ZWINGLI;

OR,

THE RISE OF THE REFORMATION IN SWITZERLAND.

A LIFE OF THE REFORMER,

WITH SOME NOTICES OF HIS TIME AND CONTEMPORARIES,

BY

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TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN,

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MDCCCLVIII.

NINTH SECTION.

ZWINGLI’S LAST LABOURS; HE DIES THE DEATH OF THE CHRISTIAN HERO AT CAPPEL, 11th OCTOBER 1531.

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“I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith: Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give me at that day: and not to me only, but unto all them also that love his appearing.”—2 Tim. iv. 7, 8.

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1. Christian Civil Rights.

We have already seen what efforts were made by the papal party to suppress the Reformation in Switzerland, and how Faber and the Pope’s Legate succeeded with this object in drawing into closer alliance the mountain cantons, who adhered to the old faith, with Switzerland’s hereditary enemy—the Austrian Imperial Power. Zurich had for a long time to trust alone to God’s help, and her own means, to meet this threatening combination of her foes, and its hostile movements, but she was steeled and elevated by the consciousness that she had a just and holy cause to defend; for Zwingli’s “confidence was alone set on God, and with joy; wherefore he exhorted the whole town of Zurich that they should set their confidence in God.” But an opportunity arose of uniting with reformed towns and States, who entertained like sentiments to their own, and who sighed under the like oppres­sion. It was then that Zurich proposed, under the influence of the Reformer, the formation of an alliance to defend their civil privileges, especially as this was open to them without compro­mising the obligations they had come under to the Confederacy.[[1]](#footnote-1) “It is well-pleasing to God,” Zwingli writes upon this subject, “that those who have one mind should combine together to carry on *one* work and *one* contest of God, all in the Lord, in unity and fidelity. Cannot the good unite to save the sheep from the jaws of the wolf? Are they not to raise their voice against the wolves, and to pull away the prey? Why should it be denied to the saints to come together in an honourable manner, in order to deliberate upon religion, God’s glory, the common weal, and the cause of truth and righteousness? Is it to be permitted to the wicked only to conspire, and this for the overthrow of truth and justice? The Word of God cannot, indeed, be upheld by human power, but alone by the power of God; notwithstanding, God uses man as an instrument and a vessel, to grant the aids of His grace to other men. Now if God favours the formation of a Christian union, it is plain that He will employ it to a good end.” Guided by these principles, Zurich entered into a union with the neighbouring Imperial town of Constance. There the Reforma­tion had gained such ground, through the labours of Zwingli’s evangelical friends, Ambrosius Blaarer, John Zwick, John Wanner, and others, that the bishop and the majority of the canons abandoned the town, and transferred themselves to Ueberlingen and Moersburg. The Emperor threatened the town. The Austrian Vicegerent in the Vorarlbergian lands, caused his horse to ride up to its very gates. Constance, on this emergency, applied to Zurich with the offer of a mutual defensive alliance. After the negotiations had been secretly carried on for a con­siderable length of time, the alliance was finally concluded on the 25th December 1527,[[2]](#footnote-2) and was called, “The Christian Burgher-Rights.” Its purport runs thus:

“We, the Burgomaster, Little and Great Councils, as well as the citizens and whole community of the towns of Zurich and Con­stance, make known: The course of events in these days having rapidly assumed a very threatening aspect, many unfair attacks having been made, and unrighteous things done, from which it appeareth that the ruin of confederate and civil unity, and detriment to the well-being and peace of our native country, will, if the Almighty in His grace prevent not, speedily follow; we have, with the grace of God, and in the name of Jesus Christ, the eternal Son of God, our Redeemer, accepted and acknow­ledged one another, with all ours, as faithful allies. And since faith and the soul’s salvation is not in the compulsion or power of any one, but is a free and undeserved grace and gift of God, we shall both of us, the parties to this alliance, each especially in their separate jurisdictions, so act in matters of faith and the soul’s salvation, as to have confidence before God, and be able to give answer according to Holy Scripture; nor shall one party disturb or attack the other on this account, nor render assistance or advice to any, whoever they be, who shall so act, nor allow them so to do. If, however, violence be offered to us, be it to the one or the other party, by reason of faith and the evangelical doctrine, by any whosoever it be, we shall, on both sides, and each for themselves, and at their own costs, defend and protect each other, with our lives and chattels. Each party have in this ‘Burger-Right’ reserved the duties they owe, and we of Zurich in particular, the duties we owe to ‘The Bund,’ by which we are connected and devoted to our dear Confederates; as also all agreements, stipulations or treaties which may have been closed with any before this letter. In other respects, this Burgher-Right shall extend and be held against every one, to the exception of none, without fraud or equivocation.”

This alliance, in defence of the rights of conscience and the free preaching of the gospel, marks the commencement of a new and higher conception of the position and duties of the Christian state. The juridical state guaranteed the security of person and property against capricious violence; the mediaeval state pro­tected the Church of the time, and her peculiar institutions, with the iron hand of power, and persecuted with fire and sword all who, under the impulse of faith, and guided by a better know­ledge, dared to overstep the fixed limits she established; but freedom of conscience, the free preaching of the Word of God, the Christian state, such as Zwingli comprehended and regarded her to be, alone knows.

After, in the sequel, Berne (June 1528), St. Gall (November 1528), Biel (January 1529), Muehlhausen (February), Basle (March), and Schaffhausen (September of the same year), had joined “The Christian Burgher-Right,” upon the same conditions and obligations, the Reformer deemed it prudent to obtain new allies, even beyond the narrow bounds of his native country, for he foresaw with a clear glance the imminence of the danger which threatened the Reformed cause, from the growing union between the Pope, on the one hand, and the Emperor, with the papally disposed princes and states, on the other. In this respect, his journey to Marburg had been of signal importance. In Strasburg, he obtained better information with regard to the Emperor’s designs, especially from the Town-sheriff, James Sturm. This far-seeing statesman, who was faithfully devoted to the Reformed cause, had connections with many respectable and influential men in Germany and France, through which he came into possession of many important documents, disclosing the Emperor’s plans against the Reformers. Zwingli and Ulrich Funk sent copies of these deeds to the secret Council of Zurich, with the observation: “These are from the right *workshop.*” The contents of these are probably contained in the following com­munications of the Reformer, which he made to statesmen who had his confidence: “The Emperor stirs up friend against friend, and enemy against enemy, in order to force himself betwixt them as mediator, and then he decides with a partiality which always leads him to consult the interests of the papacy and his own power. To kindle a war in Germany, he directs the Castellan of Musso[[3]](#footnote-3) against the Graubundians, the Bishop of Constance against the town of Constance, the Bishop of Strasburg against the inhabitants of Strasburg, the Duke of Savoy against the Bernese, the Five Places against Zurich, the Abbot of St. Gall against the town, Duke George of Saxony against Duke John, to deprive the latter of his Electoral dignity, the Bishops on the Rhine against the Landgrave of Hessen. Thus he will every­where instigate to hostility against the Reformed towns as much as he can. Then, when he has thrown the torch of war and tumult in all directions, he will bring a Spanish army into Germany, and he will befool the one party with fair but false words, and make war on the other party, till he has reduced all under his yoke.” In Marburg the question of the Reformed defensive alliance was all the more seriously discussed with the Landgrave, the more plainly the danger came to be recognised through the reciprocal communications made, which threatened the Reformers on the side of the Emperor and his allies. The Landgrave had already endeavoured to bring about a similar union between the Reformed princes and towns of Germany, the failure of which, on the obstinate prejudices of Luther, who refused to co-operate with the Sacramentisers,[[4]](#footnote-4) he witnessed with deep disappointment. With all the greater joy, Philip hailed the new Reformed Defensive Alliance, which, emanating from Zurich, gave promise of embracing the free Reformed towns of Switzerland, South Germany, and of the Rhine. He himself wished to join the alliance, along with Duke Ulrich of Wirtemberg. In the secret deliberations between the two princes and the deputies of Zurich, Basle, and Strasburg, in reference to this matter, it was agreed that the Landgrave should endeavour to gain for the alliance the Protestant German princes and the North German sea towns, while Zwingli was to employ his influence to the same end with the South German Reformed towns, where the gospel was preached by his friends. Some hope was entertained of Venice[[5]](#footnote-5) and France becom­ing parties to the Alliance, both being hostilely disposed to the Emperor, and in both countries decided symptoms of evan­gelical life having shown themselves. According to the idea which was specially present to the Landgrave and the Swiss Reformer, this Protestant Alliance was to extend from the Adri­atic to the German Ocean, and the intention was thus to set up in central Europe a Protestant power, to frustrate the dangerous schemes of the Hispano-Austrian Imperial House, and its allies. Nay, if the Emperor should design to fulfil the promise he solemnly made to the Papal ambassador at Barcelona, by attempt­ing the suppression of the free preaching of the gospel in Ger­many, then, in the view of Zwingli and the Landgrave, the time would have arrived when the princes of the empire, according to right and their duties, ought to divest the Emperor of his Impe­rial dignity, who had thus set himself up against the command of God like Saul, and thus proclaimed himself the rejected of God, and remove him as head of the empire. “So great,” wrote Zwingli afterwards to the Town-sheriff Sturm, “is the perversity and wickedness of the Emperor, that, in my opinion, the world should unite to rid itself in any way of such a burden.” He wrote to the Emperor himself with all frankness of the opportu­nity given by God for throwing off the yoke of a tyrannical government, and which should not be allowed to pass by with­out being made use of. In the event of the electors having the courage to take up arms in defence of evangelical freedom, and to depose the Emperor, the leaders of the Alliance[[6]](#footnote-6) selected the German prince who outshone all others in greatness of soul, in courage of faith and resolution, “Philip the Magnanimous,” Zwingli’s friend, as future Emperor. “Gracious dear Sir,” the Reformer wrote to his princely friend in reference to this plan, “my writing to your Grace thus freely and childishly comes from my confidence in God that He hath selected you for great things, which I dare not utter;” to which the Landgrave answered: “Dear Mr Huldreich, I hope through the Providence of God a feather will fall from Pharaoh,[[7]](#footnote-7) and that he will meet with what he little expects; for all things are in the way of improvement. God is wonderful. He gives me peace, and often where I had given up all hope. The time brings roses. Let this matter touching Pha­raoh remain a secret with you till the time arrives.”

According to the agreement made at Marburg, Zwingli zeal­ously exerted himself with his Protestant friends in the South German free towns to promote the objects of the league. Like a thunder-cloud fraught with ruin the Emperor neared Germany, to hold at Augsburg the long-announced Diet. The Reformer’s zeal rose with the approach of danger to turn aside harm from the Protestant Church. “Base cowards alone,” he wrote to Coun­cillor Conrad Zwick of Constance, “can idly look on without straining every nerve to put in arms a power that shall make the Emperor sensible that he labours in vain to re-establish Rome’s supremacy, to destroy the privileges of the free towns, and to coerce us in Helvetia. Awake Lindau, awake its neighbours, and be at length men. He is a fool who trusts to the friendship of tyrants. Even Demosthenes teaches us that nothing is so hateful to them as the freedom of towns. The Emperor offers with the one hand bread, while in the other he conceals a stone.” Afterwards he wrote to the same friend, and to Burgomaster Blaarer in Constance: “Only be firm and undismayed, and do not be afraid of the counsels of the Emperor. The knife must one day come to the grinding-stone.”

Zwingli’s friend, Ralph Collin, was despatched as secret ambas­sador to Zurich, on 11th December 1529, to form relations between the towns of “the Christian Burgher-right,” and the free state of Venice. He appeared before the Venetian Senate, and said: “It is not unknown to the august senate of the Free State, long united in friendship with the Confederacy, what an eye-sore the two republics have been, the great bulwarks of European freedom, to the arbi­trary potentates, whose only thought has been their suppression. At the present moment especially, the Emperor begins anew to dis­cover his dangerous designs, and never before has a union been so necessary as now between the States, threatened, in the first instance, by that all-devouring universal monarchy, after which the Emperor is striving. To express their wishes for such a union, to hear opinions upon it, to pave the way for negotiations, his lords of Zurich had sent him a young man, indeed, and of no influence, without state or retinue, (that the Emperor and his friends might know nothing of it,) yet with written credentials.” After the Doge had informed himself as to the extent and the objects of this defensive league, of which Collin spoke as “the Christian Burgher-Right,” and after requesting some farther light upon it, he gave the assurance in general terms of the good-feel­ing entertained by the Free State towards Zurich, and the towns of “the Christian Burgher-Right;” at the same time, however, he divulged the fact, that Venice had just concluded a treaty of peace with the Emperor. Outside of the Town-hall it was observed to the ambassador that an earlier mission would have had better success. Even yet, it was said, Venice, in the event of a war between the Emperor and the Burgher-towns,[[8]](#footnote-8) will render them as much assistance as they can. Zwingli mentioned this to the Landgrave, and the Duke Ulrich of Wirtemberg, on which the latter entreated him to use every means in his power to arrange the matter, and above all, to maintain a good understanding with the Venetians; for they might become a strong drag-chain[[9]](#footnote-9) on the Emperor, and in this way they might attain the object which, with greater policy, they had not yet reached. “The time and opportunity are present,” said he, “and the moment must not be let slip. Nor is the mad dog (the Emperor), idle, but plays one trick after the other. ”

