

his predecessor's foundation, finally gave in. The abomination was left out for the first time for the Christmas Festival of 1524.

During the previous year the confession of sins, which had been eliminated under Carlstadt and Zwilling, had been reinserted into the service. Regular communion announcements to the pastor were also to take place, and the communicants were to stand together in a special section of the church.

Luther had actually designed an illustration of an evangelical service already in 1523 as he wrote "About Orderliness in the Church Service" and "Form of the Mass." In these works he had retained customs and traditions as much as possible. He simply removed the offensive parts and substituted improved sections for them. He was especially concerned that congregational participation in the church service, which had been almost entirely removed under the pope, was rightly restored to the congregation. Thus he retained the old Scripture lessons (historic pericope) which we still use to this day, but he demanded that they be read in German. Furthermore, he replaced the Latin hymns with German hymns, in regard to which the congregation could sing along. He encouraged his friends to write German hymns, and when this failed to bear enough fruit he reached for the strings himself.

He had written his first hymn in 1523, "Dear Christians, One and All, Rejoice". Then there appeared three collections of German hymns in 1524. The first of these contained only eight hymns, four of them by Luther. They included "From Depths of Woe I Cry to You", "O Lord, Look Down from Heav'n, Behold", and "Flung to the Heedless Winds." Besides these there were three hymns by Paul Speratus. One of them was "Salvation Unto Us Has Come." The second collection increased to include 18 hymns. The third collection, called, "Spiritual Hymn Booklet," contained 24 hymns by Luther along with their melodies. These hymns of Luther, plus another 12, which would be added later, were freely composed. Some of them were taken from the Psalms and hymns of praise of the Old and New Testament, and others were composed from German songs already available, sections of which were translated from the Latin with some lines added.

At the time Luther himself very likely did not realize the value of the gift which he had bestowed on Christendom in Germany with these hymns. Oh, how they sounded out! How they echoed a thousand fold in cities and villages, in churches and schools, in homes and huts, in the fields and in the forests during those daysprings of the Reformation! Even those places where the preachers of the gospel were commanded to be silent, the gospel truth was being sung into the hearts of the people through these gospel hymns. Soon the Wittenberg nightingale lured other singers, and thus a rich treasure of German hymnody was added to those hymns of 1524, which have remained as most precious jewels.

When he issued his songbook, Luther not only had his eye on the congregation but also on the young people in school. Melodies had been written for them in multiple voice settings, even adding a few Latin hymns. But his concern for the schools went even farther. Carlstadt and his co-workers had turned the city schools into empty seats. Now they were being restored. For that reason Luther sent out an encouragement in 1524 "To the Mayors and Councils of All Cities of Germany, that They Erect and Maintain Christian Schools." (Footnote: See L.V. Vol. 4, p. 67ff.)

Luther recognized that a large danger for the Christian congregation lay in neglecting its youth. "On that account," he wrote, "I beg all of you, my dear lords and friends, for the sake of God and those poor youths that you do not fail to pay attention to this matter. So many fail to see what the prince of this world has in mind. This is an important matter, which applies to Christ and the entire world. We must aid and counsel the young people. When we do so, there also comes help and counsel for ourselves.

"What has anyone learned in the colleges and monasteries up till now except how to become asses, blockheads, and bullies? After 20 or even 40 years of higher continuing education have been provided they still didn't understand German or Latin. It is true that before I would wish for schools and monasteries to stay as they are today, with no other method being used to teach young people how to learn and live, I would rather that a young lad would learn nothing and remain ignorant. It is my sincere opinion, prayer, and desire that these donkey barns and schools of the devil

would either be swallowed up by the earth or be changed into Christian schools. But our God has richly favored us with this grace in giving us so many able people to teach and freely nurture our young people. Truly, we must not throw God's grace into the wind and allow him to knock on our doors in vain. He is standing at the door. If we open the door to him who is good for us, blessed is the one who answers. If we fail to see him passing by, who can bring him back again?

"Let us look at the former lamentable condition and the darkness in which we were living. I treasure the fact that Germany is hearing so much more of God's Word now than ever before, for a person doesn't even get a whiff of such a thing from past history. If we were to allow this to pass on without giving thanks and honor, then we would need to be afraid that we would experience an even more horrible darkness and plague. Dear Germans, buy while the seller is at the door; reap while the sun shines and the weather is good; make use of God's Word and grace while it is here. For you need to understand this, the Word of God and grace are like a traveling, refreshing shower. It will not return to where it once was. It was with the Jews. But it is gone, now they know nothing. Paul had brought it to Greece. Gone, it is gone again, and now they have the Turks. Roman and Latin lands also had it. Gone, it is gone again, and now they have the pope. You Germans dare not think that you will have it eternally. Your ingratitude and despising will not allow it to remain. Therefore, reach for it. Hold on to it, whoever is able to reach and to hold. Lazy hands must receive a time of evil.

"Since it is the biggest crime, need, and reason for sorrow that there are not enough proper teachers, you must not wait for them to grow up by themselves. You won't be able to carve them out of wood or stone. God will not perform miracles due to your belief that you can get God's goodness through others. Therefore, we need to do our part, to spend the effort and the money to produce and train them ourselves."

Indeed, as Luther correctly emphasized, they also needed to have schools available at which the old languages, especially the original languages of Holy Scripture, were being promoted. "Let us listen to this,"

he wrote, "that we shall not preserve the gospel without the languages. The languages are the scabbards in which the sword of the Spirit is kept. They are the shrine in which this jewel is carried. They are the cupboard in which the food is stored. Yes, you may say, many fathers have been saved, who taught without the languages. That is true. But you must also include that fact that they also often failed in the Scriptures. How often doesn't Augustine miss the point in the Psalms and other commentaries; Hilarius also; indeed, all of the others who have taken it upon themselves to interpret Scripture without the languages?"

This admonition bore fruit. We hear about this or that location where existing schools were improved and new ones were built. Luther became the reformer of German education. What followed was that as new church constitutions were being adopted throughout Germany, there were also regular connections with the constitutions of the schools. This happened at the time when the papacy and the new rise in the pursuit of material things, things to fill the money sacks, were working hand in hand at the expense of the schools.

But there was a special reason why Luther turned to the government officials with his encouragement. Congregations as we know them did not exist. Luther was hoping for them at a future date, but now had to be satisfied with people coming to hear the gospel wherever it was being proclaimed. There was one such an envisioned goal at Leisnig on the Mulde River, which, according to Luther, was to become a model for other congregations. But the sad story is this, that its pastor had to give up due to hunger, and everything collapsed.

But Luther, in spite of all the setbacks he experienced, wisely learned to accept them. He still had many reasons to thank God for all that came into existence through the preaching of the gospel. We will be able to understand this even better as we study what powerful attempts would be made to hinder or to steer this reformation movement, which had arisen by God's will and guidance, in the wrong direction.

Chapter 26

The Counsel of the Lords

There were three enemies, whom the devil was inciting to invade God's garden that was flourishing with so many lovely blossoms. He wanted the spiritual leaders, the secular lords, and the false brothers to turn it into a wilderness.

About the same time when Luther was leaving his Patmos to reenter life at Wittenberg, the Bishops of Meissen and Merseburg, who up to this point had shown little concern for any purely ecclesiastical matters, decided to enter the fray. They arranged visitations to churches by which they warned the people about the "new teaching." Anyone who had already turned to that new teaching was to be disciplined. Such behavior was even being carried out in the territory under the elector's rule. The elector permitted the bishops to go on, but Luther didn't. He eased consciences, troubled from what they were hearing from all sides, with a number of writings. Examples of those writings are "About Human Teachings to be Avoided," "Against the False Position of the Pope and the Bishops," and "That a Christian Assembly and Congregation Has the Right and the Power to Prove All Teachings and to Call Teachers, Install Them into Office, and Put Them out of Office." (See L.V. Vol. 13, 14, p 7 ff.)

For those who were troubled by their desire to escape the sins of monastic life and forced celibacy, Luther provided aid with a sermon, "About Married Life," (See L.V. Vol. 13,14, p. 251 ff) and with a commentary on 1. Corinthians 7, which he committed to print and in which he treated the matter very seriously and frankly. He also lent a hand to those brothers who had quit the monastery by providing counsel and support, as far as his meager possessions and intercession could supply. When nine nuns secretly escaped by night from the convent Nimtzensch near Grimma with the help of three citizens of Torgau, he praised the actions of those men in a public letter and admitted that it was he who had advised them to do so.

He urged the nuns' relatives to take them into their homes, saying that if they refused, he would care for them personally. He also prevailed upon Spalatin to plead for money for their support. Soon thereafter other nuns also received their freedom, much to his delight. This happened partly due to his counsel. During the following spring he publicized the story of a nun. This woman had experienced pain in a number of ways in her convent and had finally been sequestered for life, but had escaped due to the carelessness of her nunnery's guardian.

Luther also rejoiced when his pastoral friends got married. This happened to Bugenhagen in 1522 and to Link in 1523. Luther himself made the trip to Altenburg for that wedding, accompanied by other friends from Wittenberg. Then he personally conducted the wedding service.

At first Luther made little personal use of that freedom which he loved to see others enjoy. To be sure, right after the burning of the bull he had stopped adhering to the strict monastic rule. In 1524 he traded in his last worn-out cowl for a cloak which he had tailored for himself out of a piece of brown cloth the elector had given him. He did this "to the honor of God and the joy of many others, and to the spite and disgrace of Satan." But he was still living alone in the deserted monastery, amidst all kinds of wants. The monastery had been abandoned except for the former Prior Brisger. It was short of nearly every kind of income, supplied only what the lowest funds could provide, and offered a bad bed. The thought of his own possible matrimony he simply dismissed until near the end of 1524. He, a man outlawed and facing death, did not wish to bind a woman's life to his own.

The Edict of Worms was still in force against him. He also had powerful enemies among the leaders of the imperial army. "Only dead, dead, dead, they shout," he had written at the Wartburg. Truly, what had been written to the Archbishop of Mainz shortly after he had been kidnapped had been completely fulfilled: "We have lost Luther, just as we had wanted. But I am afraid that if we shall not search everywhere for him with lanterns and bring him back, we shall barely escape with our lives." His arrival in the nick of time, through which he had calmed the storm and set

those in Wittenberg and elsewhere free of its shackles, had not gone unnoticed. It had turned the opinion of many members of the imperial army favorable toward him.

But his bitter enemy, Duke George, had become even more bitter because of Luther's writing to Hartmuth von Kronberg. For there the words could be found written, "One of them especially is 'The Waterblister N. (which letter was supposed to stand for someone's "name"); she (the Waterblister) defies heaven with her big belly and has renounced the gospel. He even intends to devour Christ as a wolf swallows a mosquito. He allows himself to think that he has already taken a small slash out of his left spur and keeps raging along for the rest. I have truly prayed for him with my whole heart. I have been close to feeling compassion for him and his atrocious assault; but I am concerned that his injury, which he received some time ago, is bothering him."

The copy that George received into his own hands even had his printed name on it. Two days after receiving it, on December 28, 1522, he wrote a letter to Luther, in which he complained that he had been identified in that writing. As a result he had been assaulted with outrageous words and heavy insults against his soul, his honor, and his good reputation. He closed, "It is our desire that you will answer us as to whether you have sent out a writing to Hartman von Cronnberg, and whether you will admit this as you would deem proper to allow us to know how to address this issue as is necessary for our honor.

Luther answered on January 3, 1523: "Stop fuming and raging against God and his Christ, instead put my ministry first! Disgraceful count and Lord, I have received from Your Royal Disgrace the writing, together with the pamphlet or letter, which I was supposed to have written to Mr. Hartmann von Cronenberg, and had especially read the section to me, which Y.R.D. complained about as being weighty insults to your soul, honor, and reputation. The same booklet was printed a short time ago both here and elsewhere. Since Y.R.D. desires to know what I would admit in the same, my answer is short. It makes no difference to me whether it is received by Y.R.D. as acknowledged, laid down, seated, or having run full

course. For what I manage or speak, either secretly or openly, against you I maintain myself to be correct. I will, if it is God's will, defend it as correct. But God will surely have the ultimate power. For if Y.R.D. would be serious and not lie so impolitely that I came too close to Y.R.D.'s soul, honor, or reputation, Lady Disgrace would surely not blaspheme in such form as to damage and persecute the Christian truth. Still, this is not the first time that I have been lied about and been evilly presented by Y.R.D. I have the more proper cause to complain about insults to soul, honor, and reputation. But I have remained silent about all of those things, since Christ has commanded me to even be supportive toward my enemies.

"This I have done, even till now, with my poor prayer to God on behalf of Y.R.D. I still offer to serve Y.R.D. with everything that I am able to provide, without any false request. If this is rejected I cannot do any more. I shall not, therefore, frighten myself to death for some 'Waterblister,' as God and my Lord Jesus Christ wills. May he enlighten the eyes and heart of Y.R.D. and make Y.R.D. pleasing to him, and turn you into a gracious and favoring count for me. Amen. At Wittenberg on the 8th of June, 1523.

