baden, from 21st May till 8th June 1526, in which Œcolampadius and Haller represented the Reforming party, was held without Zwingli’s presence.<sup>7</sup> In spirit, however, as Myconius assures us, he was present, and by his labours, continued day and night, and by the advice which he transmitted to Baden, he did the cause more real service than had he been present in body. Measures were taken each day to apprise Zwingli of the course of the Disputation, and of Eck’s objections. A student from Wallis, who, under

<sup>7</sup> Œcolapadius was in less danger of his life by Zwingli’s *absence* than he would have been by his *presence*. Zwingli’s fall would have brought about that of his friends likewise, who happened to be present, while their death in his absence would have served no purpose, except to irritate Basle and Berne, towns which it was hoped would yet be gained to the papacy.

the pretext of using the baths, sojourned at Baden, attended the Disputation regularly, writing down the proceedings from memory every evening. Two young students, by turns, Thomas Plater of Wallis, and Zimmermann of Winterthur, brought these notes with Ecolampad's letters over night to Zwingli at Zurich, carrying upon their heads, baskets with hens to avoid observation. In the morning, they returned with his answer. On Plater's knocking at the door on the night before Pentecost, and being at length admitted, he found the Reformer already in bed. "He soon, however, appeared," relates Plater, when he heard I was there, rubbed his eyes, and said: "Ay! ay! you are a restless lad. Here am I, who have not been in bed these six weeks, thinking that as tomorrow is Pentecost, I should get a snatch of rest." He set himself down, wrote his opinion upon the question in dispute, and sent his answer to Baden the same night. Upon the Disputation being ended, Thomas Murner, the monk, came forward before the whole assembly, and read forty abusive articles against Zwingli. "I thought," said he, "the coward would come, but he has not shown face. I declare forty times, by all the rights which order things human and divine, that the tyrant of Zurich and his followers are knaves, liars, perjurers, adulterers, infidels, thieves, sacrilegious, food for gallows, and that no honourable man, without blushing, can keep company with them." This conclusion of the Conference, as well as the whole bearing of the papal disputants, made upon many of those present a very unfavourable impression, so that in spite of the shouts of the Romanists, the consequences of the Disputation were by no means advantageous to the papacy. Berne and Basle, indeed, shortly afterwards broke loose from the party; and through the instrumentality of zealous evangelical preaching, were entirely won over to the Reformation. At the same time, the papists made the unpleasant experience, that in two countries at once, to wit, in Switzerland through the Baden Disputation, and in Germany through the first Diet, begun at Speyer, 1526, which the Archduke Ferdinand, at the orders of his brother Charles V.,<sup>8</sup> summoned, for the purpose of suppressing the Reformation, their savage demeanour and persecuting measures, instead of throwing fear and alarm into the ranks of the evangelical party, as they had hoped, only brought fresh accessions of numbers to this party. Indeed, a very short time afterwards, the Austro-Spanish Imperial house itself appeared willing to assume a more favourable attitude to the Evangelicals of Germany, the Emperor Charles V. breaking with Pope Clement VI., and sending his soldiers, who were mostly Protestant mercenaries, to take and plunder Rome, which they did. These events, however, exercised but an insignificant influence on Switzerland. In Rome, the Swiss mercenaries from the

<sup>8</sup> In a letter of the 23d March 1526, from Seville (Spain), Charles V. instructed his brother the Archduke to the following effect: The Diet is to maintain the old customs of the Church, and execute the edicts of Worms, (which commanded the suppression of the Lutheran doctrine and writings.)

mountain cantons fought with a heroic courage against the Imperial host, defending the Pope against the Emperor, at the very time that their fathers and brothers at home drew closer to the Archduke Ferdinand in the defence of the old faith, and the suppression of the Reformation.

Soon after the Disputation had taken place, the period arrived at which the cantons had to renew the oath of Confederacy between each other. The papal cantons declared they would neither give nor take the oath from Zurich; "Basle, St. Gall, and Muelhausen, must be treated in the same manner," said they. This conduct embittered the Reforming party, the more so as the signs grew plainer of an approximation of counsels on the part of the papal cantons to those of the Archduke Ferdinand. This prince was indeed preparing war against Zurich, with the full understanding of the mountain cantons. At the same time the intemperate and shameless behaviour of Thomas Murner was in the highest degree revolting; the coarse libels which this ribald monk uttered against the adherents of the Reformation proved an incessant cause of irritation. His "Black Calendar" especially contains the worst specimens of this description of writing which the imagination can picture to itself. By the side of a portraiture of Zwingli, suspended from the gallows, there is the superscription: "Calendar of the Lutheran-Evangelical Church-Robbers and Heretics." At the introduction of the principal supporters of the Reformation, hardly any term in the vocabulary of low abuse is spared; the whole concludes with the declaration, that all its followers are "Impotent unprincipled villains, thieves, lickspittles, dastards, and knaves, and that the heretics ought to be burned, and sent in smoke to the devil." Such insults were not only passed over with impunity by the civil power of the papal cantons, but were joyfully hailed by them, and disseminated far and wide, so that the indignant Zurichers had just cause to complain: "the foreign monk, Dr. Murner, vituperates us from his venomous malicious heart with such insolence, as to fill many a worthy man with indignation. You, however, dear Confederates, do not command him silence." Zurich had to bear other affronts from the Romanists. On the Council of this state striking a new silver coin, Uri prohibited it, as if it were derived from sacrilege; and in Zug, cups were stamped upon it to designate it such.