About the same time that these negotiations were entered into with Venice, the King of France intimated a wish, through his ambassadors in Switzerland, to hear Zwingli’s views as to how a blow might be best dealt to the power of the Emperor; at the same time he signified his desire to join as an ally “the Christian Burgher-Right,” The Reformer would please state the conditions under which this might be accomplished. We have already seen with what zeal Zwingli laboured at an earlier period to foster the evangelical movement which manifested itself in France, and we have seen that, chiefly with the hope of winning over the King to the cause of the gospel, he had dedicated to him his principal work, “The Commentary of the True and False Religion.” The second French ambassador, also in Switzerland, Lambert Maigret, was devoted to the Protestant doctrine, and on terms of friend­ship with Zwingli. In such circumstances, it might have been expected that the Reformer would have hastened to accede to the wish of the King, as he had good grounds to hope that a closer connection with the towns of “the Christian Burgher-Right,” together with the animosity against the Emperor, might induce Francis I. to decide in favour of the gospel, a result which Zwin­gli so ardently desired. Yet he appears to have suspected some French wile in this request, for he did not accede to it until he had been the third time applied to. He developed his views in form of a letter from the King to the towns of “the Christian Burgher-Right” in Switzerland. “As the Alliance,” the docu­ment, among other things, says, “which for a series of years has existed between France and all the Swiss cantons, with the exception of Zurich, was displeasing to the lords of Zurich, for the reason that they feared great danger from it to the freedom of Helvetia, the most Christian King now declares his willing­ness to form such an Alliance as shall, in no respect, be contrary to the law of God. For the most Christian King desires nothing so much as that the gospel be preserved in its purity. If any party be attacked for its reception or adherence to the gospel, the other shall stand by and defend it; if it, on the other, attacks, the other party is only then under obligation to assist when the grounds for the attack are recognised as legitimate.” In handing over this remarkable document to General Maigret for transmis­sion, he expressed the wish, in an accompanying letter to him, that the Landgrave of Hessen, Duke Ulrich of Wirtemberg, and some of the South German Free towns, might be permitted to join the League. Both the ambassadors answered the Reformer, on the 27th February 1530, to the effect: “The time is not yet ripe to enter on such far-reaching plans.” General Maigret explained himself more distinctly: “As long as the King’s sons are held in captivity by the Emperor, no farther negotiations on this head can be gone into, because they would only tend to delay the liberation of the princes.” For the rest this states­man continued to cultivate Zwingli’s friendship as before, and strove to remove the prejudices which prevailed, particularly in France, against his person and doctrine. He requested the Reformer to propitiate Francis I. for the Reformation, to state “the chief points of his creed as well as his views upon the civil power, and its relation to its subjects,” and to present this work to the king. Zwingli fulfilled this request. He composed three months before his death the Treatise, and sent it to the king. But the hopes which he and Maigret entertained for the victory of the gospel in France from this step were not destined to be fulfilled. Francis First’s sole object in desiring to unite with the Swiss Free towns was, that they might assist him in the conquest of Lom­bardy; he was a stranger to that pure enthusiasm with which the Reformer laboured and fought for evangelical truth and the rights of conscience. Indeed, Zwingli had to experience, in other quar­ters also, to his profound regret, that his efforts did not every­where meet with that recognition to which they were entitled.

In Switzerland, Berne was particularly averse to the extension of the league of “the Christian Burgher-Right” so far beyond the boundaries of the Confederacy. On this account the government of this canton refused, for a long time, to admit even Strasburg into the union. “*Berne* always sends *bears* to negotiate,” Zwingli bitterly complained. Its consent was at last obtained, and the treaty of alliance between the Reformed Swiss towns and Strasburg was confirmed, by oath, in the end of January 1530. On the other hand, Berne obstinately persisted in its refusal to accept the Landgrave of Hessen as a member of “the Christian Burgher-right,” so that he was forced to conclude the alliance with Zurich and Basle alone, which he did in the summer of 1530. But in other quarters also, the extension of the league was counteracted. The aged Erasmus had, by means of a wide­spread witticism, that the Swiss Reformer intended to introduce democracy under the mantle of the gospel, rendered the princes and aristocratical magistrates of the towns suspicious of the measures, which had their origin in Zurich. Favoured by this mistrust, the Papal and Imperial party worked in secret, by threats and promises, against the union of the Evangelicals. Hence, in part, at least, none of the South German Free towns joined the alliance except Constance. Finally, the Supper-contest was destined to operate against the extension of the league. The Protestant German princes, indeed, had combined, after the Diet of Augsburg, February 1530, at Smalkald, in a Protestant defensive league, which had a similar object as “the Christian Burgher-right;” and the members of the Four-towns Confession had been admitted into the Smalkald treaty. On the Landgrave of Hessen, however, expressing his desire that the Swiss Free- towns should take part in it, the condition was also exacted from them that they should sign the union-formula proposed by Bucer, in the sense in which Luther explained it, previous to their admission. At such a price, however, the Swiss refused to pur­chase it. Zwingli was of the mind that “the Reformed and the Lutherans might cultivate friendship and unity for the sake of their common faith, despite the difference in the doctrine of the Supper, as well as Papists and Lutherans, who stood combined against the Turks; for the league is formed for the defence of the land, the people, common justice, and that *sum of faith and doc­trine* in which we are all united. If, however, they (the Luther­ans,) be not willing, it is very apparent that this comes from mistrust and arrogancy, and hence we, too, deem it not necessary *to prefer a union with them to truth.* However earnestly Zwingli endea­voured the union of all Protestants for the defence of the preach­ing of the gospel, and the rights of conscience, the conviction he had acquired in the light of the divine Word was too dear to him to deny it, in but the smallest point, even at such a price. In this manner, the fine idea of this alliance, for which the Reformer, and his friend the Landgrave, were enthusiastically prepossessed, came, to the deep regret of both, but imperfectly into life, like some plant that too early develops itself. Zwingli had foreboded in a prophetic spirit what calamities would burst upon the various countries of Europe if the confessors of the gospel were not to unite against their common enemies for the preservation of the pearl of their faith. To avert these calamities, to defend the pro­clamation of the pure Word of God, and to protect freedom of conscience, were the motives by which he was swayed in this department of his labours.

2. Rupture between the Protestant and Roman Catholic Parties in Switzerland, and First Cappel war.

The alliances which the Roman Catholic cantons of Switzer­land had formed with each other, and with the Emperor, for the suppression of the Reformation, and those which the Reformers had partly concluded, partly attempted, in defence of the rights of conscience, and the free preaching of the Word, made it evident that a dangerous rupture was preparing between the two parties into which the country was rent. Switzerland presented two hostile camps, which rested their extremities on foreign lands, and which sought reciprocally to weaken each other by the withdrawal of adherents. An attitude gradually more resolute and bolder was the result of these separate alliances. While, in the Five places,[[10]](#footnote-10) every departure from the ancient faith was visited with their punishment, and threatened with that of the Emperor, Zurich and Berne secured all who accepted the gospel in their own pro­tection and that of the towns of the “Burgher-Right.” The differ­ent jurisdictions,[[11]](#footnote-11) which often crossed one another in the various cantons, tended not a little to increase animosity; everywhere points of irritation and hostility presented themselves to both parties down from the Bernese Alps to the Bodensee. In the pleasant valleys of the Bernese upland district, where the cloister of Engelberg possesses particular rights of collation from Unter­walden, the majority of the inhabitants rose in insurrection against the government of Berne, excited by some priests from Uri and Unterwalden, and supported by eight hundred Obwalders, with their banner. The Reformation was abolished, its adherents maltreated, and the Mass introduced. While Zurich prepared to march to the relief of its oppressed ally, hosts of volunteers armed themselves in the Mountain-cantons to support the insur­gents. In the meantime, the Mayor of Erlach, at the head of the Bernese troops, had, without foreign assistance, reduced the uplanders to obedience, but the support of the insurrection, on the part of the Oberwaldners, contrary to treaty, was, long after its suppression, threatened with deserved punishment by Zurich and Berne. In Bremgarten, the grey-haired Dean Bullinger, declared to his congregation from the pulpit, in February 1529, “for three and thirty years their pastor, he had taught them, walking in blind darkness, what he had himself learned from blind guides. Might God pardon him his involuntary crime, enlighten him henceforth by His grace to lead the flock committed to him in accord­ance with the precepts of His Word, whereto he was firmly resolved.” The Town-Council, which a year before had come under a formal agreement with “the Five Places” to keep the town in the ancient faith, deposed Bullinger from his office. He sought help in Zurich. His re-settlement in his pastoral office could not be obtained; the community, however, passed a resolution that the new pastor whom they should elect “must preach the Old and New Testaments according to their Divine meaning, and thereby they would leave the matter in God’s hand.” Gervasius Schuler, who was next elected, and Henry Bullinger, son of the Dean, who soon afterwards was called to the place, fulfilled this promise with joy and blessing to the community. The Reforma­tion gained the ascendant in Bremgarten, in Mellinger, and in several more of the neighbouring communities, Zurich and Berne protecting the Evangelicals, while “The Five Places” threatened apostacy from the old faith with punishment. In Thurgau and in Rheinthal, alternately governed by Zurich and “The Five Places,” the cause of the Reformation gradually advanced. Many of the communes sought from Zurich evan­gelical pastors. But the governors from “The Five Places,” as James Stocker, of Zug in Thurgau, and Melchior Gysler, of Uri in Rheinthal, persecuted the Evangelicals with all severity, punishing them with imprisonment, the rack, stripes, and con­fiscation. Preachers had their tongues cut, others were beheaded or burned; Bibles and all evangelical books were taken away and destroyed. On the other hand, these papistical governors, who made a boast of their zeal for the ancient faith, committed the most wanton excesses and debauchery, which, without any sense of shame, they attempted to justify, and in this way they gave still greater offence to the Evangelicals, who were led to look from the Word of God for a higher standard of morality in governors than in private individuals. In this position of affairs, “The Five Places” protecting their officers, Zurich and Berne the evangelical people, animosity rose to so great a pitch between the two parties, that it threatened every moment to break out into open hostility. Another apple of discord for the parties was the rich cloister of St. Gall, in its peculiar relation to the cantons of Zurich, Lucerne, Schwyz, and Glarus.[[12]](#footnote-12) The Abbot of this cloister, as prince of the empire devoted to the Imperial house, was, by reason of his wealth and great influence in Switzerland, one of the most dangerous enemies of the Reformation. Never­theless, it gained many adherents among his subjects, especially after the beginning of the year 1529, when James Frei, member of the Zurich Council, and a zealous friend of the Reformation, was appointed lieutenant of the country.

The doctrine of the anti-Scriptural character of spiritual supremacy, proclaimed by Zwingli with all emphasis, met with a hearty reception, not only from the majority of the Abbot’s subjects, but also from many of the brothers. The Abbot, Francis von Geissberg, who lay sick of the dropsy, found himself quite unable to offer any opposition to the progress of the Reformation, and had himself hastily carried to his fortified castle at Roshach, where alone he considered himself safe. Four days afterwards, Burgomaster Vadian took possession of the cathedral, from which he ordered the images to be removed; the treasures of the cloister the monks had carried off to Einsiedeln. The Abbot died at Roshach, on the 21st March; his death, however, was concealed for some time, until the monks succeeded, in an illegal manner, indeed, in electing a successor. Kilian German, descendant of an honourable family in Toggenburg, a shrewd and clever monk, hitherto the great steward of the cloister had this perilous dignity conferred upon him. Soon after the election, he succeeded in obtaining the recognition of Schwyz and Lucerne, and the Pope’s confirmation of his appointment, while from Austria he received the assurance of powerful support for the maintenance of his position. Upon this, he immediately declared, in plain terms, that he would not rest satisfied till he and his convent were again in possession of their rights, the images replaced in the church, and the Mass again celebrated within its walls. Zurich, on the other hand, requested, at Zwingli’s advice, which was asked and given, that Kilian should first of all establish, by the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, that monkery is good and well-pleasing in the sight of God, else that he should lay aside the cowl, and abandon monkery; as abbot, Zurich would never acknowledge him, since as protecting power, it had undertaken the duty of defending the Christian people in the maintenance of their rights. This state, accordingly, would never allow the spiritual yoke to be again pressed on the household of God: “Hence,” says Zwingli on this opinion, delivered by him, “either our lords with their Christian fellow-citizens of St. Gall, and all the people of God who have pledged their lives and property to our lords, that the Word of God shall be administered, desist, and become perjured to their oaths, or the Abbot Kilian desists.” While Zurich and St. Gall pressed with all their power for the dissolution of the cloister, and the land’s-lieutenant Frei secured the subjects of the cloister in the liberties and institutions which the Zurich country people enjoyed, the Abbot Kilian took his measures in secret, with the help of “The Five Places” and Austria, to recover his rights and dignity. The affair therefore presented a very embarrassing aspect.

At length, Garter, a district under the superiority of Schwyz and Glarus, became the occasion of raising the animosity between Schwyz and Zurich to a formal outbreak of hostilities. The Reformation had manifested itself in some communities of this district in iconoclastic acts. The Schwyzers, accordingly, menaced their subjects with war and with punishment for these acts of violence, and ordered the images to be again set up, and the Mass to be re-established. The menaced sought help in Zurich. Zurich assured them of protection, in so far as they should be assailed on the ground of their evangelical faith.

While embarrassments thus increased, and animosity between the parties rose to such a pitch of violence, the friends of the Re­formation made a last attempt to settle disputes on an amicable foot, and to accomplish a reconciliation with their adversaries. In a diet, (21st April 1529,) which was held in Zurich without “The Five Places,” it was resolved to call upon these cantons, through an embassage, to withdraw from their alliance with Austria, to desist from persecuting the Evangelicals, and to prohibit the invectives that were so shamefully uttered among their subjects against the evangelical members of the Confederacy. “United in *one* faith in Christ, our worthy ancestors maintained freedom between man and man against every foe. The Evangelicals have never fallen from this faith, but they wish it renewed in its ancient purity and power. Why do you ally yourselves against us, your old and tried Confederates, with Austria, the hereditary enemy of Switzerland, and malign us as heretics and infidels?” The magistracies of “The Five Places” (the deputies were only allowed a hearing before the Councils in Schwyz,) answered these well-meant representations haughtily, and with contumelious expressions. “Only no preaching,” they shouted to the speaking deputy in Zug. In Uri: “We might wish the new faith eternally buried.” In Lucerne: “Your seditious parsons undermine the faith as erst in paradise the serpent swung his folds round Adam and Eve. We will preserve our children and children’s children from such poison.” In Stans: “We’ll have nothing more to do with the new sect, and sha’nt meet them at the Diet,” In Sarnen: “We and the other Wahl towns are the true old Con­federates who first took you into the union, and now, verily, you mean to be our masters, and oppress us. But the Emperor, France, Savoy, and our lord of Musso will know to hinder you.” The ambassadors saw, on the house of the Town-Clerk, a great gallows painted, on which the arms of Zurich, Berne, Basle, and Strasburg were suspended. Thus the attempted reconciliation was put away by “The Five Places,” with a rude and overbear­ing arrogancy, deeply wounding to the feelings of the evangelical party.