Martin Luther Wittenberg Evangelist
By God's Grace"

The duke complained to the elector, beginning a lengthy exchange of letters between the two cousins. George also called for help from the imperial army, but with a commiserating shrug of the shoulders was again referred to the elector. Count Albrecht von Mansfeld was called to deal with Luther on the matter. The only thing he was able to accomplish was that Luther explained that he had not arranged the printing, but was innocent of name calling and had not wanted to dishonor the duke. He maintained that he had good reason to write as he did.

But what Duke George had again attempted, as he had before, was to put the imperial army into harness. Now another attempted the same thing. Leo X had died, and Bishop Hadrian of Tortosa, an early voice among

Luther's opponents, had now ascended to the papal throne as Hadrian VI. As he did so he proclaimed that he accepted the honor only in order to lead the bride of Christ back to her former purity. When a new diet was being held at Nuernberg in the fall of 1522, a papal legate arrived who insisted that they were to get serious in their dealings with the monk whose teachings had already been condemned at church councils. He was said to be worse than Mohammed, and had been preaching polygamy and fleshly freedom. But the pope achieved no more than Duke George had achieved.

During the legate's visit, evangelical preachers were allowed to proclaim Luther's teachings unhindered in Nuernberg. No one wanted to hear any more about persecuting Luther, whose writings had opened the eyes of the German people to the abuses which in part even the pope himself acknowledged. Furthermore, a resolution was adopted by the leaders of the guilds and was sent out as an edict from Caesar. It demanded that a free Christian Council be held within a year's time on German soil. It also established in descriptive form, how the parties should conduct themselves in their teaching in the meantime. The pope, who had addressed two letters to Luther's earthly rulers, failed to get any results. The legate expressed his amazement publicly when he learned of the imperial diet and repeated his request that the Edict of Worms be enforced. He did so in vain. Things remained as they were.

The majority of the empire's professionals had joined with Luther, uniting against the pope, albeit in a way which was not along the line of Luther's thinking. But Luther was satisfied with what he knew. He just assumed the support to be in the gospel's and his favor and, as he wrote "Against the Wrong Doers and the Falsifiers of Caesar's Mandate." He sent this to Caesar's brother and to Governor Archduke Ferdinand of Austria, as well as to the professionals. He also sent along the papal direction which had been given to the imperial diet, printed with marginal notes.

One complaint which the Archduke Ferdinand had expressed openly to the professionals was that Luther taught that Christ was a natural descendant of Abraham. Luther defended himself in 1523 in his writing, "That Jesus Christ Is a Jew by Birth." Luther wrote the way he did because

he held consideration for the Jews during his time. He desired to persuade one or two among them that the promised Messiah truly did appear in Christ.

The conclusion of the transactions of this diet was all the more meaningful and a cause for rejoicing. This was the case, because things happened during the diet, which the papal side had wanted to take advantage of against the Reformation. Franz von Sickingen, who had once offered Luther the Ebernburg as sanctuary, had emerged as a political reformer. Standing at the front of the nobility he had wanted to begin a new order of things in Germany, and with it have a breakthrough for the gospel at the same time. A private meeting with the Archbishop of Trier gave him a reason to start a fight. But the archbishop received powerful support; Sickingen did not. His attack on Trier failed and he had to retreat to his castle. The besiegers entered into the fortress. The counts, who had defeated him were praying the Lord's Prayer, bare-headed and kneeling, at the death bed of the knight who had been fatally wounded by a bullet. Soon after this Ulrich von Hutten also died. He had not yet reached the age of 36 when he met his end on island of Ufnau on Lake Zurich, where he had found a safe haven.

The romanists were striving so hard at the Diet of Nuernberg to turn the proceedings in favor of the Edict of Worms that at one point the elector again considered the idea of letting Luther disappear. On the other hand, he considered that, if it would come to war, he would obtain a Gutachten from his Wittenberg theologians. However, Luther immediately provided a decisive reply to both possibilities. He wanted nothing to do with a new Patmos, nor with a war on behalf of the gospel.

But the enemies, who had claimed that the anti-Caesar (Sickingen) was now dead and that the anti-pope (Luther) would soon follow, did not succeed, as we have already seen. Instead, the real pope soon followed Sickingen. Hadrian was already dead in 1523 and Clemens VII took his place. He picked up and followed the thread of papal behavior which had slipped from the stiffened hands of his predecessor. When another diet met in Nuernberg in 1524, another papal legate was present who diligently

pursued carrying out the Edict of Worms. But once again this ambassador had little to report to his lord to bring him any joy.

During that time there again was preaching against the pope in the city. As the Lord's Supper was celebrated with both kinds, among the many thousands, who received it, were some 30 to 40 men, who were court employees of Caesar's governor. The adjournment of the diet again displayed that it had wanted to satisfy the demands of both parties, who actually stood in opposition to each other as distinctly as "yes" stands against "no." The Edict of Worms was acknowledged, but its enforcement held only the promise of possibility. Luther's teaching was to be examined further and contestable statements in his teaching were to be presented at a meeting at Speier, at which the demand for a council was to be dealt with.

Having been enraged by this apparent contradiction, Luther found cause to have the two edicts, the one of Worms and the new one of Nuernberg, be printed together under the title, "Two Imperial Disagreeing and Contradicting Commands against Luther." "It sounds shameful," he wrote in the foreword, "for Caesar and his counts to openly busy themselves with lying. But it is even more shameful for them to issue contradictory orders at the same time, as you see here. They have commanded that I am to be treated according to the ban which came out of Worms and this ban is to be seriously executed. But alongside this they declare that a contradictory command is to be accepted, that a decision is to be first made at the Diet of Speier as to what is good and bad about my teaching. The result is that at the same time I am condemned yet spared for the future court decision. The Germans are supposed to consider and to persecute me as one who stands condemned, yet they should wait and see why I am going to be condemned. Those counts must be drunk and daft.

"Now, my dear counts and lords, you are just hastening me, a single human being, to my death, and when that occurs you will have won. But if you have ears that are actually able to hear, let me tell you something that sounds eerie. How would you feel if God valued Luther's life so highly, that if he could not live, none of you could be sure of your own life or position? His death would mean misfortune for all of you. Just go ahead, strangle and



Picture of Franz von Sickingen according to an old copper plate engraving

burn. I shall not resist if it be God's will. Here I am. And I plead in a completely friendly fashion that when you have killed me, you do not wake me up again to kill me once more.

"Still, I advise everyone who believes that God exists to restrain yourselves from such a command. For as God has granted me his grace that I do not fear death as I used to, I know that he will also help me so that I shall embrace death and do so willingly. Yet they will not do it any sooner than the time when He who has kept me alive through this third year against their will and far above my hope, can also very well spare me longer, though I do not highly desire it. But if they do kill me now, may they make it such a killing that neither they nor their children will overcome. Concerning this I would rather warn them for I truly do not wish it upon them."

The other participants were just as dissatisfied with the Nuernberg Edict as Luther. Caesar, in whose name it was issued, blustered all the way from Spain against it and forbade the assembly at Speier, upon penalty of being outlawed. Elector Frederick restrained himself from following through with it and dealt with it according to his own conscience. He later allowed the beginning of the German service in his residence. The pope was guiding matters in Rome. It was decided, if possible, to prevent the diet which had been set for Speier. It was even suggested to take the office of elector away from Frederick.

But the legate Campeggi now used a malicious plot aimed at an open division of the German realm. His purpose for which he had been unable to move the imperial diet, he now established with a minority. Under his leadership Ferdinand of Austria, the dukes of Bavaria, and a large number of German bishops or their representatives conducted a sixteen-day private conference at Regensburg. The participants of this conference agreed to strictly carry out the Edict of Worms. The poor subjects of these leaders would soon experience what that meant. Soon the blood of martyrs was flowing and wooden pyres were burning here and there throughout the German territories.

But there were far greater dangers than those caused by the opposing counts and the counseling lords of the Reformation. These dangers came from one who proclaimed even more decisively than Luther that they were fighting for the truth. "He is a worse enemy to me, indeed, to all of us," Luther wrote about a man who had wanted to overthrow the papal bastion through the use of force. His name was Carlstadt.

Chapter 27

The Allstedt Spirit

Carlstadt, as we noticed, had withdrawn himself listlessly after Luther's return. He had secretly continued his activities only with spiritual brothers like Muenzer. But he could not bear to remain silent for long. He had been farming on his own property. He was hauling manure, dressed in gray farmer's garb, and was called "Neighbor Andres." This was not his piece of pie for very long. He reappeared in the public eye in 1523 with various writings in which he referred to himself as a "new lay member." In one specific work he offered information about "The Reason why Andr. Carolstat Had Remained Silent for a Time." Once again "the new lay" applied himself against the institutions of higher learning, even though he received deposits to his account from his position in Wittenberg, and that even in advance. But since there was no hope for success for this swarmer in Wittenberg, he searched for another place to be active. The Orlamuende parish was by her location attached to the church foundation. Its charter stated that it was to be served by a permanent vicar. But this position was vacant because the vicar had departed.

Carlstadt personally stepped forward as the preacher at Orlamuende. Then he had himself legally elected as pastor and accepted the election. He again practiced his reformation, tearing down pictures, altars, and crucifixes and reducing them to rubble. In one of his writings he attacked those who "Preached and Wrote about Offenses and Brotherly Love." It was evident whom he meant, especially since he specifically mentioned "the banqueters at Wittenberg."

Such was his makeup that he deviated into more and more questionable side streets of doctrine. He wanted Sundays to be observed in the Jewish way. False believers were to be punished by death, as it was claimed to have been commanded in Old Testament times. If they would not stop their idolatry entire cities were to be destroyed. In 1524 Luther

wrote to Chancellor Brueck, "Perhaps they will install circumcision again in Orlamuende." His swarming spirit also spoke out against infant baptism. He would not even permit his own newborn child to be baptized. In a writing of 1524, "Whether a Person Can Prove from Holy Scripture that Christ is Present in the Sacrament with Body, Blood and Soul," he tried to prove just the opposite, for Christ said that the flesh counts for nothing. When Christ said in the words of institution, "This is my body, this is my blood," he did not mean that which he was handing out for eating and drinking. Instead he was pointing to his body and the blood in his veins. This, he claimed, is to be derived from the first capital letter of the Greek word for "this" (touto) and from the period before this word. (Footnote: However, the basic text of the N.T. originally had been written in many capital letters and without punctuation between letters. Luther rightfully criticized Carlstadt for this reason.) He called those from Wittenberg "new papists," and spoke about "sacrament slaves" and "sacrament gluttons." In order to protect his writing from the inspections which were in use in Wittenberg, he allowed them to be produced by an alley print shop in Jena.

In spite of repeated urging from Wittenberg that he return to his post in Wittenberg, Carlstadt continued to proceed with his disorder in Orlamuende, even gaining a following of preachers from other places. Disciplinary action had to seriously be considered against him. His behavior contributed to the circumstances under which Carlstadt's companion, Muenzer, who had settled down at Allstedt, carried on in the same way as Carlstadt, even worse. While he was openly preaching that the enemies of the gospel must be beaten to death like dogs, he was secretly stirring things up. He was contriving dangerously bloody plots which, when they were carried out, would have far-reaching consequences.

Luther recognized the danger with which Carlstadt and that "Satan at Allstedt" were threatening the work of the reformation. Though they and their friends pretended that they were the ones who were truly serious about reform, they did not proceed with proper passages, like Luther, but instead proceeded in line with their revisionist teaching. This unhealthy urging toward all kinds of rebellion was readily received among the people,

among whom it had been bubbling and fermenting for a long time already. There was Carlstadt, who stepped into the spotlight while acting as Brother Andres, and Munzer, who pretended to have secret conversations with God in the church tower and who understood how to keep others well informed about his revelations and was bravely demanding the blood of tyrants. Both of them were found to be appealing in the eyes of the people.

Melanchthon had not recognized the same spirit in the Zwickau prophets. However, Luther was more than capable of immediately providing instructions in Wittenberg about that spirit. In a letter to the elector and to Duke Johann, which he also shared publicly, he declared himself to have nothing to do with their intrigues. He wrote, "It is now a special joy for me that those belonging to our group are not taking such action. They (the swarmers) want to be commended that they are not with us and that they have not learned or received anything from us. But they claim to be receiving it from heaven and are hearing God himself speak with them as with angels. They say that it is a bad thing that Wittenberg is teaching about the faith, love, and cross of Christ."