This ever increasing hostility, thus openly expressed against Zurich, inspired the enemies of Zwingli and of the Reformation in Zurich itself with fresh hopes and courage.<sup>9</sup> They began to move. For some time gloomy reports had

<sup>9</sup> Zwingli writes on this subject, in letters to his friends in Basle and Strasburg: "For some time back there has been again observed, whenever the cause of the gospel met with any difficulty, a great stir, and noisy and congratulatory meetings of our swarming Catalines. It was clear as day that these people would venture as much as the Cataline conspirators did in Rome. I confess that, as their words and actions betrayed more and more plainly their hitherto concealed plots, I, for my part, began to warn loudly against treachery. I succeeded, despite the defiance and hypocrisy with which they met me, in intimidating their chief power, and undermining their

been spread abroad in the town that men in high positions, who were in the receipt of secret pensions from foreign princes, were stirring up the people against the regulations and decrees of the government. The suspected individuals were apprehended, and subjected to an instantaneous and searching examination within closed doors. James Grebel, (the father of an old but dubious friend of Zwingli's and the Reformation, whose acquaintance we shall afterwards make as one of the heads of the Anabaptists,) was convicted. He confessed to having received pensions and bribes from several princes at once. Neither his grey hairs nor the high esteem which he had hitherto enjoyed in Zurich and in the Confederacy, could avert from him the highest penalty of the law. Others, found guilty in a less degree, were banished from the country for a longer or shorter period. These exiles, along with several monks who, conscious of guilt, had secretly withdrawn from the town, contributed not a little to stir the embers of hatred and animosity among their co-religionists in the other cantons.

In spite of all these hindrances, the Reformation, animated by the breath of the Spirit of God, extended itself on every side. Berne, and Schaffhausen had declared decidedly for it; in Graubund, Glaurus, and Appenzell, the Reformers constituted the majority, and while St. Gall, at an earlier period, had received the gospel, there appeared growing signs of an evangelical movement in Thurgau, Rheinthal, Sarganserland, and in the free domains of Reussthal; nay, they appeared in the valleys of Italy itself. The mountaineers in the Waldstaedte alone withstood the breath of the new spirit, even as the glaciers of their alps resist the genial influences of spring.

Under these circumstances, they began to turn their eyes with increased hope towards the Austro-Spanish house, and trusted that it would lend them aid to suppress the hated innovation and its supporters. The Archduke Ferdinand, after his election in the autumn of 1527 to be King of Hungary, had emitted a decree from Ofen, in Hungary, at Faber's suggestion, in which he forbids his subjects, on the penalty of death, to take up Zwingli's doctrine, or even to harbour one of the followers of it; and his brother, Charles V., wrote, on the 3d February 1528, from Burgos, (Spain,) to the papal cantons, praising them for

walls. They thought to have remained unobserved. I gave them to understand this was not the case, and that I myself might perhaps make a disclosure. And so it was. I was, without their knowledge, in possession of certain letters, and had besides learned something here, and something there. The investigation begins. Much comes to light, partly insignificant, and partly important. Well Grebel, father of Conrad, is beheaded, he who held the highest character amongst us had received from the Emperor, the King of France, and the Pope, more than one thousand gold florins, under the pretext of rewards to his son. Several of the clique fled, the gates being negligently watched, one in a cart, hid under manure. The examination is still going on. I warn the one party to take an example by such an issue of the proceedings, I exhort the other to tear up this evil by the roots."

their steady continuance in the ancient faith, and exhorting them to continue in the same course. Both on the eastern and northern frontiers Switzerland bordered on the dominions of Austria, and here, by letters and messages, an uninterrupted intercourse was carried on between the Austrian officials and the Swiss Romanists, which the papal clergy, high and low, zealously fostered. In February 1529, at length, a formal alliance was drawn out at Feldkirch, between deputies of the five papal cantons and Austrian delegates appointed for the purpose, which, two months later, was documented and sealed at Waldshut. "We, King Ferdinand, and 'The Five Places,'" so runs the treaty in part, "with the lands, dominions, and territories of both parties to this league, remain steadfast to the ancient true Christian faith and Christian sacraments; and if it so be that any one within our territories and dominions shall dare to attack the ancient true Christian faith and venerated sacraments, or secretly or openly to preach against the same, and endeavour to turn the people therefrom, such a one shall be punished in property and person. Austria sends, in case of need, six thousand foot and four hundred horse, with the requisite artillery, into Switzerland. To this end the Reformed cantons may be blockaded, and provisions prevented from entering them, or seized." Plans of a campaign were drawn out, according to which the Reformed cantons were to be invaded from different points at the same moment. Everything gave intimation that a resolution had been come to, to suppress and extirpate evangelical doctrine by force of arms. In Germany preparations were made for the second Diet at Spires, with the view of the suppression of the Reformation, while in Barcelona, (Spain,) the emperor concluded peace with the pope, on the 5th August 1529, solemnly promising the papal ambassador to root out heresy with the sword.

Zwingli penetrated more clearly than almost any of his contemporaries the designs and intrigues of the combined enemies, papal and Imperial. The infatuated blindness, indeed, of many of his countrymen gave him the deepest affliction, as appears from a letter to his friend Werner Steiner: "I speak the truth," he says, "in Christ, and lie not, that no pain so sharply affects me as the incredulity of some Swiss. This lies heavily on my heart, and torments me night and day; truly not as though I feared for myself, but for them." But, full of faith, he doubted not for a moment of the ultimate victory of the right cause. "It ought not to terrify us," he wrote, "that Faber and his crew not only work without intermission against the truth, but that they use every means in their power to accomplish the ruin of the preachers and teachers of it. We ought rather to rejoice at it, for this manifold opposition is a plain sign that we are near the promised land. The Papists pipe from their last hole, therefore they are so furious."

But the quarrels which arose between the advocates and friends of the Reformation themselves were far more keenly felt, and more deeply injurious than the reaction of the Papists. To these let us now direct our attention.