It was not reverence to the faith of their forefathers, and attachment to old customs, which inclined them to this course of procedure, but it was the general corruption of manners in high and low, engendered by the taking of pensions and donations from foreign princes, and the baneful participation in mercenary warfare.[[13]](#footnote-13) It was because the preaching of the pure Word of Cod revealed this corruption in light, and rebuked it with godly seriousness; it was because the Reformers sought to dry up the sources of it by the total prohibition of foreign pensions, and of mercenary warfare, that the leaders of the people were animated with such bitter hostility to the Reformation in the old cantons.

In the opinion of the Reformer, the Protestant towns had not only the right, but the duty was imposed upon them of inter­fering to prevent these crying evils, and of compelling “The Five Places,” even with force of arms, to abolish the pensions and mercenary wars, by which their native country was brought to the verge of destruction, to permit within their territories the free preaching of the Word of God, which is given to all men for salvation, and to leave faith in the gospel unpunished. “The Confederacy,” he writes, “is like one town or community. Now if an individual in a community in which all the citizens enjoy equal liberty and equal rights, grossly sin, the others must punish him for it, else they make themselves partakers of his sin, and God will punish them for it as well as the offender. Since, then, the procedure of “The Five Places” is so blasphemous and so ruinous to the whole honourable Confederacy, we must punish them for it, or we have to fear that we shall be extirpated with them, we, their fellow-citizens, brethren, and Confederates, being guilty with them. Let it not be objected, they have their own power, their own right, their own government; away with such an objection, when they employ their power in the suppression of the gospel, and the maltreatment of their brethren. Of the twelve tribes in Israel, each had its own princes and its own rights. But when, in the tribe of Benjamin, that monstrous iniquity was perpetrated on the Levite, Judges xix. xx., and this tribe did not punish the evil-doers, and the other tribes were remiss in interfering, God visited them all in punitive justice. The army of the twelve tribes was twice beaten by the Benjamites, and lost forty thousand men; it again slew five-and-twenty thousand Benjamites. When rude arrogance reaches such a pitch, as we see is the case in the inhabitants of ‘The Five Places,’ it cannot be otherwise tamed but by force. By mildness and indulgence, these people will just as little be amended as the wolf will be hindered by the meekness of the lamb from tearing it in pieces. Since they will neither repent nor obey God, nor listen to His Word, but, on the contrary, punish those who proclaim His Word, and those who receive it, there is no other remedy but to put them right by the strong hand.”

Zwingli’s idea was that the evangelical towns should quickly and resolutely, but according to a well-conceived plan, invade the territory of the five cantons, from different quarters at once, with their overwhelming force in artillery and men, so that these might speedily be convinced that all resistance was useless, and that it would only lead to their destruction. He thought that the prohibition of foreign pensions and of mercenary warfare, as well as the liberty to preach the Word of God, and to accept it as the directory for faith and practice, might be gained for the inhabitants of “The Five Places” by a bloodless campaign. The glowing zeal which filled the Saviour of the world, when He purified His Father’s house from the doings of covetousness with the whip of cords, inspired also the Reformer to remove the disturbers of the pure worship of God from the valleys of his native land with force, that under the preaching of the gospel, and faith in Christ, it might once more become a dwelling-place for the glory of the Most High. “We have ere this helped many a worldly lord to land and men. Let us now, in the name of God, help our Lord Jesus Christ to His sovereignty in our land. But, take up the matter boldly and in a Christian spirit.” Such was his watchword. The wretched condition which a part of his native country was in, where the good found no protection, the bad no punishment, was intolerable to him. In this dis­position of mind, he wrote to his friends in Berne, who warned him of war: “Be steadfast, and be not afraid of war; for the peace which some impress upon us is war, and the war I wish is peace. We thirst for no man’s blood, and seek no personal interest of our own; our object is to tame these upstart tyrants who rise against God and suppress His Word, and to tear their usurped power from their grasp. If this is not done, neither evangelical truth nor her heralds and followers are safe. We have no cruel thoughts; what we do is with a paternal and benevolent purpose. We wish to save some who, led away by the wicked, will perish in their ignorance. The liberty of preach­ing the gospel, and of believing in it, I should wish alone to conquer. I pray you only put confidence in me. With God’s help I shall abide worthy of it.”

While the contemptuous and offensive answers returned by “The Five Places” excited the most indignant feelings in Zurich, events immediately intervened thereon which stirred up the flame of war, already glowing strongly under the embers into a complete outburst. The pastor of a congregation in Zurich, James Kaiser,[[14]](#footnote-14) called Schlossar, had received a call to the parish of Oberkirch, in Garter, and intended to obey it in Martinmas 1529. Mean­while, he was in the habit of repairing as often as he conveniently could to Oberkirch, where the Reformation had found an entrance, to strengthen this congregation in the faith, by his preaching of the Word. Upon one of these journeys he was suddenly fallen upon in a wood near Utznach, by six men, bound and carried away to Schwyz. This infamous surprise and attack on the public highway were made at the orders of the Schwyzer gover­nors in Utznach, in obedience to the instructions sent to all officers of “The Five Places,” “to take prisoners, and deliver over to the ma­gistracy, all preachers and adherents of the new doctrine.” Zurich immediately sent a deputy to Schwyz, with an emphatic remon­strance in favour of the guiltless preacher of the Word, and the request that he should be set at liberty. Glarus, which, along with Schwyz, governed the Garter lands, demanded, in accord­ance with law and right, that the prisoner should be tried before the courts of justice in Garter. But all intervention in behalf of the unhappy prisoner was fruitless. The authorities in Schwyz condemned him as a heretic to death, by fire, which he was forth­with to suffer. The unfortunate witness for the truth, who, on hearing the sentence of death pronounced against him, was taken by surprise, exhibiting pusillanimity and weeping loudly, was soon thereafter so strengthened by the grace of God that he went joyfully to the stake, and praised the Lord Jesus Christ, in the midst of the flames, that He had deemed him worthy of dying for the sake of His holy gospel. “Tell in Zurich how he thanked us,” cried a Schwyz councillor with insulting brutality to trea­surer Edlebach, who had brought the mediation for the unhappy man. “If you had had the interests of the parsons as much at heart,” wrote the Schwyz Council to that of Zurich, “as you describe in your letter to us, you would have kept him with you, and not have left him to our people. This would have been most agreeable to us, and it would have been better for him.”

Seven days after the martyrdom of this Protestant clergyman, certain of the Reforming party brought the intelligence to Zurich from “the Free Offices” that the Unterwaldners who, on account of their support of the insurgents in the Bernese upland, had been excluded for the duration of one “office” from the govern­ment of the subject-lands, were sending a party of armed men to escort a governor to Baden. At the same time, they had sworn “to take vengeance for the burning of the idols on the Evan­gelicals.” At the same moment, Zurich learned that the Austrian officials, on the Swiss frontier, were enlisting men, and arming for an irruption. Under the impression produced by these various reports, the Zurich Council, on the 3d of June, resolved on war, and proclaimed it, in the first instance, against Schwyz. “We have received,” wrote Zurich to Schwyz, “your haughty and con­temptuous letter, and have understood it. You reproach us with not keeping the treaties; we imagine they have been better kept on our part than by you. You have persecuted or delivered up to enemies, or yourselves martyred and slain, many an honest man, because he gave God the glory, and joyfully confessed his faith. You have abused, reviled, and maltreated our people who, by God’s grace, are pious, worthy Christians, and come of an honest stock. A holy priest, resident in our town, and under our protection, you have fallen upon outside of your jurisdiction, car­ried off, and, for the Word of God’s sake, and to God’s high dis­pleasure and contempt of us, have insolently, and in defiance of law, condemned to burning. Since, therefore, we see that neither law nor justice have place among you, we resolve, for the salva­tion and maintenance of Divine truth, for His and our own honour, to punish, according to the will of God, such arrogance, violence, and evil-doing, and shall, as far as God’s grace and strength permit us, not only take vengeance for the same in act, but we shall warn you, therefore, and will thus maintain our honour. You will have it so, and have driven us to this by your violent procedure.”

Resolute and deliberate action on the part of the Zurich government testified to the fact that they were serious in this declaration of hostilities. The active force was imme­diately called out, distributed and employed, according to a well-conceived plan of war. Five hundred men, under Ulrich Stoll, marched out against “the Free Offices,” and, strengthened by a hundred Bremgarten burghers, occupied the cloister of Muri, in order to prevent the approach of the governor from Unterwalden. Four hundred men, under the command of Hans Escher, were posted at the eastern end of the Lake of Zurich, to observe Schwyz, the same number, under James Werdmueller, at Rueti, with the design of encouraging the Evangelicals of Toggenberg, Garter, and Glarus to join them. The principal body, consisting of four thousand picked warriors, fully armed, and well furnished with artillery and provisions, marched, on the first intelligence that “the Five Places” were arming in full force, and had written to Austria, on Cappel. Zwingli, armed with his halberd,[[15]](#footnote-15) rode with the main body; along with him Francis Zingg, and the Comthur Schmidt, who had been appointed by the Council field preacher. At the same time, Rudolf Lavater, governor of Kyburg, was instructed to march against Wyl with five hundred men, who were assigned to him for this purpose, to take prisoner the Abbot of Kilian,[[16]](#footnote-16) to occupy for Zurich Thurgau and Rheinthal, and to protect the frontier against Austria. With such a display of cir­cumspection and resolution, the Zurich Council acted quite in the sense of Zwingli, who, in all likelihood, had drawn out the plan of war.[[17]](#footnote-17)

Zurich justified these steps in a document which it caused to be printed. It is said in this, among other things : “It is well known to all, how ‘The Five Places’ have for years insulted, reviled, despised, injured, oppressed, and attacked us in many respects. Yet we have considered what the Lord Jesus Christ suffered for our sakes, and for God’s glory have patiently borne and submitted to these, in the hope that an amendment might take place. Measures being now, however, so plainly taken for the suppres­sion of the gospel, we will rather suffer death itself than allow a course of procedure so shameful before God and all the world to continue.” After recounting their grievances, they solemnly deny that they have taken up arms to rob, to burn, or to shed blood, but to punish the authors of the disorders and violence com­plained of in “The Five Places.” “If, however, we be met with opposition, we shall, with the help of Almighty God, stake our all upon it, and shall show to the present and future times what it is to break good faith and solemn treaties, and that the highest God’s service is to live a godly life, and to protect justice between man and man, with self-sacrifice. May the gracious Lord over­rule all, for whose glory we expose ourselves to these dangers and costs, in the hope that He will defend his own people with His power and favour, ns in the days of old.”

Courage, resolution, and a joyful readiness to shed their blood in the defence of evangelic truth and Christian order in their native land, filled the breasts of the Zurich warriors. On the evening of the 9th of June, they encamped near Cappel, and sent the next morning their declaration of war to the army of “The Five Places” assembled at Zug. This declaration, as well as the report of the setting out of the Zurich host, had caused, in inner Switzerland, the men capable of bearing arms to be summoned to their standards. Zug, which saw itself first threatened, anxiously begged for help from the other places. Volunteers hasted thither first of all, then followed the banners of Schwyz, Uri, and Unterwalden. Lucerne had marched against “the Free Offices.” Zurich wished the war begun immediately on its de­claration. Close after the departure of the trumpeter with the declaration, William Toenig, leader of the vanguard, marshalled his men for attack, and was on the point of leading them across the boundary, when the Landamman Æbli of Glarus, rode from Baar up the hill, and pressingly begged a hearing before they advanced farther. A halt was ordered, and the leaders approached the Amman to learn his request. “The Five Places,” said he, “are armed; but it is a misery to them that blood is about to be shed. I entreat you for a delay of a few hours, for I know that the messengers of our Confederates are set out from all quarters to negotiate a peace. Is a peace, by which one can live according to the gospel, not possible between those who have often stood man to man against the common foe? Honourable dear lords of Zurich, for God’s sake prevent the division and ruin of the Confederacy.” Æbli’s speech, and the respect in which he was held by many, as a friend of the gospel, and an enemy of mercenaryism, had the effect of inducing the leaders to despatch couriers to Zurich for instructions as to how they should act. But Zwingli went up to Æbli, with the words, “Godfather Amman,[[18]](#footnote-18) you will have to give answer to God for this media­tion. Because the enemy are in our power and unarmed, they give us fair words. You believe them and mediate. Afterwards, when they are armed, they will not spare us, and then there will

be none to mediate.” The Landamman replied: “My dear God­father, I trust in God that good will come of it; let us act always for the best.”