With this description Luther had set forth, correctly and distinctly, the difference between the Allstedt spirit and the Wittenberg spirit. But at the same time he reminded both counts to be on the alert against the exorcised Satan. He had been running around in barren places looking for a resting place and finding none. Now he wished to fight on the side of good under its umbrella and protection. He wrote that he had noted how this spirit did not wish to leave things up to the Word but wanted to proceed with force.

"What might this spirit bring about if he were to gather the commoners to his cause? If they were to claim with impressive words, as they are wont to do, that the spirit is urging them to proceed with action and the use of strong muscles, I reply as follows: This surely has to be an evil spirit, who cannot achieve his success in any other way than with tearing down churches and monasteries and burning saints. Truly, this is what the cruelest bullies on earth might do, especially when they are sure of themselves and have no opposition. I would rate them higher if this

Allstedt spirit were to move on to Dresden, or Berlin, or Ingolstadt, instead of creeping away to such a remote corner, and dread being in full view. It should have to stand in the open before its enemies and opponents to bear witness and provide answers. But he has smelled the roast. He had been clouted on the nose once or twice before me in my monastery at Wittenberg. Therefore he trembles at the thought of such soup ...

"They should be allowed to preach as bravely and vigorously as they are able and against anyone they desire. For it is understood that there must be sects, and the Word of God has to be met to do battle. If their spirit were true, they would not be afraid of us and would have remained. If our spirit is true we shall not be afraid of them nor of anyone else. The spirits must be allowed to present themselves at the same place and confront each other. Will some be misled in the process? All right, that is what happens in regular warfare. Where there is quarrel, and even battle, some will fall and are wounded. But whoever does battle with words will be crowned the victor. But when they want to go beyond a battle of words, when they also want to break things up and strike with their fists, then your electoral grace must step in. Whether it pertains to them or us, forthrightly forbid warfare in your territory and say, "We gladly love to grant permission and see to it that you will be fighting with words so that true doctrine can survive, but refrain from using your fists, for that is our office, or get out of the country."

So Muenzer was given a hearing in August at Weimar. But when he realized that they were getting serious, he secretly fled from Allstedt and moved to Muehlhausen, where the former monk Pfeifer was his ally in thought and deed. But there circumstances soon developed that forced both of them to move on. Muenzer moved to southern Germany and Switzerland to continue his work there. In Nuernberg, where he now was established, he defended himself in a speech against Luther. Muenzer defended himself against the unspiritual and soft-living flesh of Wittenberg, for Luther had warned the city council of Muelhausen about him in a letter. (See L.V. Vol. 7, p. 75 ff.) In this speech he used especially despicable words against Luther.

But the fire which the swarmer had kindled kept glowing in the stove that the same swarmer had abandoned. Luther traveled there in August as he was responding to the elector's desire. When Luther preached against the murderous spirit of Allstedt at Jena, Carlstadt was present. Since Luther identified it as it was revealed through the attacks on pictures and the removal of sacraments, Carlstadt applied it to himself. Immediately following the church service he sent Luther a letter saying that they should meet for a discussion.

Luther invited him to the inn where he was staying, the inn of the Black Bear. Since he was just dining at a table with many guests, he asked Carlstadt to be seated among them. During the discussion Carlstadt resented being put in the same company with Muenzer. He claimed that when Muenzer had urged Carlstadt and the people at Orlamuende to rise in rebellion, Carlstadt had replied to Muenzer in a letter rejecting such urging. Luther acknowledged this. In response Luther pointed out that he had not named Carlstadt in his sermon. However, if Carlstadt believed himself to be under fire, he might consider himself to be just that. In any event Carlstadt belonged in the company of the new prophets. He had not shown himself to be openly honest in Wittenberg.

Carlstadt in turn accused Luther of teaching falsely about the Sacrament. When Luther asked him to prove it, he offered himself for a debate. He had not followed through with one in Wittenberg, which Carlstadt said was because he had not been allowed to write freely. But Luther promised him safe escort for the debate in Wittenberg and urged him to write freely against him. As a guarantee that he truly meant what he said Luther gave him a gold guilder. He furthermore supported his promise with a toast and a handshake. Carlstadt left with his gold guilder and immediately began to write.

In Kahla, where the fire was also burning, Luther found a smashed crucifix when he mounted the pulpit. So right in front of him he had a piece of proof showing the spirit that had been active there. He calmly pushed it aside and delivered his sermon.

Those from Orlamuende had formerly asked him to come by way of a rather impolite letter. When he indicated that he would come, they had sent him a second invitation to Jena. When he appeared on the 24th of August, the local residents were quickly gathered from the harvest fields. Luther would not deal with Carlstadt, who was now his public opponent and had accepted his guilders as such. Carlstadt left when Luther explained that if Carlstadt stayed, Luther would leave.

Now it was time for negotiations to begin. Luther was presenting their letter to the local residents. They protested against Luther that he was identifying them along with the swarmers. In so doing, however, they exhibited such a strong spirit of the swarmers that Luther recognized there was nothing he could do there. He climbed into his wagon and rode away. Let's listen to his own explanation as to what was going on there. He said, "Carlstadt had convinced me at Jena through his writing that I should not have mingled his spirit with that of Allstedt. But when I came to Orlamuende at the directive of the elector and was among his Christians, I found out what kind of seed had been sown there. I was glad that they did not shower me with dirt and stones, as some of them were giving me this kind of a blessing: 'Move on in the name of a thousand devils, and may you break your neck before you get out of the city.'"

When Carlstadt and his followers came out with yet another complaint against Luther to the elector, such insolence caused him to run out of patience. Carlstadt was ordered out of the country. He wrote two farewell letters, one to the men the other to the women of the congregation at Orlamuende, and signed them: "Andreas Bodenstein, undebated and undefeated, driven away through Martinum Lutherum." The bells called the congregation together for the reading of the letters, and eyes were damp as they saw the writer fade into the distance.

We do not wish to follow Carlstadt through all of his travels, hither and yonder. Wherever he went he would be welcomed at first, but then they were happy for him to move on. He was causing unrest everywhere and was party to other restless spirits. In Strassburg he was turned away by the council after a short stay. There he had again caused confusion because

of the pictures. The Strassburg preachers sent a special messenger to Luther with a request for a Gutachten concerning his teaching, and Luther responded with an epistle to "the dearest friends of God, to all Christians at Strassburg." (See L.V. Vol. 2, p. 78ff.)

Since the petitioners had made special reference to Carlstadt's teaching on the Lord's Supper, Luther reacted to it in his letter. "This much I admit," he wrote in response. "If Carlstadt or someone else had informed me five years ago that there is nothing but bread and wine in the Sacrament, he would have done me a great service. Truly, at that time I had to endure such deep despair that I was wringing my hands and was physically squirming. I would have rejoiced to get out of that despair because I could see very well that in doing so I could have given the papacy the greatest pain. I even had two others write to me with more skill than Dr. Carlstadt, and they did not murder words according to their way of thinking. But I am held captive and cannot escape. The text is too powerful and does not allow the words of others to tear out its meaning. Yes, even if it were to happen today that someone were able to convince me with sound reason that only bread and wine are present here, I could not be allowed to be moved to anger as a result. Truly, I become more inclined for the cause with every breath. But the way that Carlstadt imagines this doctrine bothers me so little that actually through it my understanding grows only stronger."

But Luther would square off against Carlstadt even more in the writing, "Against the Heavenly Prophets about Pictures and Sacrament," which he now published in two sections. We shall treat the second section later. In the first section he dealt mainly with the pictures and demonstrates the misuse that Carlstadt was promoting using the Old Testament Law. In the middle of his argument he attacked his money hungry opponent, asking why he didn't hurl his coins away since they also had pictures on them. Carlstadt had been bearing false witness everywhere with his claim that he had been forced out by Doctor Luther and been driven unjustly away by the elector. Luther turned this against him by explaining that Luther was exposing the crooked methods by which

Carlstadt had landed at Orlamuende. He showed how all of the admonitions which had been sent to Carlstadt, to abstain from his raging and scattering of rubble and to sever all ties with the other swarming spirits, were without fruit. He pointed out that it would not be a credit to Carlstadt if the spirit which was hovering around his spirit was bringing about things that were even worse.

Carlstadt himself would clearly provide the actual proof of how correct Luther's verdict was. He did so when in 1525 he stood in a cemetery at Rothenburg, located next to the Tauber River. Dressed in farmer's clothing he incited the farmers to rebel against the higher authorities.

Chapter 28

The Peasant War

At that time inciting the farmers to rebellion did not require a lot of skillful speech. Since the last decades of the 15th century the condition of the German farmer had declined rapidly. They were being deprived of inheritance rights, and new taxes were being levied against them. They were being leached by the nobles, by the merchants, and by the clergy: by the nobles through taxes and forced service; by the rich merchants through usury; by high and low priests through a hundred different ways of pilfering their purses. They were being pressed in the most demeaning manner especially up the Rhine River, in "The Preacher Alley," as Maximilian used to call it. This was taking place even though crop failure and the plague should have earned them helpful support. In addition the farmers at that time were far less satisfied with their lot than before and serving their bellies was becoming more and more common.

True piety, which allows one to serve the enemy and patiently accept injustice, was rare in German lands. Was it any wonder that the farmers of that time would look up with concealed anger and covetousness at the castles and monasteries, where festive and joyous revels were taking place? Was it any wonder that farmers' hands and fists were ready to reach out against those residing within the walls and for those instruments which were being hid in their cupboards, boxes, and basements?

So we also hear that around the time when the 15th century changed to the 16th, farmers were plotting rebellion under oath. One such secret alliance was identified under the picture of a farmer's shoe, the "Slave Boot," on its banners. Another had its secret oath in this rhyme:

"What kind of business is this mess?
The mighty and the priests oppress."

(Roughly rephrased in translation from:)

Was ist das denn nun fuer ein Wesen?

Man kann fuer Menschen und Pfaffen nit genesen.

A literal translation would be: What is that now for an existence? One can not prosper because of the Muencheners (wealthy citizens of Munich {?}) and preachers have no recovering. "Muenchen" might possibly be an old, slang form for "monks." "Pfaffen" is slang, a slightly derogatory term for pastors. The singular would be "Pfaff.")

What would happen if the Allstedt spirit would insert itself into this mess and even add new throngs to its numbers? What could happen if they were presented with a caricature of the so-called pure doctrine of Christian freedom as though it (*a sort of political freedom*) were the gospel? What might a person expect if papal counts were to permit persecution on account of faith to be added to the other forms of oppression?

With fear and trepidation Luther was watching all of this taking shape. As a farmer's son he understood that you don't fool around with "Mr. Omnes," the masses, especially at such a time. He wrote a faithful warning to that extent against the forceful oppression from the higher authorities to the lowest commoners. He rightly dreaded the Allstedt spirit.

But his warning was in vain. A severe test stood before the reformation. It was already bursting forth. In 1524 flames were already shooting into the sky here and there, and soon the skies of Germany were filled with a reddish glow from the horrible fire which threatened to devour everything that the Spirit of God had built up. Where the Black Forest divides the headwaters of the Danube River from the Rhine River valley, masses of farmers began to band together and to lash out. Soon the wave of rebellion was sweeping across southern and central Germany. Both at the beginning and later, when the rebellion became a little more disciplined, the farmers were making their demands, and when they met opposition they threw weapons and fire-bombs.

But for others this was not enough. This was especially too tame for the arch-devil of Allstedt. Muenzer had now returned to Thuringia, and things became very serious. In Muelhausen he was received as a master and a prophet, and he preached murder and fire without end before the thousands of farmers who streamed into his audience. Weapons were being forged. Huge cannons were being cast. Soon smoke was rising from burning monasteries and castles. All of them, without exception, were supposed to vanish from the face of the earth. And no grace was to be granted to their inhabitants. There were to be no terms offered and none to be accepted. "Go! Go! Go!" Muenzer was urging. "This is the time. The evil ones are despairing like dogs. Go! Go! Go! Show no mercy, though Esau is suggesting good words. Don't consider the lamentations of the godless. They shall beg you as friends, crying, pleading like children. Don't let mercy prevail as commanded by Moses in Deuteronomy 7 and as revealed to us. Go! Go! Go! While the fire is hot! Forge, "ping—ping" on the anvil of Nimrod. Hurl the tower down to the ground. It is impossible for you to be free of human terror as long as they live. Don't let your swords, steeped in human blood, cool off. Go, while it is day!" Nor was Muenzer the only one who was fanning the flames. Pfeifer was also back again, and soon others would learn their language. Where the tidal wave passed by, farmers and citizens were forced to participate. Where they refused, blood would flow, and the red roosters would fly to the rooftops.

If Luther had placed himself at its head when the movement began! - The peasants in Bavaria had called for him, you know. "The Twelve Articles," in which they had set forth their demands, were sent to him. He was to react to these. Among those who were being attacked by this erupting storm were his most bitter enemies. But Luther did not for a moment waver as to what position he must take. Indeed, even before he had learned of the actual uprising of the farmers and their ensuing work of blood and fire, he was writing at Eisleben, where he was asked after Easter of 1525 to help to start the rebuilding of a new school. He wrote an "Admonition toward Peace in regard to the Twelve Articles of the Farmers' Alliance in Swabia." (L.V. Vol. 27, 28. p. 7 ff.)

In it he first confronted the counts and lords, the bishops and priests with the truth that they were driving the poor people to despair with their tortures, their lust for treasure, and their raging against the gospel. "If I now had the desire to avenge myself," he wrote, "I would laugh into my fist and watch the farmers, or perhaps even join them and make the situation even worse. May my God preserve me from such action as he has done till now." Concerning the Twelve Articles he stated that some are fair and right. But the manner in which the farmers were demanding them cannot be blamed on his teaching as some were accusing, but the murderous prophets had penetrated among the people.

This he now brought to light as he turned his attention to the farmers. For them to call their gathering a Christian assembly he described as a misuse of the name of God. The gospel teaches us to bless those who insult us, and the Christian way to be delivered from evil is to be derived from the Lord's Prayer. Truly, he declares that if they continue in their rebellion they are worse enemies of the gospel than the pope and Caesar. Their first article, in which they requested the right to choose their own preachers, he declared to be valid. He rejected the others or referred them to those who were better acquainted with the law. In conclusion he encouraged both sides to deal with each other in peaceful manner.

However, shortly after he offered his response, Luther learned how the peasants were acting and that there was already a full rebellion in Thuringia and Saxony. He then played a different role. Yet there were still some farmers in those lands who had been affected by the storm but still wanted to be dealt with. Perhaps he could still accomplish something there. But there was no time to lose. The waves were swelling higher and higher. It was estimated that the number of rebels who had assembled had grown to 35,000 within the count's territory, and there was danger that the number was growing. Luther decided on short order to throw himself personally into that tidal wave. He traveled from Eisenach right into the middle of this boiling cauldron of rebellion and tried to call those farmers to reason with his sermons, but in vain.



Picture of Thomas Muenzer according to an old woodcut

Muenzer's Execution site in the background

"About the Thuringian farmers," he reported, "I found out for myself that the more a person admonishes and teaches, the more stubborn, proud, and furious they become. In every instance they acted intentionally and daringly, as though they wanted to be killed without any grace or compassion." Thus he was forced to give up his last try, which he had dared at the risk of body and life. He returned to Wittenberg and once again took his pen in hand. He issued a new work and gave it the title, "Against the Murdering and Robbing Rabble of Farmers." In it he urged the authorities to do their duty, to take up the sword and start brandishing it, since every other effort had been spent in vain.

That is what happened. Count Albrecht of Mansfeld had already scattered a horde of rebels in all directions. Now Landgrave Philip of Hessen, who had quelled the rebellion in his own territory, moved in to help. On May 15 "Muenzer and his sword of Gideon" was attacked from behind his bulwark of wagons, and he and his poorly equipped farmers were defeated. Half of those farmers were slain during their flight. But Muenzer, who had been hiding out in a bed, was taken alive. He together with Pfeifer and other ringleaders were beheaded at Muehlhausen. The rebellion was also extinguished in Swabia and Franken through heavy use of force, and the courts delivered terrible verdicts against the conquered.

There was one man who had succeeded in calming his farmers with his words; that was Elector Johann (1486-1525). The Elector Frederick had not witnessed the bloody conclusion of the Peasants' Rebellion. He had fallen asleep May 5 at Lochau, quietly and peacefully as he had lived, a true "Peace-rich." (This is a play on the German names, "Friedrich"[Frederick = „Peaceful“] and "Friedreich" [Peace rich] with the addition of an extra 'e' in the second syllable.) He had just received Communion, as it had been instituted by Christ, from his father confessor. His body was ceremoniously laid to rest. However, the ceremony was not papal. Luther, who had been called back from his trip among the farmers, preached two sermons in memory of the count on the text of I. Thessalonians 4:13-18. Martin Luther had never spoken with him directly, but the count lovingly remembered him during his final hours.



Frederick the Wise (1486-1525)

According to a painting by Cranach

Neither side thanked Luther for his position during the Peasant War. The fact that he had addressed the consciences of the counts, the papal lords, and their adherents was seen as having a part in stirring up the rebellion. His reference to blasphemy in his "Admonition toward Peace" was sounded out repeatedly. Duke George in particular, in whose territory the hordes of Muenzer had carried on a campaign of fire and murder, now acted as though these hordes had been made up of Lutherans and turned his sword against innocent people as well, just because they were Lutheran.

On the other hand, because Luther had later urged the authorities to smother the rebellion with the sword, the conquered held that against him. They voiced the blasphemy that, when Luther saw how it was going to end, he had hung his garment into the wind and washed his hands like Pilate.

But in both instances Luther had known what to do, and in his "Epistle about the Hard Pamphlet against the Farmers", he conceded absolutely nothing he had written. (S. L.V. Vol. 27, 28, p. 53ff.) He only spared himself from the misinterpretation that he had wanted to speak against the lords who, even after the rebellion had been smothered, were raging against the conquered with very cruel and bloody verdicts. He pleaded as intercessor for some individuals who had been misled. Even Carlstadt was seeking refuge under his wings. He had been as good as executed at first by the very farmers in the region of Rothenburg whom he had personally incited. Now he was being sought as the cause of the rebellion and he came to Luther for help in his time of need. He had not overestimated Luther's generosity. After Carlstadt had given a somewhat satisfying explanation, he was granted forgiveness by the elector on the strength of Luther's intervention and allowed to settle as a quiet village resident. He had promised to no longer preach or write but to "remain eternally silent and support himself only by his labor."

When the former despiser of baptism conducted a child's baptism the following February, Luther was present as a guest. The sponsors were Melancthon, Jonas, and Luther's wife.

Chapter 29

Luther's Marriage

One of the nuns who had escaped from the Nimtzsch convent that Easter night of 1523 was Katharina von Bora. She had been in that convent from the age of ten. She hailed from an old but poor family of the noble class. When Luther's teaching penetrated through the trellis and into the cells of the convent she, together with the other sisters of the convent, learned to consider their station in life in a new light. Nine of them had desperately pleaded with the families to take them out. But their petitions fell on deaf ears until Luther personally interceded on their behalf. He assigned the task of their liberation to the former councilman, Koppe of Torgau. He, in turn, brought them safely through the territory of Duke George on the third holiday of Easter. They traveled to Wittenberg in a covered wagon. To this day a slipper is on display at Nimtzsch, supposedly lost by Katharina during her flight.

"You might ask what I will do with them?" Luther wrote to Spalatin at that time. "First, I shall write to their relatives to take them in; if not, I shall seek to find a home for them some other way; for some have made a promise to me. Some of them I shall marry off, if I can."

His intercession with the relatives seems to have borne no fruit. Thus those poor women had to be housed somewhere else. Katharina von Bora was warmly welcomed in the home of the city secretary, Philip Reichenbach. She stayed there for two years, "quietly and well."

When Luther wrote that he would marry some of that "poor lot of women" off, he did not think that he himself would offer his hand to one of them. And if he would have had some idea after meeting them for the first time, his choice would not have been Katharina. He "suspected that she was proud and arrogant." Instead he brought her to the attention of a young man of Nuernberg, who had been considering her toward the end of 1524.

He implied that another suitor had stepped forth and if he wanted her he should not waste any time. As far as the other suitor was concerned, he was Dr. Glatz, pastor of Orlamuende. Katharina could not warm up to



Luther according to a painting by Cranach, 152

him and asked Amsdorf to help so that she would not be forced into a marriage with him. At the same time she did not hesitate to make it clear that if Amsdorf or Luther would have her, she would not resist. The declining of a suitor, whom she had to consider favorable since the match-suggestion was coming from Luther, her benefactor, was no doubt difficult for poor Katharina.



Katharina Luther, nee v. Bora, according to a painting by Cranach, 1525

Thus it is understandable for her to make her offer, by which she gratefully expressed her warm regard for Luther. Luther, who himself was of an honest and frank nature, may well have been moved by the open honesty of this woman who had been abandoned.

In 1525 when the spring-tide of rebellion was raging, Luther began to note that the devil seemed to have it in for him personally and wanted to see him dead. He wrote the following in a letter, "If I could send a spiteful

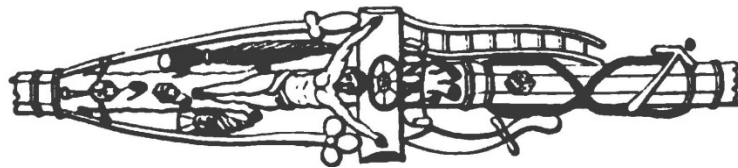
message to the devil, I shall take my Kate as my wife before I die, as I am hearing that they are carrying on." Soon afterwards he challenged the Archbishop Albrecht to enter marriage by sending this message, "If my marriage may prove to strengthen his electoral grace, I shall soon be ready to gallop ahead of his electoral grace as an example. For I have in mind, before I leave this life, to find myself in a state of matrimony, which I regard as commanded by God, even if it were no more than an engagement marriage like that of Joseph." He later spoke of his intention, "I had completely decided this within myself, before I took a woman as my wife, to honor the state of marriage. Were I to be unexpectedly dying or lying on my death bed, I would have allowed myself to be wed to a believing maiden and would have thereupon given her two silver chalices as evening and morning gifts." That he had truly made the right choice following his heartfelt prayer is a given in Luther's case. He later expressed that very thought with the words, "Friend, do as I did. When I wanted to take my Kate, I prayed to the Lord God about it with all solemnity. You do the same."

When Luther learned that there was slander being spread about his relationship with Kate, he hastened to carry out his decision. Since he must have been afraid that some of his friends might try to talk him out of it, he consulted none of them for advice. He did all he could to prevent the most fearful one among them, Melanchthon, from finding out. On June 13 he invited Pastor Bugenhagen, Provost Jonas, the professor of law Dr. Apel, and also the artist and councilman, Lucas Cranach, and his wife to an evening meal. Thus in their company and with them as witnesses he entered into marriage with Katharina von Bora according to the customary practice. The bridegroom was in his 42nd and the bride in her 27th year of life.

The following morning the newly-weds hosted the witnesses of their marriage with a hardy breakfast. The gift of an excellent wine came from the municipal magistrate. On the 27th of June Luther and his wife Kate, who were now living in the monastery building, invited a number of friends for a wedding supper, to which a festive procession to the church was attached.

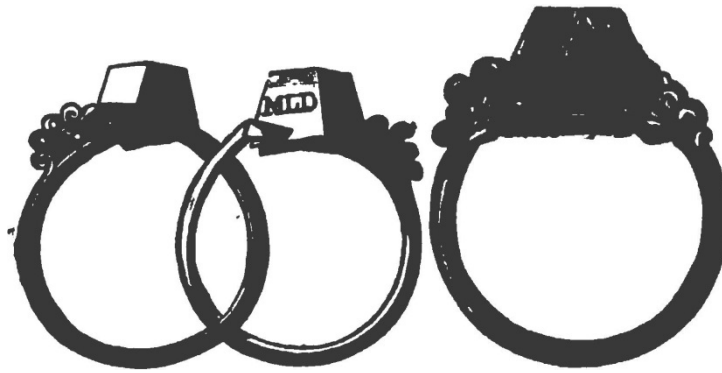
The guests: Spalatin, Amsdorf, Link, Koppe and others, but especially Luther's father and mother, were asked to confess themselves on behalf of his marriage before God and the world and represent him honorably. The city magistrate and the university also took advantage of the situation to make a public statement. The first sent a keg of Einbecker bier and 20 guilders, the other a stately silver goblet as wedding presents. The goblet, which is now in possession of the University of Greifswald, has the inscription at the bottom:

"The laudible University of the Electoral city of Wittenberg honors Doctor Martino Luthero and his virgin bride Kethe v. Boren with this wedding gift."



Display of the Wedding Ring pertaining to Martin and Catarina Luther

Wedding rings were most likely not used in Luther's marriage ceremony. Yet two rings are still being displayed in memory of the occasion. Katharina may have given one of them to Luther later as a remembrance of their wedding day. It is skillfully finished in filigreed and raised gold-work. Besides a ruby it shows the image of the crucified Savior, the instruments of torture, and the dice of the soldiers. On the inside flat surfaces is the inscription: D. Martino Luthero Catharina v. Boren, June 13, 1525.