The position which Berne and some of the other allies of Zurich took up in this campaign, exercised, for the progress and result of the mediation, an influence important indeed, but alto­gether paralysing as to any thorough and honourable settlement of affairs. The Reformation had, in Berne, among the nobility, and in isolated districts among the country people, still many concealed enemies, who made their influence even secretly felt in the Council. “We are,” Haller wrote to Zwingli, “in our government as rotten as ever, and it is much to be feared that in the new election to the Great and Little Councils just approaching those who have shown themselves hostile to the Word of God will all come to the surface of the water again. Think of us only as if we could effect no good.” Thus it hap­pened that the usually so *belligerent* Berne sent one message of *peace* after another to Zurich; nay, went so far as to inculcate upon this state the lesson that “faith is not to be implanted by spears and halberds.”[[19]](#footnote-19) When Zurich had at length resolved on war, called upon the allies for aid, and Treasurer Edlebach, in commission of his government, had requested the Bernese depu­ties in Lenzburg to give orders for their force to advance into “the Free Offices,” and join the Zurich host, under Ulrich Stoll, they replied, “They had no instructions as to marching either to Zurich or Muri. If the Zurichers had begun the war without them, they might finish it without them.” Upon another press­ing summons which Zurich made in writing, and sent by depu­ties to Berne, the Great Council of the canton gave the follow­ing answer: “We pray, we remind and exhort you, that you do not overstep, with your host and banner, the boundaries of your own territory, and that you attack none. If you yourselves be first attacked, or are injured either in land or people, we shall not abandon you. We have in haste called a Diet of all the Con­federates to meet at Aarau. If ‘The Five Places’ give satisfac­tion for libels and vituperations, renounce the alliance with Austria, and punish Dr. Murner, we are inclined to peace. If you, however, or ‘the Five Places’ do not hold yourselves as we do, we shall apply force to you and them.” With this object Berne enrolled 5000 men, and sent them, under Mayor von Diessbach, an enemy of Manuel’s,[[20]](#footnote-20) to Aarau and Lenz­burg. They were joined by the auxiliaries sought by Zurich from Basle, Muehlhausen, and Biel, while the Glarners occupied Garterland, and declared themselves neutral. Three hundred well armed men from St. Gall, and twelve hundred Thurgauers marched to Cappel to strengthen the Zurichers. On the other hand, two thousand Wallisers had marched to the aid of “The Five Places.” Upon the whole the warlike force which took the field on both sides is given at 30,000 men.

As Landamman Æbli predicted, negotiators of peace soon arrived in Zurich from Appenzell, Graubund, Freiburg, and Solothurn. Even from Strasburg the town-sheriff, James Sturm, came, not alone as a messenger of peace, but also in the name of his native city, bringing the grateful intelligence to the Zurichers, “that the inhabitants of Strasburg will not suffer them to want either for money or corn, and, in case of need, would stand by them with their property and lives to the last.” The Council of Zurich answered the assembled host of warriors at Cappel, in reply to their question how they were to act in respect of Æbli i’s request, by praying them in the meantime to suspend all hostili­ties, and not to cross the frontier. “The deputies,” the Council wrote, “will be sent to the Diet for negotiating peace, because we entertain good hopes that through the mediation of pious and upright men, an honourable and godly peace will be concluded. The decision, however, rests with the army, for according to ancient practice Zurich is there where her banner waves.” For this reason the Council requested the army to forward their far­ther resolutions to the Zurich deputies at the Diet in Aarau. Zwingli, who, in the event of any fatality to himself, had com­mitted to writing a statement of the object of the war, which he intrusted to confidential men, prescribed, in name of the army, the following conditions of peace: “1. That the Word of God of the Old and New Testaments be allowed to be freely preached through the whole Confederacy, and that all alliances concluded against it be dissolved, and declared null and void; on the other hand, that none be compelled to abolish the Mass, images, and other ceremonies; for the Word of God will undoubtedly blow away such dust. 2. That through the whole Confederacy the receipt of pensions,[[21]](#footnote-21) hires, and donations from foreign masters be forbidden, and that all bind themselves to the observance of this prohibition by oath. 3. That the authors of the pension system, and the distributors of annuities or donatives in ‘the Five Places,’ be punished in person and property, on the ground that they are the originators of the present dissensions. 4. That ‘the Five Places’ bear the expenses of the war, and that Schwyz in par­ticular pay down one thousand florins to the children of the martyred Kaiser.” In his letter to the Zurich Council, with which Zwingli accompanied these conditions of peace, approved by the War Congregation, the Reformer thus expresses himself: “I am extremely anxious that the proposals in question may not be treated with levity or with carelessness. In order in some mea­sure to meet the growing corruption of the times, and to hold the godly and believing people to the Word of God, I have been compelled, both by word and deed, to press for decisive measures, but I expressed to the Council that when I began to be warlike in my sermons they might be pleased to give no heed to it, for my wish neither was war nor bloodshed, but the suppression of the pensions, and of all injustice. Now, however, that it has come, in the course of God’s providence, to an outbreak, I trust in God that it will fall out to His own glory, and to the honour of Zurich. I only fear that you may be deceived by the apologetic words and flatteries of our enemies, and induced to enter into a peace worse than war itself. When I press for harsh mea­sures, I do it solely to terrify the pensioners, that they may the sooner yield, otherwise I am very well disposed to a clemency which is with God, as I hope you are well aware. Wherefore, dear gracious lords, be courageous and firm, and so we shall, with God’s help, lift the waggon out of the ditch. Our Confederates of Berne are faithful to the principle of freedom in matters of faith, and insist that the alliance with Austria be broken off. Let us therefore boldly combat the pensioners, and we shall thus arrive at unity of faith and government, and shall have waged a better war than ever was waged. Entertain no anxiety on our account, for our men are obedient and well-behaved, friendly and faithful to one another. Some “black horses,” indeed, are an exception, for they are as black here as in Zurich. Yet they shall, by God’s grace, nowhere drag the waggon but where the honour and weal of the town of Zurich demand it. Therefore, let us occupy here our threatening warlike position, but be ye wise, brave, and steadfast, and so we shall, with God’s help, attain to unity, and conclude an honourable peace. I hope God will once more set up our Confederacy, and this He will do if you only maintain a resolute attitude against the pensions, for you see how the gospel is gaining the upper hand everywhere, but the pensions destroy everything. Wherefore be a wall of brass against this corruption.” He communicated to the leaders of the different companies instructions how to act in particular circumstances which might arise, with the same clear and com­prehensive glance, and in the same cautious spirit with which he pointed out to the Council its procedure, while the ardent zeal of an apostle glowed within his bosom. The extension of the gospel, and the implantation and cultivation of Christian morality and discipline were the objects of his heart’s desire. Whoever knows the fidelity with which Zwingli devoted his great intellectual powers and rich acquirements to the service of his Lord, will not blame him that he attempted too much, or more than a single man was able to perform. They will rather admire in him the divine wisdom, uniting in one man varied and lofty gifts for great and glorious purposes, just as on the same Swiss mountain, whose summit is clothed with perpetual snow, we see the vine blossoms blowing and the fiery wine ripening.

The business of peace was introduced at the Diet in Aarau with an extension of the truce. The deputies of “The Five Places” replied to Zurich’s grievances with whining complaints, that they were the innocent victims of persecution, who had been attacked contrary to all right. Once more Zwingli wrote to the Council: “I note well how matters stand. Now they make few speeches, pray and beg, for none can do these things better than such people. Let us only quit the field, however, and in one short month they will return and attack us. Act with vigour, I beseech you, in the first instance, do not throw away our advan­tages, and accept only an honourable peace, and one that will be fruitful of good results. For God’s sake do something brave. By my life I will not mislead you, nor yield an inch myself.” As the decision lay with the army, the umpires, to be nearer the camps, removed to Steinhausen in the canton of Zug. Here the negotiations were resumed and continued.

The army throughout its several companies was favourable to peace, on the conditions set down by Zwingli. In the camp of the Zurichers, the greatest order prevailed. Zwingli preached every day, or if not, Comthur Schmidt, or Francis Zingg, or another clergyman. There was prayer both before and after meals. Not a curse nor a quarrel was to be heard in the camp. Strumpets, who at this time followed the armies in shoals, were sent away as soon as they showed themselves. There were no dice, cards, nor any games which might occasion wrangling; but national songs were sung, and the men exercised themselves in leaping and putting the stone. Zwingli’s spirit governed the whole host, and all were animated with the desire (uni-fervent, as Berhard Weiss expresses himself,) to overcome and put down the pensioners, who had brought such mischiefs to their country. The Bernese warriors also participated in the wish that an end might be put to the nuisance of pensions: “Let any one consult your army,” said Zwingli to a Bernese officer, “I know that your people as well as ours abhor the pensioning.” Even in the camp of “The Five Places,” Landamman Æbli was often applied to and in private, by the common soldiers, to get prohibition of the pensions made an article of the peace, for many were disgusted at the overbearing manners of these upstarts, who so quickly enriched themselves at the expense of the common weal. Nor was there any animosity against the Zurichers here amongst the common men. They were in great want, while the latter had everything in abundance. Once, accordingly, a party of them crossed their outposts, that they might be taken prisoners by the Zurichers. They were taken, carried before a captain, liberally supplied with bread, and ordered to repass the frontier. One day some men from Waldstadt brought a vessel of milk, and placed it on the boundary line, calling out to the Zurichers: “We have good milk here, but nothing to break into it.” The latter then brought some bread, and so the soldiers of the two hosts eat, laughing to each other, out of the same pail. On one happening to take a piece of bread lying by his opponent, the other usually struck him, jocularly, with his spoon, saying: “You dare not cross the boundary.” The Town-Sheriff, James Sturm, of Strasburg, who was standing by, and a witness of the scene, said: “You Swiss are a strange people; although you are by the ears, you cannot forget your old friendship, and become speedily the best of friends.”

In this disposition of the warriors of both armies, there seemed every prospect of negotiating an honourable peace, such as Zwingli with all his heart desired. The majority of the captains, however, and leaders, were animated with quite another spirit. Especially in respect of the pensions, they were desirous of a very different issue to the negotiations. In the Zurich camp itself, there wore some of the leaders, (Zwingli calls them “the black horses,”) who having enriched themselves by princely largesses, ardently desired the removal in Zurich of the prohibi­tion against the pensions also; held in check by Zwingli’s power­ful influence, they were, however, obliged, for the present, to desist from their schemes. But matters wore a worse aspect among the Bernese in reference to this point, so that even Nicolas Manuel was forced to declare, at a meeting of the Zurich captains, that for Zwingli s demand, “abolition of the pensions by ‘the Five Places,’ “no support could be expected from Berne. On the other hand, the leaders of the troops of “The Five Places” found all the greater support amongst their partisans in the Zurich and Bernese camps. “It was generally known,” says Bullinger, “that the pensioners defended one another with zeal, and had rather seen the whole country brought to the verge of ruin than that a hair on the head of one of their party had been touched.” This firmly united party sought, by every means of secret intrigue and base calumny, to undermine Zwingli’s repu­tation, and to weaken his influence. “Treachery surrounds me on every side,” writes the Reformer to Ambrosius Blaarer, “and if I escape it now, I have alone to thank the Almighty for my preservation, for all the wicked have conspired against me.” He gives expression to his cares and the wishes of his heart in the following hymn, which he then composed :—

“Lord raise the ear

From out the ditch of war;

Or black as night

Will be our plight.

Our evils flow

From those that sow

Base treachery;

Who Thee despise,

And ’gainst Thee rise

Insolently.

“Lord shake off those

That are Thy foes;

But Thine own sheep,

Guide Thou from off the steep

To pastures wide;

Within Thy fold may they abide,

Who Thy laws keep.

“Ordain that wrath

No longer burn;

That we to truth’s old path

Again return.

These armies then shall raise

United praise,

And ever sing

To Thee Eternal King.”

It has been erroneously stated by some of Zwingli’s biographers, that the Reformer composed this hymn *after* the peace of Cappel. Bullinger distinctly mentions that it was composed while the negotiations were going on. He set the hymn to music, as well as those we have already communicated; and it was sung and played in princely courts, and in towns far and near.

The unwearied efforts of the negotiators were crowned with success; and a treaty of peace was drawn up, which was accepted and signed by the leaders of the army, on the 24th of June 1530. The chief points in it were: “As faith cannot be implanted by force, no compulsion shall be exercised against ‘The Five Places’ and their people in this respect. Neither party shall attack or punish the other on account of their faith. In the common lordships, those who abolished the Mass, removed or burned the images, shall not be punished. In future, the majority shall decide as to the abolition or retention of the Mass, and other rites. There shall be no insolent individuals sent, none but men of honour and integrity shall be into these lordships. The alliance with Austria having been concluded solely on the ground of religion, it shall be dissolved, and the papers cancelled. All maledictions and invectives on either side are forbidden, and will be punished. ‘The Five Places’ pay the war-costs, according to an estimate to be made by the negotiators, and Schwyz gives a compensation to the children of Kaiser, the pastor who was burned. If ‘The Five Places refuse to pay the war-expenses, the towns may close their markets against them. It is recommended to ‘The Five Places’ to abolish the pensions and mercenary service.”

The impression made upon the two parties by this peace was very different. Berne hailed it with enthusiastic acclamations, and Zurich, too, celebrated its festivities of joy, as the army returned within the walls of the town, without having shed a drop of blood; “The Five Places” quitted the field, embittered, and in no respect improved. Zwingli was not unconscious of the important results obtained by the bloodless campaign. In this sense, he wrote to Conrad Sam, pastor at Ulm, 30th June: “We have brought home with us a peace, which is, as I hope, honourable; for we have not marched out to shed blood. Not­withstanding, we have sent our adversaries home with a wet cloth about them. First of all, let me tell you that their letter of alliance with Austria was cut in pieces before my eyes by Landammann Æbli. Greet for me all believers. God has again shown that the lofty ones of this earth can accomplish nothing against Him.” Another feeling, however, oppressed him, when he thought of the intrigues and profligacy of the pensioners, which had made themselves felt in an important degree in this expedition. “He was wont,” as Myconius informs us, to say, “he had encountered in this campaign more baseness of heart and intriguing than he had ever met with in his personal experience during his whole life, or had ever read of.” In his eyes, it appeared that to have roused these wicked and profligate men without taking from them their sting, was a signal blunder which Zurich would yet bitterly bewail. Looking at the peace from this point of view, he expressed himself thus in one of his sermons: “*The peace of Cappel will have this result, that we shall not long have to fold our hands idly over our heads.*”

3. Zwingli’s Reforming Labours in the latter years of his Life.

Much as the cause of civil liberty, and a better ordering of the social relations of his native country, occupied Zwingli in the later years of his life, he yet never for a moment lost sight of the grand work he had to perform, as minister of the gospel, and theologian. Were we only acquainted with the fact that, from 1529 till the summer of 1531, he composed and published his two Commentaries on the Prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah, his profound Treatise on the Providence of God, and the two Confes­sions of Faith, addressed to Charles V, and Francis I., we should have every reason to admire his zeal and faithfulness in the study of the sacred record, in unfolding the Divine truths contained within its pages, and pressing them on the heart and conscience of the church and the world. But we know also that he never ceased his activity, up to the last hours of his life, in the spread of the Reformation to distant lands, and in the introduction and administration of evangelical order and discipline within the Reformed Church of his own. From Zurich as a centre the gos­pel continued to add to the number of its adherents, especially after freedom of conscience had been guaranteed by the peace of Cappel. In the wealthy cloister of Wettingen on the Limmat, which, on account of its vicinity to Zurich, lay more than any other within the influence of the powerful current of the Refor­mation, the Abbot George Mueller, and the whole cloister, with the exception of two monks, proclaimed their acceptance of the

gospel. They shaved one the other their beards, changed the dress of their order for the costume of the country, listened devoutly to the sermons which Sebastian Bertli of Zurich delivered to them, and shortly thereafter they proclaimed the gospel them­selves, and sang German Psalms. The cloister ceased to be a house of gambling, drunkenness, and debauchery; it was soon after turned into a school.