A view of how the other double ring fits together

The other ring consists of two ring-bands which may be joined to each other. The mountings of the two jewels, a diamond and a ruby, display on the two facing flats, situated alongside each other, the first letters of the names of the wedding couple: M.L.D. [Martinus Luther Doctor] and C.v.B. [Catharine von Bora]. The inside of one of the bands displays the inscription, WHAT GOD HAS JOINED TOGETHER, the inscription inside the other continues, LET MAN NOT SEPARATE

Thus the marriage took place on June 13th and was publicly announced with much cheer on the 27th. There were many, both friends and enemies, who were shaking their heads, but Luther just let them do so for as long as they could keep it up. In his Kate, God had given Luther not an angel but a faithful, upright woman, and he thanked God for the treasure he had in her. It did not bother him that his enemies were reminding people of the legend that the antichrist would be born from a marriage of a monk and a nun. He knew that the antichrist did not need to be born to exist. Luther, the reformer of the Church, became a husband and father, who also set an example for how to reform Christian family life, another reformation that was needed.

Luther had made no concession to the antichrist as a married man. His first publication as a married man served as a witness for this purpose.

It was the book, "The Bondage of the Will," or "That Free Will Does Not Exist." This book was published against Erasmus of Rotterdam.

Chapter 30

Erasmus of Rotterdam

When Luther published his book, "About the Babylonian Captivity," a counter treatise appeared, of which Henry VIII of England claimed authorship. This lustful tyrant considered himself to be a great theologian. As a reward for this treatise, in which he with unbelievable coarseness and conceit hurled himself at Luther as a snarling, demonic wolf and an incorrigible heretic, who was already in the devil's belly, Pope Leo X gave him the title, "Defender of the Faith." The pope also promised that anyone who would read this royal work would receive ten years worth of indulgence. In his reply, which Luther first published in Latin in 1522, and later in German after Duke George had seen to it that Henry's work had been translated, Luther carved him as though splitting wedges for a rough wood-block. Luther played him so well that the king sent a complaint to the Elector Frederick through a special ambassador. "I knew very well," Luther wrote shortly thereafter, "that I would deliver a blow to many a person's head with what I would write against the king of England, that ill-bred and poisonous Thomist; except it also gave me pleasure and was necessary for a number of reasons. No one knows what I am doing now, but it will be realized later."

The elector, as was his manner, merely dismissed the matter with a wave of his hand and reminded the king of the style of his own treatise. On the other hand, that twirler of a big club, Eck, came to the defense of the ill-amused King Henry. Luther took no notice of him. But Henry VIII had won over another avenger, a man, whom many honored as the king of the intellectual worlds, the genius Erasmus of Rotterdam.

Erasmus was a highly gifted man, well educated but at the same time frivolous and with an ambitious wit. At the time when Luther appeared on the scene Erasmus was the most celebrated intellectual by far in the western world. His many journeys were like triumphal processions in

which counts and bishops, universities and magistrates vied to display their high regard for him. He drew his regular annual salary from a number of high ranking persons, in addition, many gifts of money and valuables flowed toward him. At the same time he had accumulated large debts because of a number of foolish donations to schools and to the Roman church. He was also the one who brought the first printed edition of the Greek New Testament to the market in 1516. Next to this, he had published commentaries on the books of the New Testament. But in the process, as those commentaries testify, the center and star of Holy Scripture, Jesus, the Savior of poor sinners, and the righteousness that comes by grace alone through faith, had remained hidden from him. What he had wanted to do was to build a kingdom of intellectuals, extending across many nations, for the use of beautiful study, all around the uncontested royal scepter of the scientific dictator, Erasmus.

Suddenly, to his dismay, up popped the Wittenberg monk, a man who knew nothing about being celebrated by the giants of the earth as was customary for Erasmus. Erasmus did not know nor did he want to know this man who would divert the entire stream of spiritual activity and behavior into a new, wide river bed and who threatened to leave Erasmus sitting high and dry. Soon thousands of people would be singing the praise of that bold Augustinian, as though there had never been an Erasmus. The star of this genius would fade throughout the world in comparison with the gleaming reformer. What should he do?

Should he support Luther? His ego would not allow it, and it could even become dangerous. He had no desire for a martyr's crown. His gifts and annual salaries were things that Luther never thought about. But he did not want to fall out of favor with the higher lords. Should he begin to support the issue that Luther was attacking? He did not want to do that either. He himself had spitefully tilted against clerisy and scholastic wisdom.

Hence, he first attempted to position himself as superior to both sides and to apply the brakes to both of them. When he was entreated to render a verdict on Luther's books he side-stepped the issue by explaining

that he did not read them; thus he could neither support nor reject them. Yet at Cologne, before the Diet of Worms, in a conversation with Elector Frederick he had explained that Luther had sinned in regard to two issues, namely, that he caused offense to the papal crown and the bellies of the monks. But when the papal ban against Luther became public knowledge, he made it his top priority to write to Pope Leo X, asserting that he had neither commonality nor acquaintance with Luther's writings and that he was restraining himself to his own writing only so that he would not make things worse in the polemic quarrel.

But in acting this way he made both sides despise him. The romanists as well as the Lutherans saw Erasmus either as a coward or a totally senseless individual who had no conviction whatsoever, or indeed as both of these. The latter, no doubt, was the correct assessment. While at the Wartburg Luther had already offered his judgment that Erasmus knew nothing about divine grace and shunned the cross. He later wrote about him, "He has brought in the languages and has called us away from godless studies. Perhaps he will die with Moses in the land of Moab. He is able neither to show what is good nor to lead anyone into the promised land.

However, Erasmus could not maintain his position over an extended period of time, at least not if he did not want to completely disappear from the dance. When the crowned benefactor, Henry VIII, pressured him repeatedly to step up as his avenger and write against Luther, he finally yielded with fear and trembling. He wrote a book about "Free Will" against the teaching of Luther and Holy Scripture regarding the total corruption of man by nature. He began by explaining that in all things he submitted to the resolutions of the church. He regarded those as more certain than when an individual relies on Scripture, which is lacking in clarity. He continued by saying that if a person would take a closer look he would discover that he was unable to believe anything at all with the firm confidence of heart, as we find it to be with Luther. Concerning free will he then taught that man has the ability to turn toward God's grace or to turn away from it, essentially the teaching of the ancient heretic, Pelagius. With

the statement, "The die has been cast," Erasmus sent his concoction to his lofty benefactors.

Luther had gotten wind of this writing's coming into existence even before it appeared. He had anticipated that the learned genius, Erasmus, would produce something brilliant, if not in regard to the issue itself, then in regard to its execution. How amazed he was when, in September 1524, he got to see the book! The scrawling in regard to such a fertile subject was so pitiful and lamentable that Luther had to make every effort in his decision as to how to respond. That is how in December of the following year Luther came into the spotlight with his reply in very good Latin, "About the Enslaved Will," or, as Jonas entitled it in his translation, "That Free Will Does Not Exist." ("Dass der freie Wille nichts sei" – literally: "That the Free Will is nothing.") In the introduction Luther explained that he was at this time answering the book of Erasmus, which he had almost disdainfully left unanswered. He added that his reason for this was that his friends had reminded him that many people might allow themselves to be fooled, due to the author's popularity, and so he looked at his response as his duty to his office and to make clear what he owed in regard to this book, even though it didn't deserve it.

He begins by showing how reprehensible it was for Erasmus to leave everything in doubt, holding Scripture responsible for its darkness, whereas in truth it is bright and clear. "You are reading falsely concerning the issues," he wrote, "because you do not read the Scriptures diligently or do not pay attention." Going on, he blames Erasmus that in other matters, such as the teaching of the eternal election, he tears open the lock and the door, even though here God conserves secrets, which God did not want to reveal. "Why," he wrote, "did you not let yourself remain unconcerned and also direct others to leave such things unexplored? There are things that God wills to be hidden from us and of which he does not speak in Scripture. Here it would have been proper to place your finger across your mouth, to meet with awe what is hidden, to worship the secret counsel of God's majesty, and to say with Paul, "But who are you, O man, to talk back to God. ... (Rom. 9:20)

"But then you continue: Who will improve his life? I answer: no one! Nor is anyone able to do so; and in regard to any life improvement which occurs without the Spirit, as you speak about it, God is not interested, because it only produces hypocrites. But the elect and the upright will improve themselves through the Holy Spirit; the others will remain unimproved. ... Furthermore you say: who will believe that God loves him? I answer: no human being will believe it or is able to believe it. But the elect will believe it. The others will be condemned in unbelief, are angry, and blaspheme, just as you are doing here. Therefore there will be some, who will believe. But for you to say that through these teachings door and window are opened to godlessness: let this be the case! May those belong to the leprosy of which I spoke above who are to be acknowledged as evil. Nevertheless, through this teaching the door to righteousness is being opened, at the same time the entrance to heaven, the way to God for the upright and the elect.

"What does it profit then, or for what is it necessary to proclaim such a thing, since there seems to be so much evil derived from it?' I answer: 'It would be enough for a person to say: God wants it to be proclaimed, but we are not to search for the purpose of God's will but worship him in simplicity and honor God that he who alone is just and wise treats no one unjustly. He does not treat anything foolishly or approximately, though it may seem different to us. The believers are satisfied with this answer.'

"But before we do anything else two things must be tended to so that this teaching may be proclaimed. The first is the humbling of our pride and the recognition of the grace of God; the other is the Christian faith itself. First, God has certainly promised his grace to the humble, that is, to those who lament their misery and fall into despair on their own. But man cannot be totally humbled until he knows that his salvation is completely and fully removed from his own powers, counsels, resolutions, will, and works; derived completely from another source, namely, only from God's action, counsel, will, and work. For as long as a person carries the opinion that he is capable of the smallest effort for his salvation, he remains

confident in himself and does not totally despair of himself. Hence, he will not be humbled before God, but retains for himself some sort of place, time or any kind of work, or hopes or wishes for at least something, whereby he will finally reach salvation.

"But whoever does not doubt that this originates from God's will completely and fully, despairs for himself, does not make a choice, but waits for God to work, he is closest to the grace to be saved. Thus this is being proclaimed for the sake of the elect that they are saved, after they have been humbled and reduced to nothing in this way. The others strive against this humbling, indeed, they condemn the fact that they are being taught to despair of themselves. They want something, even if it were the very smallest thing, left to them, that they might do it. These remain secretly proud and enemies of God's grace."

With these examples the basic thoughts are offered throughout the book about how man's will can contribute absolutely nothing toward his conversion and salvation. On the contrary, God's grace alone has to produce the wanting and accomplishing and has to give and preserve the faith. Indeed, it is exactly this, that God has taken our salvation entirely out of our hands and laid it in his own hands, which supplied Luther with powerful comfort.

"Yes, I confess," he wrote in conclusion, "that even if it were possible, I would not want free will to be given to me, nor anything else placed in my hand, by which I could try to achieve my salvation." For, he says, if we had to preserve our salvation over and against so many enemies, no man would be saved. "But now," he continued, "since God has removed my salvation from my will and has laid it on his own will and has also promised to preserve me not through my working or running, but through his grace and compassion, therefore I am secure. I am sure that he is faithful and will not lie to me. He is also powerful and great so that no devil, no opposition can topple him or steal me from him. 'No one,' he says, 'can snatch them out of my hand.'"

This powerful treatise received widely different reactions outside of the papal church. One opinion, which Calvin claimed somewhat later and which is maintained to this very day, is that in regard to this teaching Luther had abandoned his position later in his life. On the other hand, others have attempted to water down the content of this book, claiming that Luther had not really meant it in the way in which it was written and only wrote this way against Erasmus in the heat of battle. None of that is true. Rather Luther himself emphasizes in this book that he is not drifting in doubt like Erasmus, but that he is speaking in all seriousness and is fully convinced.

Luther never took back any of what he had here written. To the contrary, he later referred to this work and to his Catechism as those of his writings he would like to see preserved, even if the others were to disappear. He also confessed this work before his students during the last years of his life. And he could do so because there is no truth to the statement that Luther taught any of the terrible things that some have read into this book. However, it is certain that much of what Luther presents in this excellent work, which approaches the impenetrable depths of Scripture and corresponding Scriptural doctrine, is heavy food which not everyone can take. Luther writes about it, "Therefore, take heed that you do not drink wine while you are still a suckling babe. Each doctrine has its measure, time, and age."

Chapter 31

The Spreading of the Reformation

The spring season of the reformation, during which the seed of the gospel was sown, was stormy as we have seen. But the crop sprouted, and the storm which Satan had previously unleashed now produced the result that the plants were sinking their roots deeper into the soil, awaiting the time when they would produce blades and then ears. It was happening now, especially in cities outside of the territory of Saxony, that a growing number of gospel preachers could water the seeds which Luther had planted with his testimony. We have already heard about Nuernberg, and Strassburg as well. The gospel was also being welcomed in Magdeburg, in Frankfurt of the Main River, in Ulm, in Hall of Swabia, in Breslau, and in Bremen. The landgrave, Philip of Hessen, asked for a brief lesson about the disputed points of doctrine as he traveled along a stretch with Melanchthon. In July he commanded that the pure gospel was to be preached in his territory. The following year he, the son-in-law of Duke George, declared that he would yield his country and his life before he would give up the gospel.