The Comthur, Albrecht von Muelinen, in Hitzkirch, mentions to Zwingli, on the 3d August, that the good people there had resolved a second time, with a majority, that they would alone hear the preaching of the pure Word of God, of the Old and New Testaments, without any addition, and begged the Reformer to send them an evangelical preacher. Here likewise the Reformation found an entrance in spite of the threats of Lucerne. In the Italian Provinces also, beyond the Alps, a better day appeared to be dawning since 1530. James Werd­mueller was sent by the government of Zurich, in the exercise of their rights, as governor to Locarno, with instructions “to act in a Christian spirit, and, in regard to the Word of God, to observe the orders given.” He found a Carmelite monk in Locarno, who read much in the New Testament, and who from henceforth resolved only to preach from Paul’s Epistles. Werdmueller put Zwingli’s writings into his hands, and had reason to hope that, with the aid of this monk, he would gain the whole bailiwick to the gospel. A Papistical historian of the time describes the activity of Zwingli and his friends in the following words: “A set of wretched disturbers of the peace burst into the Five cantons, and murdered souls, by spreading abroad their songs, tracts, and little testaments, telling the people they might learn the truth itself from these, and one did not require any more to believe what the priests said.”

Some scattered signs, favourable to the Reformation among the people of “The Five Places,” induced Zwingli once more to make a resolute attack upon the stronghold of the papacy in old Swit­zerland, and, if possible, to carry evangelical truth here to victory. To this end the principal ministers of Zurich, Berne, Basle, and Strasburg, assembled in Zwingli’s house, at Zurich, on the 5th September 1530, and resolved to address a letter, drawn up by Zwingli, and signed by all present, to all the Councils and con­gregations in question, in which, among other things, it is said: “You know, pious, gracious, and dear sirs, how, by union, small things become great, and how, by dissension, all things go to wreck and ruin. Discord and strife arise from selfishness, which itself is a native propensity of the human heart, and which is only then extinguished within us, when God, by His Word and Spirit, implants in our souls love to the commonwealth. Therefore, gracious and dearly beloved sirs, despise not our petition, but let the Word of God be freely preached among you, and let God walk among you. Your godly ancestors have never set them­selves above the Word of God, nor forbidden their pastors to preach the same, nor commanded them to teach to the people the Popish inventions of purgatory, image-worship, and absolution, as is now done. By these means, however, poor souls are turned from the true well of salvation, from the living God, and from the mercy vouchsafed to us in Christ, to a service highly displeas­ing to God, and to hopes that afford us no comfort in the hour of trial. O! then, let the Word of God be freely preached, and direct your walk and conversation according to its Divine pre­cepts, as your forefathers have done; then will union and strength flourish again amongst us. Two drops of silver unite as soon as that which separates them is removed. Remove you too, then, that which divides us and our towns, namely, the prohibition of God’s Holy Word; then the Almighty will make us one as our fathers were one. Then your native country will be as of yore, an asylum for all the persecuted saints, and, when you have finished your journey through this vale of tears, a terror to evil-doers, but the hope of believers, you will receive the crown of everlasting joy as your portion. Herewith we commend you to God, and may He be pleased, ever more and more, to make His will known to us, and conform us to it.” This letter, although it was read to the deputies of “The Five Places,” at a Diet in Baden, remained, like many a former attempt, destitute of all result.

With the same apostolic zeal with which our Reformer laboured for the wider extension of evangelic truth, he directed his efforts to the erection of Synodal assemblies, which he himself attended, for the farther *development and regulation* of the new church. Towards the end of autumn 1529, a meeting of five hundred clergymen took place at Frauenfeld, at which individual clergy­men were subjected by Zwingli to a strict examination into their walk and conversation, in order, by a majority of the Synod, to remove unworthy or incapable pastors, who, for the most part, had got in through the Papistical Church, and to put tried men in their places. The Reformer returned to Zurich over Constance and Steine on the Rhine, at both which places he preached. A second Synod, which met likewise at Frauenfeld, on the 17th May 1530, was held, with the object of securing to the ministers fixed and competent salaries, as had already been done in Zurich. On the 18th December 1530, the Reformer attended a Synod at St. Gall, over whose deliberations he had been called upon to preside. Here the matter of church-discipline and excommunica­tion came to a discussion, in which Zwingli’s principles, as they have been already detailed by us, gained the supremacy, the Christian magistracy being exhorted to punish vice, and to remove scandals. For Thurgau, where, as we know, governors from “The Five Places” alternately exercised the supreme power, twelve superintendents were named, who, as a highest court of morals, were appointed and authorised to punish sins and crimes that caused scandal, and gave public offence. At St. Gall, too, Zwin­gli preached in the Cathedral to a very numerous congregation. The people afterwards collected under his windows, and, by singing and instrumental music, testified their love and esteem for him. In April 1531, Zwingli received a call to his native vale of Toggenburg, there, at a Synod in Lichtensteig, also to prove and arrange ecclesiastical matters. In his native valley, as every­where else, he was greeted with a reception full at once of hearti­ness, enthusiasm, and veneration.

In Zurich, Zwingli’s Reforming labours were specially directed, in the latter years of his life, to a transformation of social relations to a conformity with the demands of God’s Word. The Council also deciding in ecclesiastical matters, justice required that no enemy of the Church of Christ should hold the office of Council­lor. There being, however, declared enemies of the Reformation in this body, Zwingli seized the opportunity of a sermon, which he preached on the sixtieth chapter of Isaiah, of urging the necessity for the removal of unbelieving members from the Coun­cil. The effect of this sermon was, that, first of all, the members of the Great Council had to make a declaration of their faith before the guilds, and to give a promise of attendance on the preaching of the Word, and participation in the Sacrament, according to the evangelical mode of dispensation; next, that the Little Council had to exercise the like personal discipline over its members. Councillors who refused to tender the above promise were excluded from office, while, from the nobility to which the greater number of members hostile to the Reformation belonged, the privilege was withdrawn of electing from its body a larger number of Councillors than another guild. These measures were directed chiefly against the aristocracy of the town; the burghers, however, were also made to feel, under Zwingli’s influence, the effects of the gospel in checking abuses. In 1530, a great scarcity prevailed in Zurich, and in the whole of Switzerland. At this time the inhabitants of Strasburg gave a fine testimony of their Chris­tian sympathy with this town, by sending a considerable present of corn, by which cheap bread was obtained for many of the poor. The bakers and millers presented a very unfortunate contrast to this generous liberality of strangers. They made use of the scarcity to enrich themselves by shortening the weight, and thereby gave occasion to a general complaint among the citizens. Zwingli, in whose eye avarice and usury were the most hateful vices, zealously bestirred himself against this robbery, and called upon the Council to put an end to it. The Council immediately took the necessary steps to check it; they opened several of the public granaries, and from this time forward corn was ground, and bread baked, under its official superintendence. Frauds by mil­lers and bakers were rigorously punished by imprisonment, or heavy fines. Usury was visited with still greater severity. Squire Conrad von Ruemlang, who had been on several occasions con­victed of this offence, was condemned to death, and beheaded.

The serious and earnest spirit in which Zwingli impressed upon the magistracy the duty of punishing dishonesty and usury, reminds us of Peter’s zeal against Ananias. Necessary, however, as this severity was for the protection of Christian order in the State, it did not fail to draw after it much hatred and crimina­tion of the Reformer; for Bullinger observes, “that, from time immemorial, the preachers of the Word of God who reprove injustice have been more hated and blamed than those who com­mit injustice.” We shall soon see the bitter fruits of that enmity and hatred which Zwingli earned for his Christian faithfulness and love, by taking up the thread of the narrative at another point, and carrying it forward to its sad close.

4. Origin and Close of the Second Cappel War; Zwingli’s Death.

Zwingli’s gloomy forebodings as to the consequences of the peace concluded at Cappel soon proved to be but too well founded. “The Five Places” had left the field with animosity burning in their bosoms, and renewed in their own homes the oath to continue steadfast to the faith of their fathers, and to visit apostasy from it with vengeance. The interpretation they gave to the treaty of peace was directly the reverse of that put upon it by the evangelical towns. Holding resolutely to the article, that none should compel *them* to abandon their faith, they, on their part, refused to grant the same freedom to the Evange­licals. In the common lordships, the majority of the reigning places should, in their view, decide also in questions of faith, and not the majority of the burghers of each commune, as the evan­gelical towns with right demanded. In respect of the war expenses, which “The Five Places” were to repay to the evan­gelical towns, differences of opinion prevailing, the men who had negotiated and drawn out the treaty of peace were called together to decide both questions in dispute. Berne desired that the war expenses should be first settled; Zurich, that religious liberty should be first of all secured. “We hold,” said the Zurich depu­ties, according to the instructions given them, “that the honour of God and the gospel should be first of all cared for, and that the article regarding liberty of faith, for the sake of the poor pri­soners, whom we ought, from Christian brotherly love, to rescue, should be carried out in all its extent, and with all our power, and that, in reference to the costs, we should show ourselves more conceding, that it may be seen we are not seeking our own interests, but the glory of God first of all.” Berne now joining in the demand made by Zurich that the Word of God must also be permitted to be freely preached and read in the territory of “The Five Places,” the Landamman at Baechi, in Schwyz, declared: “They would so hold themselves, in respect of the Word of God, and other things, that the towns should be perfectly satisfied; only that no farther demands were to be made upon them than the present one in respect of the faith.” The umpires held to this declaration, and expressed their hope “that ‘The Five Places’ would come up to it, and satisfy justice, and so act as it beseemed pious, honourable, and God-fearing men to act.” In the event, however, of this not being done, *the towns would be justified in closing their markets against them, and in shutting out all sup­plies of provisions.*

The Landamman of Baechi had, indeed, expressed the sen­timents of many upright men in “The Five Places,” but in the communes, and otherwise in public, men of another stamp took the lead. The profligate pensioners, with a host of savage and corrupt mercenaries at their backs, succeeded everywhere by bullying and force in carrying out their objects. Thus it was resolved at Schwyz, August 1529, at a public meeting, presided over by Landamman Rychmuth,[[22]](#footnote-22) that every one might insult the Evangelicals at pleasure, and trick themselves out with fir-boughs, (the sign of a challenge). The same party had the ascendancy in Zug, Lucerne, and Unterwalden. They continued, in spite of the articles of the treaty, to pour forth against the Evangelicals, but especially against Zwingli, and the people of Zurich, a torrent of invectives and abusive libels, such as only the vilest and most corrupt minds could invent and utter, nay, they even proceeded to acts of violence, so that the few families in Schwyz and Zug that were devoted to the Reformation, were forced to leave these cantons. These proceedings were, indeed, disapproved of by many in “The Five Places,” as a declaration of the deputies of Uri, at a separate Diet, held in Brunnen, proves, when they say: “That in many places improper language has been held, and party badges carried, all which things are dangerous to the peace of the land. If war should arise from such doings, their help could not be counted on but this remonstrance produced no improvement.

The party of the mercenaries in “The Five Places” entertained fresh hopes from the Diet, to be held by Charles V., at Augsburg, in the summer of 1530. They accordingly despatched an embassage thither, which made its appearance at the Diet with great pomp, and was received by Charles with marked distinc­tion. If it cannot be proved that the Emperor himself gave them assurances of help and support, it is beyond all doubt that the bitterest enemies of the Reformation and of Zwingli, such as Eck, Faber, and the Pope’s Legate, did not withhold from the ambassadors of “The Five Places” “a good word.” The Austrian officials, too, towards the frontier, such as Martius Sittich of Ems, and the Earl of Sulz, maintained with them a very confidential intercourse. The language of the mercenary party of “The Five Places” was accordingly bolder in the sequel. They said: “They had had a march stolen upon them in the peace of Cappel, and had been curtailed in their liberties. Therefore they would not rest till they had regained their old freedom.” Landamman Rychmuth declared to his countrymen, at a meeting of the people: “Let them be only bold and intrepid; the letter of alliance with Austria, which they were obliged to give up at Cappel, would be again renewed by King Ferdinand whenever they desired it.”

The ever-increasing embarrassments in reference to the cloister of St. Gall, contributed not a little to fan the flame of hostility into an outbreak of war. The Abbot German, who had been obliged to flee the country, also appeared before the Emperor at Augsburg, praying for help that he might be reinstated in his rights and dignity. He was assured of support through Martius Sittich, and the Archbishop of Constance; however, in his return- journey from Augsburg, the abbot was drowned in the neigh­bourhood of Bregenz. The monks who had remained true to him, and who lived at Einsiedeln, under the protection of the government of Schwyz, hastened to elect a successor in Diethelm Blaarer of Wartensee. On the other hand, Zurich and Glarus availed themselves of the death of the Abbot Kilian, to dissolve the cloister entirely. Previously to this, a decree had been pub­lished by these two cantons, according to which the lieutenant of the district for the time being, was required to swear an oath, before entering on his office, that he would *be favourable* to the Word of God, and *protect* it. The monastery of the town of St. Gall was now sold; the jewels and ornaments still remaining were applied to the benefit of the poor; and the Toggenburgers were allowed to redeem their fealty. Although Zurich drew no particular advantage from these measures, it certainly overstepped the jurisdiction it possessed as protecting Canton. But after­wards, in the autumn of 1530, when the demand was made to the Lucerne lieutenant to swear to the decree above-mentioned, before entering on his office, and when, upon his refusal, the Zurich lieutenant Frei continued to conduct the official business after the period of his office had expired, “The Five Places” raised loud and bitter complaints against Zurich’s autocratic proceedings in these respects. About the same time, the Unterwald governor Kretz, in Rheinthal, was obliged to flee before his indignant subjects, having excited their fury by the gross licentiousness of his life, and the flagrant neglect of his duties. In vain did the Rheinthalers turn to the government of Unterwald with the prayer that they would replace the faithless and hated official by a man of honour and integrity. Instead of this, a deputation of “The Five Places” came with the intention of reinstating the banished lieutenant in his office; the latter was seized, taken prisoner by the incensed populace, and carried in safe custody to Altstatt. Although the inhabitants of Zurich took no part in these acts of self-help, they were nevertheless accused of it by “The Five Places,” the Rheinthalers belonging to the Reformed party.