The reformation also made inroads into Mecklenburg, and in Hamburg there was the beginning of "the search for God's Word." But a special bit of good news came from Prussia. There two Catholic bishops had changed over to the Lutheran doctrine already during 1523 and 1524. When in 1525 Margrave Albrecht of Brandenburg became the first Duke of Prussia, this region got its gospel ruler. Even before his installation he had applied to receive Lutheran preachers. Luther now wrote about him, "Because he gave place and honor to the gospel, it provided him with place and honor, much more than he could have wished."

The gospel had gotten a foothold earlier in Riga, Reval, and Dorpat, as well as in Danzig. Most of those listed cities and territories had contacted Luther personally and received counsel, encouragement, and

comfort from him in his friendly replies. This is how he responded in 1523 to the "chosen dear friends of God, to all Christians at Righe, Revell, and Tarbthe (Riga, Reval, and Dorpat)" To those of Riga, who had asked him "to write something Christian for them," he sent an interpretation of the 127th Psalm in 1524. And when he found out that rabble rousers were also at work in their territory, he sent an encouragement to "all dear Christians in Latvia, and to their pastors."

The blessings of God which he was pouring out on Germany were also overflowing to the countries outside of Germany.

Immediately after the Leipzig debate, during which Luther had been pressed to comment on the Kostnitz Council, two priests from Prague had approached Luther with wishes of good fortune, including gifts. The rumor had been spread repeatedly that Luther would flee to the Bohemians if he could not remain in Germany. Luther himself admitted that he would have liked to visit the Bohemians. Luther's teaching was being accepted here and there. But the spread of the gospel was hindered when a Roman inclined group gained the upper hand. The fact that Luther was conscientiously guarding against gaining followers through compromise of the truth for the great good becomes evident in regard to the false teaching the Bohemians held regarding Holy Communion. He severed his relationship with them, after he had in vain instructed them with a treatise, "Concerning the Worship of the Holy Body of Christ." (L.V. Vol. 25,26, p. 206 ff.)

The Petersen brothers, who had studied under Luther in Wittenberg, had carried the gospel to Sweden as early as 1519. The fact that the influence of Wittenberg had been realized had become evident by way of the encouragement of Christian II of Denmark. This has already been mentioned. Hans Tausen, who had also sat at Luther's feet, had been active there since 1524, at first facing strong persecution.

In the Netherlands the powerful words of their order's brother from Wittenberg had entered the cells of the Augustinian monks and had gained brave souls for the truth. The Edict of Worms was being strictly enforced by the Domina Margaretha, Caesar's aunt. On July 1, 1523, two confessors of

the Augustinian order, Henry Voes and John Esch, were publicly burned in front of the city hall in Brussels, the capital. Luther expressed their martyr's deaths in song with a hymn which began:

By help of God I fain would tell a new and wondrous story
And sing a marvel that befell to his great praise and glory.
At Brussels, in the Netherlands, he has his banner lifted,
To show his wonders by the hands of two youths highly gifted
With rich and heavenly graces.

At the conclusion he sang:

- 10 Their ashes never cease to cry, the fires are ever flaming,
Their dust throughout the world does fly, their murderous shame
proclaiming.
The voices, which with cruel hands they put to silence living
Are heard, though dead, throughout all lands their testimony giving
And loud hosannas singing.
11. From lies to lies they still proceed and feign forthwith a story
To color o'er their murderous deed: their conscience pricks them
sorely.
These saints of God, e'en after death they slandered and asserted
The youths had with their latest breath confessed and been
converted,
Their heresy renouncing.
- 12 Then let them still go on and lie, they cannot win a blessing;
And let us thank God heartily, his Word again possessing.
Summer is even at our door, the winter now has vanished.
The tender flowerets spring once more and he who winter banished
Will send a happy summer.

(The whole hymn L.V. Vol. 25, 26, p. 278 ff.)

(A translation from German to English of all 12 stanzas of this hymn is printed on p. 190 in The Handbook to the Lutheran Hymnal, copyright 1958 by Concordia Publishing House.)

Luther held the pope responsible for the execution. When the deceased Bishop Benno of Meissen, who had died at the beginning of the 12th century, was granted sainthood, Luther reacted. He issued a written response, "Against the New Idol and Old Devil, Who is to be Elevated at Meissen." He stated that this is Hadrian's way: He burned the real saints at Brussels. Now, he is elevating Benno in their place, yes, the devil himself.

The persecutions in the Netherlands had not nearly reached their end with the execution of the two Augustinians. Luther comforted the oppressed with an "Epistle to the Dear Christians in Holland, Brabant (Belgium) and Flanders." (L.V. Vol. 7, p. 48 ff.)

Another Augustinian brother from Antwerp, Heinrich von Zuetphen, had been snatched away from his native land from those persecutors. He later proclaimed the gospel, first in Bremen and then in Dithmarschen. He was gruesomely butchered by a gang of farmers who had been incited by the monks. Luther dedicated one of his works to his martyrdom. (L.V. Vol. 25, 26, p. 248 ff.) We had previously mentioned how Lutheran subjects were persecuted by the counts, who were enforcing the Edict of Worms, even to the point of losing their lives.

It was regrettable that Luther had to experience the retreat of some of his friends during those years in which the reformation was blossoming in the midst of the spring storms. Some withdrew into silence. The behavior of his spiritual father, Staupitz, pained him the most. He withdrew to Salzburg, unable to endure what the gospel had caused. His friend, the Archbishop of Salzburg, arranged a place for a quiet retreat away from the city. He became an abbot of a Benedictine monastery and a vicar under the archbishop. He died two years later in 1524. He was loved and lamented, both at the same time, by Luther.

Chapter 32

In the Home of the Reformer

Having journeyed through the wider influence of the reformation, we return to electoral Saxony. There we begin by looking at Wittenberg, and in Wittenberg at Luther as a man and at his immediate surroundings.

Luther received the former monastic buildings as a residence. The Elector John presented it to him as a gift, even though it was unfinished, while Luther was still living there with his monastic brothers. This is where Luther lived with his Kate. The "Luther chamber," which is still being displayed, was very likely used as the living room. For a study Luther used a small chamber, located over the water in the moat and later removed for strategic reasons. When he was busy there at his desk, his wife Kate often sat with her husband. He later related how she would try to start a conversation. It is likely that she would ask questions like, "Honored doctor, is the grand master of Prussia the brother of the markgrave?" But the grand master and the markgrave were the same person. He talked with her about his work and his struggles. Sometimes he read this or that to her, things that were being written to him. He only locked himself in when his work was truly pressing. We can understand how this had been necessary when, visiting his residence, one could find the tables, chairs, benches, stools, window seats, and wherever one could lay something covered with all manner of work.

Working in his garden, which was attached to his home, offered Luther some relief. He would get seeds for it from Link at Nuernberg and from Lange at Erfurt. Some of his produce from that garden would also help his friends. He would tell Amsdorf when he was harvesting some vegetables for the kitchen. He also began to learn how to work a lathe, along with his classroom assistant, "Wolf" (Wolfgang Sieberger). He

ordered tools for this work from Nuernberg. He wrote to Link, "If the world will no longer feed us because of the Word, we will want to take care of ourselves with the work of our hands."

However, he did not have the skill to make serious use of hand tools. God provided for his needs in another way. His wife Kate had plenty of opportunities to show that she understood how to save and manage the home very well. The doctor's income was quite modest. He took nothing for his considerable work at the parish church, plus he took no honoraria as stipends for his lectures. His writing, for which he could have received fine pay, his publishers got for free. All he got for them was a number of free copies to give away. Thus he had nothing except his wages, which his elector raised to 200 guilders after his marriage, and whatever the city council would give him for the management of his home. Still he enjoyed giving things away and would offer free lodging. He had welcomed his wife's aunt into his family, "Aunt Lene" who had been in the convent with Kate. The result was that in spite of all of the saving which "Lord Kate" achieved, the doctor often found himself in financial embarrassment and went into debt.

The married couple received a special kind of treasure in their monastic residence on July 7, 1526. On that day their first child, Luther's "Little Hans," was born.

In July of the following year it appeared as though Mrs. Kate would become a widow, and little Hans, whose father treasured him with tender love, would become an orphan. From January on Luther had been suffering from blood rushing toward his heart, which tormented him. On July 6 he suddenly experienced such a strong and oppressive panic attack that he thought it was the end for him. He had Bugenhagen come, made his confession, received absolution, and commended himself to God. Toward evening he lost consciousness and his body was turning cold. After recovering somewhat under the care of the physician who had been called, he prayed and asked those friends who were present to pray with him. He commended his Kate and his precious little Hans, who had been brought to him, to the Father of orphans and caretaker of widows. Finally, after

continuous massaging had helped him to work up a sweat, the danger passed.

Immediately after this episode the university was temporarily moved to Jena due to the approach of the plague. Luther remained in Wittenberg and assisted Pastor Bugenhagen when the sickness actually broke out there. He honored several students, who had also stayed, by arranging a special lecture for them. Soon eighteen bodies were buried near the Elstergate, not far from his home. But he remained cheerful and high spirited. "We are not alone," he wrote, "but Christ and your prayers and those of all the saints are with us, together with the holy angels."

Luther published a letter he had written to a friend in response to the question "whether it is proper for a Christian to flee during the outbreak of the plague." He explained who may flee and who may not, and how those who had to stay should guard themselves from the contagious disease. (L.V. Vol. 6, p. 116 ff). In November the plague even entered his own home. Two of the female residents, one of whom was the wife of the physician Schurf, were infected. "Little Hans" was also sick for a number of days. On top of that Mrs. Kate was approaching her second delivery. On the 10th of December, after the three patients had recovered, she gave birth to a daughter, Elizabeth. However, she was already taken from them on the 3rd of August of the following year. "Elizabeth," he wrote to a friend, "bade us farewell in order to go to Christ, through death to life;" and to another, "She has left behind a wondrously ill, yet strongly female heart for me." In her place another daughter was born on May 4, 1529, named Magdalena.

In the meantime the university returned to Wittenberg at the beginning of 1528, after the plague had passed. In the midst of a number of deep seated spiritual problems Luther gave his highest priority to his office of teaching. He lectured his students on the Prophets, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Solomon, as well as the first letter of John, the first letter to Timothy, and the letter to Titus. He also served his congregation by word and example. We noted how he had served as example of sacrificial love during the plague.



Picture of the Luther Home, formerly Augustinian Monastery

As he had faithfully stood in support of Pastor Bugenhagen at that time, the entire relationship between Luther and his dear "Doctor Pommer" was an overall pleasant one. Not only did Luther regard him highly as a friend but also as caretaker of his soul. He diligently sought comfort from him, confessed his sins to him, and was absolved by him. He also joined with the congregation to listen to the sermons and to the Lord's Table. During that time he also stood faithfully at his side, assisting in the pastoral office, and continued to build the congregation up through his counsel. During following years Bugenhagen, because of his special gifts of administration in church life, was often used in other places. Luther maintained the pastoral office for him during his absence.



Picture of the Chamber in the Home of the Reformer

(Most likely their living room)

In 1527 the Church Postil was expanded through Magister Roth of Zwickau. With Luther's approval it included the publication of the gospels of both the Trinity Season and the Festival half of the church year. This addition was derived in part from notes which had been taken during his sermons and in part from earlier printings of his sermons. Luther personally had issued an interpretation of the prophets Jonah, Habakkuk, and Zechariah, along with a number of the Psalms. He also was continuing to work on the German translation of the Old Testament as a whole. It was with much love and care that the Prophets, of whom Luther complained that they were resisting and did not want to let go of their Hebrew, were finally brought to the point that they, too, were speaking German to the German people. But Luther was also hindered in this, his dearest occupation, by a number of other tasks. He could very well speak with Paul, "I face daily the pressure of my concern for all the churches.



Picture of Luther according to a painting by Cranach in 1528



A picture of Luther's wife according to a painting by Cranach in 1528.



Painting of Bugenhagen of 1543 according to Cranach

In the so-called genealogical book in Berlin

Chapter 33

Further Development of the Reformation in Wittenberg

The situation in electoral Saxony had changed considerably since elector John had taken his brother's place. Luther's relationship with his new earthly leader was completely different from that with his former leader. He had dealt with Frederick only through the mediation of Spalatin, except for the exchange of some letters. The mediator was no longer needed and he was released from his service to the court in accordance with his long held desires. He became a pastor in Altenburg, where Link, who had been called to Nuernberg, had served. But Luther communicated with the Elector John the same way he had with Count John, in writing and now also face to face as conditions allowed or permitted.

It was the same way with the work which God had begun in electoral Saxony through Luther. Here, too, John conducted himself different than his brother. In Wittenberg the magistrate, in conjunction with the university under Luther's measured leadership, had formed church organization without any serious hindrance or specific sanction from Elector Frederick. Now, in response to the command of the new leader, the improvements continued. Up to this time the hymns for the church service were sung by the pastor and choir in Latin, except for a few German hymns that were sung by the congregation. Now Luther was to design and produce a Sunday church service entirely in German. Luther asked the elector for two men, gifted in music, to assist with the musical parts of the service. Their names were Johann Walter and Konrad Rupf. The resulting service was approved by the elector and was used for the first time as a church service in the city church on October 29, 1525, the 20th Sunday after Trinity.

The sermon remained the main feature of this divine service. In the city church there were three sermons each Sunday: on the Epistle in the morning at 5:00 or 6:00; on the Gospel of the day at 8:00 or 9:00, and on the Old Testament in the afternoon. Luther wrote the song of praise for Holy Communion. He based it on Isaiah 64:1-4, "Isaiah, mighty seer in days of old...." He also composed the melody himself. For the introduction to Holy Communion he wrote a reconstruction of the Lord's Prayer, adding an admonition for worthy reception of the Lord's Supper. As a liturgy for Baptism he used his Baptism pamphlet of 1526 in a somewhat altered form. It had originally been produced in 1523. He retained exorcism in his revised pamphlet, but in a shortened form. That part would later fall generally into disuse. But on the whole that Baptism pamphlet, with a few additions and minor changes, is the form for Baptism in the Lutheran Church to this day.

In addition to the Sunday services, morning divine services were held Monday through Friday, while Saturday had an evening divine service, at which students would sing Latin Psalms, and books of the Bible were being interpreted continually.

Luther was not yet able to organize a congregation in the way we understand a congregation, a place for those who seriously desired to be Christian and confess the gospel in word and deed and give their signature for it. In addition it was not a congregation like ours from which someone who did not conduct himself as a Christian, when he refused to heed an admonition, could be excluded or put under the ban according to the command of Christ in Matt. 18. He wrote, "I cannot and also do not wish to organize such a congregation or assembly, for I do not yet have the people or individuals for it, nor do I see any who are striving for it."

In general, as we have already mentioned, the conditions under which Luther had to labor and what he could expect were completely in line with then existing situations. Due to the horrible management of the Roman clergy, from the pope all the way down to the village vicar, the church life among the commoners had been completely shattered. Nearly all priests were unskilled men who were neither capable nor willing to give Christian counsel to the people. The dues which the members of the parish

paid had either been forced through the coercing of their consciences or simply taken, contrary to the granting of carnal freedom. The brutality and wickedness among the masses were truly hair-raising. Added to this was the fact that next to the gospel the spirit of Carlstadt and Allstedt had penetrated into the people's hearts. No wonder then that, where papal power ceased and the accustomed shackles had fallen, soon loud complaints were being heard regarding the disdainful abuse of the produced freedom and the neglect of the preaching office. Many of the noble lords, including those who were papal-minded, also knew how to take advantage of the new conditions. They forcefully claimed the ownership of monastic properties, despoiled them, and did not concern themselves with the source from which the preachers were to receive their living.

The wisdom with which Luther assessed these conditions deserves our highest amazement. He did not hope for the church to flourish as a result of rapid reconstruction of the church's outward existence, for which the right people had not yet appeared. Instead he put his hopes in the continuing action of the Word which creates new people. But there was only one way for this to happen, and Luther pursued this way, fully aware that he would have to account for emergencies as a result. He permitted the secular counts who wanted to wrestle with those things to step in as emergency bishops and do what no one else was doing. That the worldly and the spiritual governors had to stay separate he knew well and clung to that division. He constantly distinguished between what belonged to the realm of government and that which the current needs and the law of love put into the government's hand. He never yielded the right and duty of the congregations to call and support preachers and to apply Christian discipline. But when the congregations did not carry out their responsibilities, the use of the means of grace would not cease because of that and allow everything to go to ruin.

Chapter 34

Church Visitation in Saxony

The Elector John of Saxony applied himself faithfully in the office of "emergency bishop," for which Luther served as his right hand, or his head, or both.

If the preaching of the gospel was to continue to exist and spread, preachers would need to be trained. For this reason special attention was given to the university. An electoral commission had to plan a site and station for the necessary start, and money was spent to carry it out. The money was available now due to the reduced number of church endowment lords.

Luther had alluded to these new guidelines, in fact so urgently that he excused himself in a letter of October 31, 1525 to the Elector. (LV vol. 7, p. 102 ff.) "that he had pressed too hard to install new order in the university." In the same letter he alerted the count to the need of a general church visitation in his land. He pointed to this, "That the parishes everywhere are in such miserable condition; no one gives; no one pays. Gifts and soul-pennies have fallen. There are no stipends, or too little. Hence the commoner honors neither preacher nor pastor. If no determined order and important support is established by your electoral grace for the parish and the pulpit, there will soon be no parish estate. Nor will there soon be schools or students, and the Word of God and services will be swept away. For this purpose may your electoral grace allow himself to be used by God and become his faithful tool to provide comfort, also for your electoral grace's own conscience, because it is through our being asked and demanded by God himself, that there is a pressing need to establish orderly procedures."

The elector followed through immediately and invited the doctor to let him know how he thought it should be carried out. Luther answered with a letter, dated November 30. (LV vol. 7, p. 106 ff) He suggested

dividing the entire territory of the count into four or five districts and to send two visitors into each district to assess the situation. Where it was discovered that the parish did not have enough money to support the preacher, the members of the parish should be urged to raise the missing part by way of adding an annual tax. "Along with this," he wrote, "attention would also have to be given to the old parish lords, or those who were under-performing but who were otherwise upright and not against the gospel. They were to either read the gospel out of the Postil themselves or, if they are not adept at preaching, would have to be held responsible to have those same portions read by someone else."

With such new procedure the execution of those suggestions was expedited right away at the beginning of the following year. They had Spalatin visit the district's office of Borna, and Frederick Mykonius the office of Tenneberg. Furthermore, Luther published a work under the title, "German Mass and Order for Divine Service Undertaken at Wittenberg," as a description of the nature of the divine service in the city church. The elector directed the pastors to hold to this form. Earlier they had been directed to live in Christian manner, to preach the gospel, and to administer the Sacraments according to the way Christ had instituted them.

As complaints increased, Luther approached the elector again in November 1526. He reported that if the older clergy wanted to go to the devil so badly, then at least the youth should be saved through instruction in Christian schools and the preaching of the gospel. When he visited the count in Wittenberg, he even forced his way into the count's bed chamber and with tears laid the heartfelt need before him.

At last visitations were being carried out seriously. Melanchthon was included among the visitors who were named in February 1527. As the visitation had been going on for several weeks in Thuringia, they had gained insight into the highly deplorable situation. Melanchthon was then given the task of coming up with a plan to continue the visitations. It was carefully reviewed several times, with input from Luther and Bugenhagen. Finally, it was published with a foreword from Luther under the title, "Instructions of the Visitors to the Parish Lords in the electorate of Saxony."

These "instructions" set forth the basic teachings of the Christian faith and the chief parts of Christian congregational life in a concise and simple manner. Special emphasis was placed on building and maintaining Christian schools for the rearing of Christian youths.

Visitors were installed anew in July 1528. This time Luther was also to be involved. From among the four districts into which he had divided his territory, the elector directed Luther and Jonas to the area of the elector's district and to the Meissen offices which included the offices of Torgau, Grimma, Eilenburg, Hainichen, and Dueben. Three other visitors who were not theologians were added to this team. They began carrying out this task in October, and Luther went into action as the true model for a visitor. He kept his eyes and ears open for everything. Wherever the commission went, the elders of the congregation were assembled. They were asked about the conduct of the pastor up to that point in time, about the management in the congregation, and about their own understanding. The preachers were also tested about their knowledge and ability to teach. In these fact-finding visitations their findings as a whole looked abominable. In fact, in nearly every place the papal mass with its audience had been destroyed. Many pastors were completely unable to write a sermon and had to be directed to preach "according to the contents of the Postil." It now became clear how great a need there was for such a book.

Ignorance was even greater among the people. Terribly brutal behavior and indifference became apparent. Luther reported, "Things are terrible within congregations in that the farmers learn nothing, know nothing, pray nothing, and do nothing except abusing their freedom, do no confession, no communion attendance. They behave as though they had been set completely free from religion." They had to establish a rule that from this time on no one would be allowed to take the Sacrament who could not at least say the Ten Commandments, the Confession of Faith, and the Lord's Prayer. Luther also had reason to complain about the attitudes of the electoral office holders in that they according to their own judgment allowed themselves to deviate from the elector's instructions and as a result only added to the confusion. Luther also took to heart the neglect of

the youth. In order to provide them with some help the sextons were to be held responsible to have the children at least memorize the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer.

The following example may show us how kindly the great doctor dealt with the poor people during these visitations. One time he was asking and instructing some poor farmers about the Christian faith, as he was accustomed to do during the visitations. After one had recited the First Article, Luther asked him what "almighty" means. "I don't know," he replied. To which Luther said, "Yes, dear man, I and all the learned men also do not know what the power of God and his omnipotence are; but you simply believe that God is your dear Father, your faithful Father, who wills, is able, and knows how to help you, your wife, and your children in all your needs."

Regretfully Luther could not finish the visitation in his area. Not only was he forced to take a break due to an extended period of illness, but there was also an important need for him to return to Wittenberg. With Melanchthon doing his visitation in Thuringia at the same time, dissatisfaction had arisen among the students so that over 100 of them were moving out. On top of this, Bugenhagen was absent in order to straighten out evangelical church procedure in Braunschweig and after that in Hamburg, while Luther had to substitute for him in Wittenberg. Thus Luther received the elector's order in March 1529 to let another theologian take his place as a visitor and to remain in Wittenberg. Yet later he continued to do personal visitations in individual locations, of which Torgau was an example.

Chapter 35

Luther's Catechisms

However, the things Luther experienced while serving as a visitor would yet produce an overall glorious and valuable fruit for the Lutheran Church of all time. He summarized those things in the foreword of a pamphlet which he published in 1529 with the words, "Dear God, help! I have repeatedly seen the misery that exists because the common man does not know anything about Christian teaching, especially in the villages. Regretfully many parish lords are so unskilled and neglectful in regard to teaching. Yet, all have been called Christian. They have been baptized and enjoy the Holy Sacrament. Still, they don't know the Lord's Prayer, or the Creed, or the Ten Commandments. They live their lives like domesticated animals and sloppy sows. Now that the gospel has come, they have learned how to abuse their freedom." Because of this "abominable and miserable need" he now considered himself "forced and compelled" to carry out a plan, which he had been considering for some time, but the execution of which had remained unfinished up to this point.

Bringing the chief parts of Christian doctrine to the people through sermons had been Luther's primary objective from the beginning of his teaching career, as we have seen. What's more, already in 1520 he had presented on fourteen quarter sheets "A short form of the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer." He had written in its foreword that it had not happened without a special orderliness from God, and that it stands as established fact for a common Christian to learn and to know the Ten Commandments, the Creed and the Lord's Prayer. Those three parts are the minimum of what a Christian needs to know. He again issued this work two years later, with somewhat expanded content, under the title, "Prayer Booklet." This book was spread widely in many editions.

In 1525 appeared "A Booklet for Lay People and their Children". It contained the alphabet, the text of the Ten Commandments, the Creed, the

Lord's Prayer, and the words of institution for Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

But none of these booklets were a "Catechism." Others besides Luther had recognized the need for such a book, and in February 1525 Luther informed a friend that Jonas and Agricola had been assigned to produce a "Boys' Catechism." But soon Luther must have come to the decision to undertake this important task himself. In a letter to that same friend during the second half of the year we find the words, "I am postponing the Catechism; for I would like to complete everything in one project." He then pointed this out again in a "German Mass" that "a course, a plain, simple, and good Catechism" is of foremost importance. Years passed and the Catechism was still postponed. But now the abomination, the terrible need which he had experienced, when he served as visitor, impelled and pushed the reformer to no longer delay his Catechism. On the 3rd of March he could write to his friend, the one to whom he had earlier commented about the Catechism, "I am still not finished with the Catechism, dear Hausmann, but it will be finished soon."

Soon after this Luther's Large Catechism did appear under the title, "Deutsch Katechismus." It was immediately translated into Latin, and a second edition which appeared the same year contained the newly added "Short Admonition in Regard to Confession." Before the short foreword of the first edition, Luther placed an even longer foreword in the edition of 1530. In it he specifically dealt with the subject of how necessary it is to always continue to use the Catechism. He wrote, "There is good reason why we strongly urge the use of the Catechism, and both wish and beg you to use it." After pointing out the negligence of many of the parish lords he continued,

"On top of this, the hateful blasphemy and the secret evil alliance of complacency and boredom are lashing out. They claim that many are of the opinion that the Catechism is a plain and simple teaching which they read once and know it. Then they throw it into the corner and immediately are ashamed to read it any longer. This is what I say about myself: I am a doctor and preacher too. Yes, I am as educated and experienced as any of

those who carry so much arrogance and complacency. Still I act as a child, to learn, to read, and to recite word for word every morning, if I have the time, the Ten Commandments, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Psalms, and so on. I have to read and study every day in addition to this, but still cannot continue as I would like. I must remain a child and student of the Catechism and I like it that way."