At a Diet held January 1531, at Baden, the deputies of “The Five Places” made loud complaints against Zurich’s self- constituted and capriciously exercised authority. While the Zurich deputies repelled the reproaches made against their canton, they accused “The Five Places” themselves of violation of the treaty, inasmuch as the Evangelicals, instead of finding protection within their borders, were exposed to the grossest injustice. At the request of Zurich, a new Diet was summoned for March 1531. At this Diet, the Zurich deputy read a long list of insults and injuries perpetrated on the Evangelicals, on the part of “The Five Places;” the doers were named, and time and place exactly given, that “The Five Places” might have the less excuse for declining Zurich’s requisition, that the guilty should be visited with due punishment. “With an indifferent, cold, coloured apology, invented with all duplicity, and destitute of all show of truth,” as the Zurich narrator says, the deputies of “The Five Places” attempted in vain to clear themselves of the accusations laid to their charge. During the discussion of these matters, deputies appeared from Graubund at the Diet, with a petition, praying all the Confederates for help against the Castellan of Musso, who had surprised and murdered a Grau­bund deputation, on their return-journey from Milan, and had now made an inroad into Veltlin, with troops put at his disposal by the Emperor. Indignation seized the Confederate deputies at the insolent violation of the law of nations by the audacious adventurer; the delegates of “The Five Places,” however, remained cold and insensible, and could scarcely conceal the mischievous joy they felt at the misfortunes of the Protestant Graubunders. All the other cantons and towns were ready to render instant assistance to their oppressed allies;[[23]](#footnote-23) but “The Five Places” refused, under the cover of some empty excuses. The Reformers saw in the audacious proceeding of the Castellan of Musso the first step towards the suppression of evangelical truth contemplated by the banded papal Imperial party, which had leagued together for this object, while the words and deeds of the chief men in “The Five Places” were by no means cal­culated to teach them another lesson. “Our lord of Musso,” they said, “is a good Christian, and therefore the Zurichers and Graubunders levy war upon him. If ‘The Five Places’ were to render aid here, it would be to change a good friend into an enemy.” At the same time, they hectored about the favour of the Emperor, and other foreign princes. “Every week,” said the mayor Honegger, “publicly, the lords of ‘The Five Places’ receive letters from the Emperor, exhorting them to do nothing against the lord of Musso, but to remain at home.”

Such seditious proceedings, carried on with a rude insolence, and boasted of with the most shameless audacity, could no longer be passed over with impunity by the Protestant Confederates, unless they were to expose themselves to supreme contempt. None, perhaps, recognising more clearly than Zwingli the dangers impending the Reformed doctrine and Christian order from this audacious party in “The Five Places,” which formed a part of the great papal Imperial league, he strongly inculcated the duty of repressing them, and holding them in check. In order duly to appreciate the counsels and the zeal of the Reformer in this regard, it is necessary to contemplate these in the light of the principles that guided him, and that grand design which animated and inspired him in all his efforts during his whole life. He assumed that God has given His Word to all men for salvation, even as He causes His sun to arise equally upon the just and unjust; he claimed, then, on the ground of a divine right, that it should be freely read and preached. To this he joined the demand, in the first instance, for his native country, to which he was devoted with peculiar affection, that all the relations of life and manners, as well as of public justice, must be renewed and recast, in conformity with the principles laid down in the Word of God. Every barrier which interposed itself to the free preaching of the inspired record, or which limited the freedom of faith and of conscience, must fall before the power of an economy constructed on the basis of God’s message to sinful man. Breathing the spirit of an Old Testament prophet, Zwingli recognised, *in the divine Word* alone, the directory for his actions, and would rather have sacrificed his life than yielded an iota to any authority which set itself up against God and His Word. He opens up to us a glance into his inmost soul, in an observa­tion which he makes, and which he set down in writing, about this time, upon the thirty-eighth chapter of Jeremiah. Upon the words which the prophet proclaims in the name of the Lord: “Thus saith the Lord, He that remaineth in this city shall die by the sword, by the famine, and by the pestilence: but he that goeth forth to the Chaldeans shall live; for he shall have his life for a prey, and shall live,” Zwingli remarks: “We must here well consider that higher necessity imposed upon the prophets. Is it not downright treachery to counsel that those who desire to save themselves should pass over to the enemy? Could treachery be more plainly expressed than it is in these very words? When, indeed, God enjoins us to do anything contrary to general opinion, when He lays some command upon us to do what human laws rightly forbid and menace with punishment, then we find our­selves apparently betwixt the door and its hinges. But the man that fears God does not concern himself about the threats of the world. To advance the counsel of God, whatever may happen to himself, this is his duty. A carrier, who has a long journey to perform, must lay his account that both team and harness will be worn out, but yet he brings the goods he has undertaken to convey to their destination. We are God’s team and harness. All is knocked up, worn out, in bad order, but yet our heavenly leader accomplishes his holy purposes. Therefore, let not con­flicts and trials dismay us; for through them that result is obtained which God desires. If we are not permitted to behold the happy issue of events, we have but the fate of heroes in war. They win the most glorious victories who bear the heat of battle, or who fall in the thick of it, and, in either case, are very different from mere spectators. Courage, then! even although we must encounter many sufferings and dangers in the renovation of the Christian Church, and the reconstruction of a right Christian economy, and may not outlive the success of our efforts. The Judge sees us, and crowns us after the battle. Our brethren enjoy the fruits of our sufferings, while we in heaven partake of an ever­lasting reward.”

Thus Zwingli found himself called by God to contend for, and to secure to all Christians, the free preaching of the Word of God, and the rights of conscience, and to set up in Switzerland a Christian economy in Church and State, according to the directory of the Word of God. Now, he found, “that,” as he expressed himself in one of his sermons, as reported by Bullinger, “the pensioners were the greatest obstacle in the way of all good. Zurich owes it to the Confederacy to insist that disgraceful insults, breach of faith, and tyranny, meet with due punishment, and to lend their aid in preventing pious and innocent people from being relentlessly expelled from their homes, in defiance of the prescriptions of treaty, and all the principles of justice.”

In Zwingli’s opinion, there were only two methods of humbling the party devoted to mercenary service and foreign pay. The first, which appeared to him the most expedient and efficient, was an invasion of the territory of “The Five Places,” by means of an overwhelming force, such as might be raised by the towns, with the declaration that their only object was to punish the pensioners, and to secure the free reading and preaching of the Word of God, without disturbing anyone in the exercise either of his rights or in his faith. In this manner, he hoped to attain the object in view without much difficulty. The second method, which he intended to recommend in the event of the first not being approved of, was to dissolve the Confederacy, in respect of “The Five Places,” and to divide the common lordships accord­ing to the population. By this measure, Zwingli thought to defend, at least, the territory of the Evangelical cantons, as well as the greater part of the common lordships, from the acts of violence and corrupting influences of the pensioners. The government of Zurich was disposed to *a warlike invasion;* and so early as the 12th May 1531, the matter had been discussed at the Burgher Diet in Aarau.

The opinions of the Bernese were to this effect: The conduct of the Wald towns, in respect of the Word of God, undoubtedly justified an armed intervention; yet the powerful connections which “The Five Places” maintained, could not be overlooked, as well as the fact that the inhabitants were intrepid and bold warriors. The prevailing famine, too, the general destitution, and the approaching harvest, which would be destroyed by a campaign, ought not to be disregarded. In this way, the innocent would be punished with the guilty by the war, which would be an act of great injustice. They, on the other hand, proposed to close their markets against “The Five Cantons,” and to permit neither corn nor wine, salt, iron, nor steel to be imported amongst them, until they should allow the Word of God to be freely read and preached, both in the common lordships, and in their own territories, and until they shall punish the shameless libellers and calumniators of the Evangelical party. This measure, they said, was in accordance with the decision of the umpires, and would have the effect of stimulating the well-meaning and honourable part of the inhabitants to act against the pensioners, so that the latter would be compelled to desist from their violent and iniquitous courses.

Zurich, under Zwingli’s influence, gave this proposal a deter­mined opposition. “It was unwise, since the advantages already gained were thereby sacrificed, and time was given to ‘The Five Places’ to arm, nay, they were actually compelling them to arm and fight. Since their good friends in ‘The Five Places’ were just as much affected by the embargo as the pensioners, they would thereby be transformed into enemies, and forced to go with the crowd. A just war is not contrary to the Word of God, but it is contrary to the Spirit of this Word to deprive the innocent as well as the guilty of bread, and to send the evils of famine among the sick, the old, and women great with child, who had already enough to suffer under the tyrannous government of the pensioners.” These remonstrances of Zurich were frustrated by the general support which Berne’s proposal met with from the rest of the Burgher-towns, so that at length the Zurich govern­ment was forced to yield “with pain and sorrow, and only out of respect for its allies.” Accordingly, it was passed into a resolu­tion, 15th May. This result grieved none more than Zwingli. After the announcement had been read upon the following Sun­day, which was Pentecost, from the pulpit, according to an old Swiss custom, Zwingli interwove in his discourse the following observations upon it: “He who does not hesitate to treat his opponent like a criminal must take the consequences; if he does not strike, he himself will be struck. Ye men of Zurich refuse ‘The Five Places’ meat and drink as though they were criminals; rather, I say, let the blow follow your threats at once than that the poor innocent people among them should be put to the slow process of starvation. Are you of opinion that no sufficient ground exists for their punishment? Why, then, do you refuse them meat and drink? Depend upon it you force them, by such measures, to take up arms, to march over the frontier, and to punish yourselves. And so it will be.” These words made a different impression upon different auditors. Some looked upon them as seditious; others regarded them as a new proof of the faithful concern of the Reformer for the weal of his afflicted country.

The embargo being once resolved upon and proclaimed to the Wald towns by Berne and Zurich, whose territory bordered on the other, it was administered by Zurich with all stringency. Even the inhabitants of the districts governed conjunctly by these towns and ‘The Five Places’ were forbidden to bring provisions to their own rulers, a measure which appeared, even to some of the Evangelicals, to be too great a stretch of severity. One cry of indignation and despair resounded from the valleys and moun­tains of inner Switzerland. A scanty harvest had already raised the prices of all provisions, a plague, the English sweat, spread terror and misery everywhere, and now their own Confederates would sharpen these sufferings by the embargo. The guiltless children, the pregnant women and the sick were now to be deprived of the bread and the wine necessary for their aliment and sustentation; even the flocks, the care of which lies so near the heart of a pastoral people, were to want the necessary salt. The complaints of ‘The Five Places’ found an ominous echo in the common lordships, and even in Berne and Zurich. It is unchristian, said many, and contrary to the Word of God. Paul writes: “If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink; for in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head.” But you prevent that from reaching the guilty and the innocent together, which God gives freely to all for their support and nourishment. This disposition was everywhere turned by the mercenary party to advantage with great address. Not only did all the inhabitants of ‘The Five Places’ stand by this party as *one* man, but in Italy, at their cry for help, troops were enlisted by the Papal Nuncio, while Wallis armed to spring to the aid of her co-religionists in their extremity. All games, dances, and other amusements, were, during this time of trial, prohibited in the Wald towns, while general devotions, and pilgrimages to Einsiedeln, and other sanctuaries, were ordained. At the same time it was run to arms to open the passes sword in hand.

If the embargo on provisions re-established union in ‘The Five Places, and led to vigorous and decided action, it operated, especially in Zurich, like some sharp and disorganizing poison. Party spirit rose to the ascendant in an ominous manner, while vigorous action was everywhere more and more paralyzed. In this morbid disposition of the public mind, it is not to be wondered at that the man who, during the last eleven years, had carried Zurich on along a path, dangerous and precipitous indeed, to a high and glorious object, by the inspiration of his own daring enthusiasm and lofty spirit, should have now sunk in the gene­ral esteem; but we are oppressed with a feeling of disgust when we see him made responsible for a measure which he opposed with all his might. He was represented to the angry populace as the sole author of the civil war—as the cause of all the misery—as a demagoguish leveller and overturner of old and long-established rights—as a tyrant like a Landenberg and a Gessler. The burgher was made to believe that he sought the favour of the peasants, to reduce, with their assistance, the power of the towns; the peasant who, in the present state of affairs, saw his cabin, his unprotected property, the lives and fortunes of his family in continual peril, was given to understand that he alone stood in the way of a peace with “The Five Places.” Dissimulation, mistrust, and dissension increased even in the Council.[[24]](#footnote-24) The nobility, the millers and the bakers, whose interests suffered by the measures which had been adopted, raised—in union with the partisans of the pensioners, and the relatives of the monks, who, from their nonconformity to the Reformed order of things, had been forced to leave the Cantons—one unanimous voice of condemnation against the Reformer. With profound grief, Zwingli saw himself paralyzed in his effi­ciency, and his work exposed to the highest danger.