After writing the Large Catechism Luther also produced the Small Catechism in 1529. The first edition is no longer available in its original Wittenberg printing. After a later printing in Erfurt and Marburg it appeared under the title, "The Small Catechism for the Common Parish Lords and Preachers." (Footnote: The later editions put the Greek Word, "Enchiridion" [literally "Handbook" from the Greek "in {the} hand"]). Here the same five chief parts were found as in the Large Catechism; plus the morning and evening prayers, the prayers before and after meals, and the table of duties with the little verse:

Let each one here his lesson learn, Ein jeder lern sein Lection
God to such home will bliss return. So wird es wohl im Hause stohn.

Our English version now prefaces each part with the words: "As the head of the family should teach it in all simplicity to his household."

For the parish lords and preachers who, according to title and foreword, were to be the first to have the booklet in their hands, a marriage pamphlet was added. It is noteworthy that in the first editions the Address to the Lord's Prayer was missing, until it was added with an explanation in the edition of 1531. The second edition, which was also issued already in 1529, contained a few additional statements. In the Fifth chief part the question was added, "How can eating and drinking do such great things?" The answer to this question was also new. An explanation of the first table prayer and the directive for Confession, which appeared in two sets of wordings, were also new. This edition also contained three woodcuts. They were a picture of the worship of the golden calf under the First Commandment, an illustration of creation under the First Article, and a

picture that presented the proclamation of the gospel together with the third chief part. This edition included a copy of the Baptism pamphlet in addition to the marriage pamphlet. In 1531 the questions and answers for Confession were added between the fourth and fifth chief parts. The questions about the Office of the Keys and the "Christian Questions" were added later by others. The Doxology of the Lord's Prayer, "for the kingdom, the power, and the glory are yours ... etc," Luther left out because of its regular use in church services at that time. In the Address of the Lord's Prayer he set the word, "Father," ahead of "our" in harmony with the common usage at that time, although he followed the newer practice in his Bible translation. Luther's retention of the form "Send away our debts" was later changed to "Forgive us our debt." The latter word is incorrect in that Luther wrote "debt" ("Schuld") in place of "debts" ("Schulden"). (Comment by the translator: *Cannot the word also be understood in its collective sense as though it were plural? I have always understood it that way.*)

With his Catechism Luther wanted to provide a means whereby those things that needed to be learned could be brought "to the people, especially to the young people." They were first to be taught the text, then the understanding, and in the process retain the form unchanged. For those who were not able to improve, Luther recommended the form which he presented. But till now there has been no one who has been able to improve this form, which is presented in this layman's "Bible" so short, clearly and well. We therefore do well to allow no other book to replace this most glorious gift which God has granted to us through Luther, which is second only to the German Bible.

The blessing, which grew out of the visitations and was established in the Catechism, soon proved its value. As early as the following May Luther could comfort his elector with the words, "In regard to this, so does the God of compassion reveal himself even more graciously as he causes his Word to be so powerful, producing fruit in the territory of your electoral grace. Surely the territory of your electoral grace has the very best and most of good preachers and pastors, more than any other territory of the world. They teach so faithfully and purely and so help to preserve a

beautiful peace. Now tender youths, boys and girls, are growing up well trained in the Catechism and Scripture. It calms my heart as I see how young boys and girls pray, believe in, and speak about God and about Christ, more than all of the foundations (federations), cloisters and schools were able to do before."

"Such young people in the territory of your Electoral grace are truly a beautiful paradise, the likes of which is not seen in the entire world. And God is building all of this in the lap of your electoral grace as a sign that he is gracious and favors your electoral grace. It was as though he would say, 'Well, dear count Hans, therein I commend to you my noblest treasure, my joyful paradise, and you shall be their father, for I want to have them under your protection and governance, and grant you the honor to be my gardener and caretaker.' This is most certainly true." (L.V. Vol. 8, p. 7 ff.)

Chapter 36

The Embattled Church in the Empire

The quiet development of this paradise within the elector's territory proved to be a blessing during the political conditions which were developing. Immediately following the peasant war the sky over the German lands was darkened with heavy clouds. First, both clerical and lay counts who despised the gospel vented their rage against those who confessed the gospel. Among those who had been decapitated after the suppression of the rebellion at Wuerzburg were many whose only crime was that they had confessed their belief in the evangelical faith. At Bamberg nine well-respected and peace-loving citizens were executed specifically because they were Lutherans. As for the actions of the bailiff Aichill who was ridding Swabia and Franconia of Lutherans, it was said: "He was especially busy against Lutheran pastors. He caught 'em, robbed 'em, tried 'em, and hanged 'em." He strung up forty evangelical preachers on the trees lining the street. We had earlier heard about the rage of Duke George. Caesar also reverted to the Edict of Worms. When he declared a diet at Worms in December 1525, he reminded that the former declarations had to be re-established. The clerical lords, the imperial government, and those preparing for the diet also concurred, and it looked as though things were headed in a very unfavorable direction for the evangelicals. Therefore it was quite understandable for the two counts, who had publicly voiced their support for the Reformation, the Elector John of Saxony and Landgrave Philip of Hessen, to begin preparations to counter the threat. The elector's son John Frederick, and Philip of Hessen met at the fortified castle Friedewalt to begin plans to unify all of the evangelicals in Germany.

A diet had begun at Augsburg, but the attendance was so poor that none of those present wanted to address any of the important issues, and the estate lords tabled their meeting to May 1st of the following year at Speier. The only action worthy of note was that the decisions declared in the closing statements of the previous two diets were repeated.

The deciding encounter, according to the counsel of the empire's estate lords, was to take place at Speier. Caesar promised his personal appearance and indicated that he would finally clean up the "damned Lutheran teaching." He urged a Catholic alliance to cling faithfully to the old faith and to eradicate the new teaching. This was an expansion of one already established by a number of dukes, among them Duke George and Cardinal Albrecht of Mainz. The opposition of evangelical dukes also determined to move forward. The alliance that had been approved the previous year became reality in February of 1526 at Gotha. The Saxons approved it at Torgau, and so it is usually called the Torgau Alliance. The two leaders, John and Philip, immediately became partners in the alliance. The elector's efforts were so successful that Duke Ernst of Lueneburg, Philip of Grubenhagen, Henry of Mecklenburg, Wolf of Anhalt, Albrecht of Mansfeld, and the city of Magdeburg joined at a meeting held in Magdeburg.

Luther was still expressing high hopes in 1525. He especially took note that two of his most bitter opponents, Henry VIII and Duke George, could possibly be won for the gospel through friendly encouragement. In fact, King Henry VIII was already leaning toward the gospel. Thus Luther wrote humble letters to both in response to the wishes of such "lofty and elite personages." Yet in them he surrendered nothing in regard to doctrine. He humbled himself and asked pardon from both rulers for anything with which he may have offended them, and sincerely encouraged them to pay homage to the truth. (The letter to Duke George, LV vol. 7, p. 107) But in return for his humility he received the most vicious of kicks from both of them, immediately from Duke George and later from the king. George made the accusation that God had punished Muenster for his evil deeds because of Luther. He added that God could well do the same to Luther and that he, the duke, would gladly be the one to carry out the punishment.

When he learned of the alliance of the evangelical leaders, Luther wanted nothing to do with it. He wrote, "I do not like hearing about the alliance against Caesar, for I say that human blows will fail." Then in his

writing, "Whether Soldiers Can Also be Saints," he specifically emphasized that no one may use the sword against the authority of government, even if that authority is tyrannical and guilty of lying. Here God's Word stands, "Vengeance is mine, I will repay, says the Lord." (Dt. 32:35; Romans 12:19.) (LV vol. 5, p. 104 ff) This work was presented to Duke George without reference to the author or the city in which it was published. It is said to have pleased him so much that he presented it to Lucas Cranach saying, "Look, here I have a pamphlet that is so good, truly better than Luther could ever have written." When the painter informed him that Luther had written the work, even showing him a copy with the name of the author, the duke is said to have angrily blustered, "It is too bad that such a wicked monk has produced such a good pamphlet."

Fortunately matters would take an unexpected turn so that the threatening storm cloud, which had begun to rise as the two sides were preparing for confrontation, would disappear on the horizon.

The Elector John had arrived at the Diet of Speier with a grand procession of seven hundred people. The Landgrave of Hessen also was adept at garnering respect. Both leaders had divine services held daily in their residences. Thousands of people crowded in on Sundays and Festival Days to hear their preachers. The inscription over John's door boasted the Saxon Elector's coat of arms, "Verbum Dei manet in aeternum" ("God's Word remains forever.").

The diet was ruled by a wondrous array of contradictory issues. The issues swirling through the diet included the need to carry out the edict, complaints against papal abuses, reminders of the dangers posed by the Turk to the empire's borders, and Caesar's new discord with the pope. It seemed as though everything would end in ruin, and the members of the new alliance began to lean on Saxony and Hessen in case things came to blows. But the moderates finally gained the upper hand. The fact was realized that to this point no one had actually enforced the Edict of Worms. A document stated, "If you wish to examine the letters you will see that there is no count or bishop who has enforced the edict or who has not been distraught at having to enforce it ad literam (to the letter)." How could they

face the Turk if the Germans were taking up their swords against one another?

Thus a decision was finally reached. They would send ambassadors to Caesar in Spain to request him to set up a free council as soon as possible to eliminate the confusion in the church and to permit the enforcement of the edict to be delayed until that time. Since in the meantime similar, even larger, allowances for concessions had arrived from Caesar in Spain, the diet produced a final decision regarding the empire. It said, "In accordance with this we, the electors, dukes, and imperial estate lords, including the ambassadors, have studied and compared and unanimously come to an agreement at this imperial diet. We all, including the subjects of our respective territories, want the accomplish no less than, in regard to the edict that went out from Caesar's majesty from the Diet of Worms, for the interval between now and the council or the national assembly, having each each of us live, rule, and act, as each of us would hope and trust to be able to answer (satisfactorily) to God and to Caesar's majesty.

Thus it was resolved that it would be left for the individual counts and leaders to conduct themselves in matters of faith as they would need to give an account of their behavior. From this point forth this resolution has served as the legal basis for further development of the church. It laid down the basis for the state church system, which has continued to this day.

Now the Germans showed how grateful they were for the concession which they had wrested from Caesar. They provided him with powerful support, both in Italy and on behalf of his brother in Hungary. The evangelically minded field commander, Georg of Frundsberg, marched toward Rome with an army of German soldiers. During this march that old chief commander endured the mutiny of his mercenaries. Having suffered a stroke he was left behind as the army continued its march. Rome was overpowered two hours before sunset on May 6, 1527. The troops had been deprived of their basic needs for a long time and were seething with rage. They showed it by the terrible plundering they visited on the houses and churches of this rich and luxury filled city. Soldiers, dressed in cardinal

robes and similar garb, rode through the city on donkeys and cried out, "Luther should become the pope!"

We have seen how the elector John, in harmony with the concluding decision regarding the empire, lived and ruled in his territory in such a way as he hoped to be able to give an account before God and the majesty of Caesar.

We get a similar picture of the Landgrave Philip of Hessen. He likewise pursued a new structure for the church system in his territory. He summoned a number of the pastors of his territory, together with his appointees in the cities and the nobility, to a unifying meeting in Homberg. There a plan was submitted and adopted, according to which evangelical congregations were to be formed throughout the territory. The members of these congregations were to sign up in a register, call their own pastors, hold regular congregational meetings, and practice church discipline according to Matthew 18. The pastors, congregational officers, and representatives of the nobility were to meet annually with the ruler of their territory, where they were to choose visitors and conduct other business. The liturgy for the church service was adopted according to the form of the German Mass by Luther.

Luther, who was given the opportunity to read this plan, regarded such a decision to be premature, for the reasons we have already cited. The landgrave listened to him and did not permit the plan to be put into action. He instead began his reforms with the Saxon visitation pamphlet. In addition he recognized the great value of his own evangelical school of higher learning. In 1527 he established the University of Marburg, to which he granted the income from the assumed monasteries. This was the first university that had begun without papal consent.

The reformation also proceeded in other areas, growing both in expansion and in depth. In the Franconian-Brandenburg area Markgrave Georg also began evangelical organization and received good advice and preachers from Luther. (LV vol. 7. p. 141 ff). Lutheran worship services were also begun in the cities of Braunschweig, Hamburg, Goettingen, and