In this disposition of the public mind, Zwingli appeared before the Council on the 26th July, and said with deep emotion: “For eleven years I have preached the Gospel among you, and warned you in a paternal and faithful spirit of the dangers which would threaten the Confederacy, if ‘The Five Places,’ that is to say, the party which lives by pensions and mercenary service, should gain the upper hand. All that I said has been of no avail; and even now, you elect to your Council men who covet this blood-money. Such men are, however, the best friends of ‘The Five Places,’ and the most dangerous enemies of the Gospel. You will not obey the truth, and yet you will make me responsible for all the mischief. I therefore desire my dismissal, and will look out for some other means of supporting myself.” With tears in his eyes, he took his departure.

The Council was overwhelmed by this speech; the feeling that with the departure of Zwingli a great calamity impended Church and State, impressed all the members of the assembly. They commissioned the two burgomasters, along with the most esteemed friends of the Reformer, to hold an interview with him, and to endeavour to dissuade him from his purpose. After three days which he took for deliberation, Zwingli appeared again before the Council, and said: “As they had promised amend­ment, he would remain with them, and would do bis best, *till death itself,* with God’s grace.” For a moment, Zurich appeared to summon up her energies again to resolute action; but soon the blighting effects of party spirit re-appeared with new force, while “The Five Places” gave still plainer intimations of their determination to compel the removal of the embargo by force of arms.

Great exertions, indeed, were made by the deputies of those places in Switzerland, to which faction had not spread its bale­ful influence, and by the ambassadors of France, Milan, and Neuenburg, for the maintenance of peace, and for bringing about an amicable, settlement of existing differences. Six diets, one after another, were held, with this object, in Bremgarten; but the demands of both the parties were so opposed to each other, that it was impossible to mediate. The deputies of “The Five Places” required, as a preliminary step to the entering on any negotiation, the removal of the embargo in the first instance; Zurich and Berne, on the other hand, demanded that the reading and preaching of the Word of God should be declared free, not only in the common lordships, but in the whole of Switzerland; for, said they, it is more cruel to deprive hungry souls of the bread of life, than to lay an arrest on mere victuals for the body. Zwingli, although personally he was ready to lay down his life for his convictions, beheld with a deep anxiety for the cause of the Gospel, that the embarrassments of their situation, and the dangers to which they were exposed daily increased. An open rupture still appeared to him less disastrous for the Evangelical towns than longer inactivity. During the time that the diets were held in Bremgarten, he took advantage of the darkness of night to repair to this place, in order to discuss with the Ber­nese deputies the critical situation of the Reformed party. The interview took place in Bullinger’s house, and the substance of what passed is communicated to us by him. Zwingli said: “I fear that matters will have a bad ending from the treachery that prevails. The embargo laid on provisions was a very inauspi­cious measure for the towns. If it be given up, the party of the mercenaries will only be rendered more arrogant; if it be per­sisted in, “the Five Places” will invade us, will involve many in ruin, will bring loss to the Church of Christ, and will throw all into anarchy. Nay, it is much to be feared that the inhabit­ants of “The Five Places” will only be rendered more inveterate in their hatred of the Gospel by these measures, and not so quickly come to the knowledge of salvation. We shall again have to suffer from the opposition of Popish priests, &c.” The Bernese delegates promised to do their utmost to induce their government to adopt a decided course of action. Before day­break, Zwingli left Bremgarten with his friends, that it might not be known to the delegates of “The Five Places, that he had been in the town.” Bullinger convoyed him part of the way homewards. Upon his desiring to return, Zwingli took farewell of him three times, boding that he would never more see him. “God preserve thee, dear Henry, remain faithful to the Lord Jesus and His Church,” were his last words, which, in the spirit of prophecy, he addressed to his worthy successor Bullinger.

In external nature, things took place which filled the minds of men, already oppressed with a painful sense of the dangers impending on their country, with gloomy apprehensions. A comet of unusual size was visible in the heavens in the August of this year. Zwingli, too, contemplated it on the night of the 15th August, with his friend, George Mueller, the former Abbot of Wettingen, in the churchyard close by the great Minster. “What may this star signify, dear Huldreich?” inquired Mueller. “It will light me,” replied Zwingli, “and many an honest man in this Confederacy, who would willingly see truth and right victorious, to our graves.” “With God’s grace, No!” said Mueller, “God will not let such a catastrophe happen.” “He will,” rejoined Zwingli, “He will, for a confirmation of His truth. But if the rod begin at the house of God, then woe to the enemies of the Gospel. Yet God will maintain His cause, although it came so low that it is believed to be in ruins. I trust the cause itself; it is right and good; but I trust the people as little as I can. Our only comfort is in God.” It was reported to Zwingli by a Bernese official, that in the neighbourhood of Brugg, in Aargau, blood had flowed out of the earth in streams. Another said, that a shield had been seen in the air in Zug, and that shooting by night was heard in the Reuss. Upon the Bruenig, standards were seen flapping in the heavens, and ships were seen cruising about on the Lake of Lucerne, filled with ghostly war­riors. Everything announced direful events to gloomy minds. Zwingli, for his part, saw the plainest omens of coming disasters to his church and country in the general dislocation of counsel which prevailed among the Evangelicals, in the growing power and audacity of the mercenary party, and in the almost universal unfaithfulness and treachery which this party spread like a net­work over the whole land. Once more he raised his voice with energy: “Be it so,” said he, in one of his sermons, “no faithful warning is of farther use; you will not punish the pensioners who lift their head so proudly. They have strong props among you. But a chain is forged, and it is prepared to strangle me and many a good Zuricher. For it is to ruin me that all this is done. I am ready; and submit myself to the will of God. These people shall never be *my* masters. But to thee, O Zurich! they will give the reward of iniquity, and will drive a stake through thy head, for so thou would’st have it. Thou wilt not punish them, and they will punish thee. Nevertheless, God will pre­serve His Word, and their glory will speedily have an end. May the Lord guide His own people, and protect His Church.”

Once more, the deputies of Glarus, Freiburg, Appenzell, Stras­burg, and Constance, met together, in order if possible to concoct a peace. The following propositions were to serve as a basis for negotiations: (1.) The examination and punishment of libellers to be committed to the umpires. (2.) Those who had been banished for the gospel to be allowed to return to their homes, without the fear of any farther persecution or punishment. (3.) Touching matters of faith, all to remain by the articles of the land-peace, and everything else to be decided by the Diets. (4.) On these preliminaries being settled, the embargo to be taken off. Zurich and Berne manifested their willingness to accept these proposals, but the ambassadors of peace found no ear in “The Five Places.” The war for which these cantons had long been secretly arming was considered as already begun. Accordingly, the delegates, when they returned from thence, exhorted the towns to prepare for the worst, and to arm. “The Five Places” proceeded without delay to action whenever their deputies had resolved, at a Diet in Brunnen, to declare war against Zurich and Berne. The passes were secretly watched, that none might pass through and give the Evangelicals warning of the intended invasion. Thereon, on the 9th of October, a body of twelve thousand men took the road for Hitzkirch in the direction of “The Free Offices,” marking their path by all the horrors of war, while the main body, eight thousand strong, marched upon Zug the same evening. The general distress they endured united these warriors to a man, so that only one resolution animated them: to punish the enemy, to open the passes, and to secure their independence. Strengthened in body and soul by a substantial meal, and the services of the Church, they proceeded, early on the morning of the 10th, to the Zuger-Allmend, and took the oath to the standards. Their leaders exhorted them to a courageous behaviour. To this united and resolute action, the conduct of the Zurich government presented a melancholy con­trast. They had, indeed, as early as September, on the report reaching their ears, that “The Five Places” were arming, elected a council-of-war, consisting of the experienced warriors, Rudolf Lavater, John Schweizer, and William Toenig, and furnished them with full authority to levy men according to the necessities of the State, and to employ them in the defence of their country; but this authority they immediately neutralised by another resolution. Indignant at the cabals of a party in the govern­ment, Lavater withdrew to his governorship at Kyburg, and only returned on the 9th of October to the town, at a summons from the government. Already, on this very day, the government had received intelligence from the Abbot of Cappel, and from peasants, of the danger with which they were threatened; but they were unable to nerve themselves to any resolute action, and satisfied themselves with despatching members of the Council to the spot to obtain information. The Councillors Ulrich Funk and Thumeisen arrived at Cappel, where the people of the country had already collected, in arms, to defend themselves, and who were bitterly complaining of the negligence of the govern­ment. In these circumstances, Funk and Thumeisen remained where they were, to hearten the country people, and sent back to the government advices that they should get the army drawn together as speedily as possible, and sent forward to Cappel, as the enemy were already marching on this place from Zug.

On the 10th October the Great Council assembled at Zurich, to take measures necessary for the defence of the country. Banneret Schweizer strongly urged that the van, under its captain already named, George Goeldli, should be immediately despatched to Cappel, and that the main body of the army should follow with as little delay as possible. There was a long deliberation upon this point, for there was a party in the Council that put every iron in the fire to frustrate all resolute action on the part of the Council. In the meanwhile, messenger after messenger came from Cappel praying for speedy assistance. It was at length resolved to send Goeldli forward with six hundred men and artillery. This reinforcement arrived in Cappel during the night.

Immediately after Goeldli’s departure, Lavater, with the con­currence of a council-of-war, hastily summoned, which Zwingli also attended, expressed his desire that a general levy of the people should be made, in order to hasten, with as great a body of men as possible, to the rescue of their invaded country. But Lavater was disappointed of getting his design carried through; the Great Council, it was said, must first of all meet and decide upon it. Thus precious hours were again wasted: for it was evening ere the Council authorised, by a formal resolution, the measure which had been suggested by the Commander-in-Chief. A night of horrors descended on the canton of Zurich. The earth appeared to reel on its foundations:[[25]](#footnote-25) bells screamed from the church-towers, traitors roamed through the land, spreading false rumours, and increasing the general turmoil. In the morning, the great banner was set up at the Town-Hall, but it clung to the pole, and refused to unfurl—in the eyes of many, a bad omen. Slowly and in scanty numbers the warriors dropped in. It happened that it being necessary to despatch two bodies of troops to Waedenschwyl, and “The Free Offices,” many had gone thither who had been designated to the main body. The march could not begin till mid-day. Zwingli had been appointed field-preacher, for both his friends and enemies wished his appoint­ment, although for different reasons. Nor did he himself hesitate for an instant to accept the post in this hour of danger: “I stand intrepidly prepared for the worst,” he had written shortly before to a friend, “for God is my stay.” Painfully bitter, however, was the farewell he took from his spouse and children, whom he had a presentiment he should never see more. But it was the Lord’s cause for which he was going out to battle ; and the Lord has said: “Whosoever loveth son or daughter more than me, is not worthy of me.” When he was in the act of mounting his horse, the animal reared and fell backwards. His friends turned pale, who saw it. “He will never come back,” said they one to the other. Hardly seven hundred men, instead of four thousand as was expected, gathered round the standard. Upon Myconius seeing this little troop marching out in great disorder, and Zwingli amongst them, he was seized with such an agony of spirit, that he could scarcely stand upright. For a few moments, Zwingli was seen leaving his comrades, and marching by himself; and one of his friends, who followed behind him, heard him praying with great fervency, and committing himself, soul and body, and especially the Church, to the Lord. Arrived at the top of the Albis, William Toenig, the captain of the sharp­shooters, gave it as his opinion, they ought to wait till their small numbers had been increased by farther accessions; but the sound of cannon from Cappel announced that the van was already engaged. Zwingli hereon said: “If we wait till the great body of our friends arrive, our help will come too late. I will, in God’s name, go to the brave fellows, and either die with them or help them.” Lavater also thought they could not wait upon reinforce­ments, as treachery was disorganising and frustrating everything. Thus the banner arrived at Cappel at three o’clock.

Here the fight had lasted already three hours, although only with cannon. The Zurich artillery, admirably served, and advan­tageously posted, maintained a great superiority over that of “The Five Places.” Confusion spread for a time through the ranks of the Roman Catholic army, which was spread out upon a morass, and lay exposed to the cannon of the Zurichers, so that, as Bullinger thinks, terms of peace would have been readily listened to by them at that time. But the saying of Zwingli to the Landamman Æbli was destined to prove true: “When they attack us, then there will be none to mediate.” Some men of courage among the Zurichers were for taking advantage of the enemy’s evident confusion, but Captain Goeldli, who had a brother in the hostile army, and who seemed to have his heart there also, refused to give his consent to this surprise, which volunteers were willing to execute. A wood on the flank of the Zurich army was to have been occupied by volunteers; by Goeldli’s orders, they were prevented from doing this, and it was occupied by the enemy without difficulty. In this manner, Goeldli frustrated everything calculated to bring about a favourable result for the Zurichers. He always put forward the instructions he had received, to avoid a battle till the banner had arrived.

The Zurichers held a Council, after the arrival of the Commander-in-Chief, as to what in the circumstances had best be done. Some were for retreating till the army had been strengthened by accessions, but the majority were in favour of encountering the enemy where they stood. “We must place our confidence in God, and not in our own numbers and strength; our fathers have often by God’s help conquered a whole army with a handful of men.” As it was late, no attack was expected for the day, and measures were taken for bivouacking. Goeldli received orders to occupy Moenchbuehl, that they might not be surrounded by the enemy.

The leaders of the army of “The Five Places” also held a council-of-war. Here, likewise, the majority refused to listen to any attack for the day; “it was too late,” they said, “and it had never been the custom of their ancestors to shed blood on holy Childermas-Day.” A practised warrior, Governor Jauch, joins the circle of councillors. He states how he had found the wood unoccupied, from whence the Zurich army was visible, weak, and unprepared against an attack. He begs for a few volunteers, with whom he engages easily to vanquish the enemy. Gaspar Goeldli, brother to George, here interposes, saying: “I know the Zurichers well, if you don’t beat them to­day, they will beat you tomorrow.” Jauch hastened back to the wood, where he found three hundred arquebusiers, and four hundred men-at-arms, with spears and halberds, waiting for him. With these he attacked the enemy on the front and on the flank, issuing from the wood. The enemy, though unprepared, speedily fell into order of battle. Lavater advanced, lance in hand, and cried with a loud voice: “Brave men, remember the glory of God and of Zurich, and stand firm.’’ Zwingli also turned to them, and said: “Cheer up, my noble fellows, and fear not. If we are to suffer, it is nevertheless in a good cause. Commend yourselves to God, who is able to take care of us and of ours. The Lord’s will be done.” The battle began with great asperity. The body that, under Goeldli, should have held the Moenchbuehl, fled with rapidity, traitors shouting out behind them: “Flee, flee, good men of Zurich, not one will be spared alive.” Thus scarcely a thousand men were opposed to the eight times stronger force of “The Five Places;” yet victory for a time hung in suspense, for the Zurichers fought with the courage of lions, and the enthusiasm of Christian heroes, willing to offer up their lives for the noblest possessions. But soon they fell thick, like the precious grain in autumn, beneath the strokes of their embittered foes, and at length were obliged to abandon the battle-field, leaving upon it more than five hundred, who slept the sleep of death, or who were writhing in the agony of death-wounds. Zwingli, too, the faithful shep­herd of the flock, rested among his sheep, he had bent himself down, soon after the beginning of the combat, to comfort with the words of life a fallen countryman, when a stone struck his helmet with such force that he was cast to the ground. He soon sum­moned up strength to rise again, but a hostile spear gave him immediately a fatal stab. “What evil is it? They may kill the body, the soul they cannot kill;” these were his last words. The day had now declined, and night was spreading her black canopy over the field of battle. The flames of evening-light were dying fast away from mountain-peak to mountain-peak, while, in the valley below, souls were leaving their bonds of clay, and winging their flight heavenwards. Above, the stars of God were shining, for a testimony that, when the earthly light is extin­guished within us, the heavenly light arises in our souls.

Zwingli had fallen near a pear-tree. Ho was leaning on it; his hands were clasped, his lips moved in prayer, while his eyes were directed heavenwards. In this state, a party of marauding sol­diers found him. “Will you confess? Shall we fetch a priest?” they cry to him. The tongue which had once so eloquently com­batted error is now dumb, but the man of God makes a motion with his head signifying a negative. “Then call upon the mother of God and the blessed saints in your heart,” they shout to him again. *“No, I will not deny my Saviour,*” were the words he had used in his last sermon, and this decisive negative, which pro­ceeded from a living faith that Christ is the only Mediator between God and man, he still signifies by a motion of his head in death. “Die[[26]](#footnote-26) then, obstinate heretic,” said Bockinger, an officer from Unterwalden, and with that he gave him a fatal stab. The next day his countenance was still flushed as when he preached. The town-parson, Schoen Crunner of Zug, formerly convent-mas­ter of Cappel, could not restrain his tears when he heard of his death. “Whatever thy faith was,” said he, “I know that thou wast a true-hearted Confederate; God be merciful to thy soul.” But the savage rabble of mercenaries carried their hatred to the witness of truth even against his body. It was quartered by the hand of the common hangman, burned, and the ashes mixed with the ashes of a swine, that it might be impossible for his friends and admirers to identify his remains.[[27]](#footnote-27) “Mortals can indeed rage against his body,” wrote Leo Jud, soon after, “they can annihilate it, and abuse the innocent even after his death; but the death of the brave cannot be disgraceful, nor the death of the saint miser­able. He still lives, and lives eternally the unconquerable hero, and leaves a memorial behind him which no fire can consume, nor flame destroy. In the body he was put to death by those to whose well-being he had devoted a whole lifetime of zeal. While endeavouring to bring back his countrymen to the worship of the one true God, and to transform their corrupted manners into the ancient simplicity and proved integrity of their ances­tors, he is led by an unavoidable fate to the battle-field, and there deprived of his life, by those for whose security and welfare he had exposed himself to every danger, and to general hatred. Yet he had a glorious lot. God, whose glory he ever sought and defended, at the sacrifice of his life, will make the memorial of this man famous, and will not suffer it to perish. All honest men, who have partaken of his benefits, and have tasted of his incomparable love and affection, will contribute to this end accord­ing to their ability.”

A great number of Zwingli’s friends and fellow-labourers in the cause of God and truth shared his fate. The noble Baron von Geroldseck, the Comthur Schmidt, abbot Joner of Cappel, and two-and-twenty clergymen, sealed their faithfulness to the gospel with their blood. Zwingli’s friends, Ulrich Funk, Thu­meisen, the hoary-headed Canneret Schweizer, and Toenig, the captain of the archers, were not divided in death from their common friend. The young Gerold Meyer of Knonau proved, by his heroic death on the field of battle, that he had well learned the lessons taught him by his paternal friend, in regard to the duty of fighting and dying in the cause of truth, and in the defence of his fatherland.

Dreadful messages of death were communicated one after the other to the noble spouse of the Reformer. She lost in this battle not only her husband Huldreich, and her son Gerold, but besides, a brother, a brother-in-law, and a son-in-law. But she had been directed by Zwingli to a well from which she could draw consolation in rich measure. Even on earth, she expe­rienced that the memory of the just man is a legacy of blessing which he bequeaths to all connected with him. When that excellent man Bullinger was appointed Zwingli’s successor, he not only cared with all the fidelity of a disciple for the church, deprived of its pastoral head, by the death of his master, but he cared with all the love of a son for the widow and children of his departed father. They were immediately, upon his entrance on office, taken into his own house, and regarded as members of his own family. Anna Zwingli survived her husband seven years; she then, through a gentle death, joined him in heaven.

As Bullinger cared for the church, renovated by his deceased friend, and for his family, he cared likewise for his good name, which the world was too apt to libel after his death. With the words which he wrote to this end, we shall close our life of the noble Zwingli: “The victory of truth is alone in the hand of God, and is not bound to any particular person or age. Christ was also put to death, and his enemies thought Him vanquished, but forty years afterwards the standard of His victory was planted on the ruined walls of Jerusalem. Truth accordingly does not triumph in not being tried; rather in the trial she finds her confir­mation. But here faith, patience, and a steady endurance are necessary to us. The strength of the Christian rises with his weakness. Therefore, dear brethren in Germany, suffer not our want of victory to offend you, but persevere in the Word of God. This has ever conquered, even although the holy prophets, apos­tles, and martyrs have been reviled and slain for it. Blessed are all they who die in the Lord. Victory, too, follows in its time, for a thousand years are with God as one day. Nor is the victory a single one, but each combatant is crowned with victory who suffers and dies for the truth.”

the end.

1. “According to the ancient treaties, the five places, (Ury, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Zug, and Lucerne,) were precluded from entering into any alliances with other states, without the general consent of all the Confederates. The three original states, indeed, (Ury, Schwyz, and Unterwalden,) were not per­mitted even to deliberate upon the matter in their cantonal assemblies; while Zurich and Berne had reserved to themselves such a liberty when they joined the Confederacy.”—Hottinger. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. The deputies of “The Five Places” had already met at Innsbruck as early as the 22d July 1527, to negotiate a closer union with Austria. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. James von Medizis, a fool-hardy adventurer, had got possession of the fortified castle of Musso, at the entrance of the Veltlin, which then belonged to the Union, and from thence threatened and harassed the inhabitants of Graubund, the majority of whom had declared for the Reformation. That his deeds of lawless violence were perpetrated with the concurrence of the Emperor, was sufficiently proved by his receiving from him the title of a Margrave, and nine hundred Spanish troops being sent to him, to be taken into pay. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. After the second Diet of Speyer, a Conference of the Evangelical party, at the instigation of the Landgrave, was held at Rotach (Coburg,) to take steps towards the formation of a Protestant Defensive Alliance. Luther frustrated the attempt by his scruples, to which he gave loud expression on this occasion. “Such an alliance,” said he, “must, without doubt, base itself on the conscience and faith of those who unite, and an indispensable condition of it must be unity of faith. Now faith is with the other party vacillating and uncertain, and it is to be feared that in but few it exists at all. *Secondly,* It is dangerous by reason of the Landgrave, who is a restless man. *Thirdly,* It is suspicions and vexations. For among such numbers it cannot be doubted that help will be more looked for from an arm of flesh than from God. *Fourthly, It is unchristian on account of the heresy against the Sacrament;* for since they cannot have their alliance, we must help to defend and strengthen such heresy, and when they are defended, they will be worse than ever. For as they will not better themselves in this thing, there is no hope that they will remain firm and true in other matters. Let one note here the example in Joshua vii., where, for a single Achan, the whole people of God were made to suffer calamity until the sin was punished. It may be said the towns are one with us in all respects, except this single point; but, are we by reason of unity in the others to leave this out of our regard? Answer: The one is of too great importance, for all the others are rendered impure by this one; he is not less unchristian, because, like Arius, and many more, he denies one article of the faith.” [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. We have already seen how matters stood in France. So remarkable an evangelical movement manifested itself in Venice, where the Government pro­claimed its independence of the Pope, that Luther heard of it. He wrote, 7th March 1528, to Gabriel Zwilling; “Your accounts of Venice, that it has received God’s Word, filled me with joy. To God be the praise and glory.” Zwingli was very exactly informed upon the state of Italy; he might, therefore, on good grounds, entertain hopes of gaining over Venice to the alliance. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. To the leaders of the league, besides the Landgrave and Zwingli, there be­longed Duke Ulrich of Wirtemberg and James Sturm, Town-sheriff of Strasburg. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. Pharaoh was the name for the Emperor, in the correspondence between the Landgrave and Zwingli. Ever since the Marburg Disputation these two had kept up an uninterrupted correspondence, partly carried on in ciphers, which were often changed for the better preservation of the secret; various keys are therefore necessary to decipher the correspondence. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. The Chancellor of the Republic was commissioned by the Doge and Council to say to Collin, “in the first instance,” that Venice would assist the members of “the Christian Burgher-Right” against the Emperor in every danger and emergency, with men, provisions, and money. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. A German Captain had proposed to occupy the Tyrol with eight thousand Germans, and in this manner to close up the Emperor’s route from Italy into Germany. Graubund was to send men, Venice artillery, horse, and money, to effect this enterprise [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. The Cantons Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Lucerne, and Zug, are, for shortness, called “the Five Places.” [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. We remind the reader of the lands, possessing themselves in part old rights and privileges, which were governed alternately by the Five Places, and by Zurich and Berne, or sometimes by Zurich alone. Also of the peculiar position of the Abbot of St. Gall, who stood for himself and his subjects in a defensive alliance with Zurich, Lucerne, Schwyz, and Glarus. Toggenburg, too, which was under the lordship of the Abbot, occupied a similar relation to Schwyz and Glarus. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. The Abbot had concluded a defensive alliance with the above-named can­tons for his whole possessions, in which they engaged to defend him and his monastery, as well as his subjects, in all their rights and liberties. In exercise of their right, and in conformity with their engagement, the four states sent every two years a lieutenant to Wyl, who was a member of the secret Council of the Abbot, and immediately followed him in rank. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. The licentiousness which then prevailed among mercenary soldiers, exercised a most corruptive influence on the morals of the people, not only in Switzer­land, but also in Germany. In 1551 the German states handed in a complaint to Maximilian II., that the mercenaries, on returning from foreign service, were guilty of the greatest enormities. [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. Kaiser was born at Utznach. As parson in the island of Ufcnau, he had preached with great zeal against the images, and thereby incurred the vehement hatred of the Schwyzers. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. The Swiss field-chaplains carried a weapon on service up till the most recent time. Zwingli’s halberd, which he had already used in the battle of Marignano, had no other significance than the later side-weapon of the field preacher. [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. The Abbot Kilian received intelligence of this design against him, and fled in all haste to Suabia. [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. We have yet two plans of war from Zwlngli’s pen, which testify his accurate knowledge of the military tactics of the period, as well as that his object was to bring about, by a rapid and general development of all the forces at command, as speedy and bloodless a decision as possible. “When, however, nothing remains but to fight gallantly, or to deny God and His Word, let the good town of Zurich rather lose money, blood, life, than apostatise from acknowledged truth.” [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. While parson of Glarus, Zwingli had become god-father of the Landamman. At this time, probably, the custom which still exists in Graubund was generally prevalent in Switzerland, of the pastor’s being god-father to the parents of all the children he baptises; for Zwingli had in Zurich many god­fathers in families in which he could hardly have stood as god-father in baptism. [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. Just as this observation in itself is, it did not come well from the mouth of the Bernese government of the time, who had paid very little attention to it, at the introduction of the Reformation in their own territory, and in Wadtland. [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. Nicolas Manuel deserved well of the Reformation in Berne, for his great merits as a satirical poet. See “Nicolas Manuel. Life and Works of a Painter, Poet. Warrior, Statesman, and Reformer **of** the Sixteenth Century, communicated by Grueneisen.” Stuttgart, 1837 [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. The pensions were, in the then Swiss relations, nothing else but the Judas- pay with which neighbouring princes rewarded, under this name, influential men for the game of treachery they played against the interests of their country. To what a frightful pitch this mischief had reached appears from a revelation made by the French ambassador in Switzerland. His king had sent to this country, from 1512 to 1531, 1,133,547 crowns of gold, to be applied alone in pensions, a sum which, in the present relations of money, may be quadrupled. As the preaching of the gospel had of necessity to combat this atrocious system, all the pensioners were enemies of it. “All,” says Zwingli, “but pensioners are willing that the Word of God should be preached.” [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. Rychmuth was also one of those upstarts enriched by pensions. The well- known Cardinal Schinner used to say, punning on his name: “I found him poor in spirit, and made him rich in spirit, but the King of France made him proud in spirit.” [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. The Duke of Milan, on learning that the Confederates had sent an army of eleven thousand men to succour the Graubunders, expressed his dissatisfac­tion at this step, and undertook himself to bring the war with the Castellan to an end, the Confederates and the Graubunders leaving him two thousand of their men in his pay. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. J. J. Hottinger’s History of the Confederates. [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. There was an earthquake felt on this night. [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. Zwingli died at the age of forty-seven years, nine months, and eleven days, [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. Thomas Platter went a few days afterwards over the field of battle, and found Zwingli’s heart unconsumed in the ashes, which was regarded as an evi­dence of Zwingli’s faithful love to his country surviving even death. [↑](#footnote-ref-27)